

***PSYCHOLOGY APPLIED TO  
LIFE AND WORK***







# PSYCHOLOGY applied to LIFE AND WORK

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# Preface

THE PRESENT WORK puts into effect the recommendations made by teachers of psychology who used the first edition as a text. The recommendations determined the chapters that were to be retained or omitted from the first edition, and also the new chapters and treatment of interviewing, counseling, supervision, family problems, and group dynamics. The suggestions have, I believe, made the book more vital to the student. As a result of their encouragement, the concept of adjustment was retained and developed further.

The development of adjustment as a basic framework for the student's thinking about the dynamics in the individual's behavior enabled me more or less to put into effect the suggestion that a textbook in applied psychology should have a "binding thread of theory" running through it. Admittedly, the "thread" disappears in a few chapters, but it frequently becomes evident in later chapters. At any rate, I hope that the reader will find this book distinctive as a text in applied psychology because it is unified rather than merely encyclopedic.

As in the first edition, I wrote with the conviction that a text in applied psychology should make some contributions to the student in dealing with his own personal problems and help him become more effective with others in his social relations. By the time he must deal with employees, this text should have contributed toward a development on his part that provides insight into group behavior and improves his supervisory judgments. At the same time, I tried to increase his appreciation for the splendid work being done by contemporary psychologists. Psychology is a relatively young but growing science, and the student should become imbued with respect for its past accomplishments and its promises for the future.

Of course, a text such as this covers so wide a variety of topics that the student should not imagine that he has been given final or conclusive information. Rather, he should feel that the present treatment of topics has opened the way toward further exploration. It is hoped that he will be stimulated to pursue his studies in order to supplement the knowledge acquired here by further growth.

## *preface*

At the same time that I have written with the hope that this text will stimulate the student to further study, I have also recognized that many a reader of the book will be taking his last formal course in psychology. I have therefore tried to present those psychological principles that are fundamental and significant in life and work. At least, the reader of this book will have a basis for better insight into psychodynamics as he lives and works with people. He will also have some foundation for a social philosophy that applies to our changing order, and so will be able to function more effectively in a position of industrial leadership.

HARRY WALKER HEPNER

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## *PART ONE · INTRODUCTION*





"I LIKE TO STUDY PEOPLE" is a very common expression. Those who say it are apt to refer to unusual personalities. Furthermore, their interest in people is likely to be merely the entertainment variety. Actually, all people, including the everyday varieties of normal people, are interesting, too, but they should be given systematic study as in a course in psychology.

# I      Reasons why we study psychology

*People study psychology for various reasons. A few want to appreciate its influence in the big affairs of historical significance, but most people study it as an aid in dealing with their own problems of life and work. This chapter reviews some of these personal problems and indicates how psychologists deal with them.*

WE ALL LIKE TO STUDY PEOPLE. PSYCHOLOGY is surely among the most useful of all our sciences. Its importance is constantly impressed upon us by the delightful and the not-so-delightful behavior of our associates as well as of ourselves. Examples of psychological influences are everywhere: in ourselves, our friends, our work associates, and in our leaders. Every human being, no matter how low or high his position on whatever scale of values we choose, is a living example of why we can enjoy the study of people and their behavior.

Somehow many people seem to think that psychology is more or less limited to the study of odd or atypical persons, such as the feeble-minded, the neurotic, the insane, the genius, the problem child, or other deviates. They fail to appreciate that the so-called ordinary individual, the member of the great majority, is just as interesting as the most unusual personality. Furthermore, they are apt to assume that the outstanding leaders in

business, political, and other affairs are motivated by logical, not by psychological, influences.

Actually, the leader is just as good (or poor) a subject for study as anyone else. Sometimes he deserves special study on our part because his behavior is likely to have wider effects on more people than that of the non-leader.

Recent events in world affairs have revealed to us some marked differences in the mental maturity and balance of leaders. The members of this generation are gradually learning about the close relation between the psychological characteristics of individual leaders and some effects those characteristics have on everyday human affairs. Many of us are beginning to realize that a leader may be so immature psychologically that he seeks to satisfy himself at the expense of other people, or he may be so mature as to foster the satisfactions of the people for their personality development. Whenever we study the many historical influences

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in the shifting boundaries on maps of the world, we note how, in some instances, millions of lives have been affected by the impulsions of some maladjusted dictator to satisfy his complexes and those of his blind followers. The study of psychology shows us how we, as individuals, as well as our leaders, at times cling to immature and unintelligent patterns of behavior.

When a person trained in psychology listens to a business executive, labor union official, politician, preacher, or reformer, he says to himself: "Has this man analyzed the conditions of which he speaks and come to a sound objective solution, or is he merely giving vent to the impulsions or perhaps even the venom of his own mind?" The dictators and the tyrants in all human affairs, whether of nation, corporation, school, or home, will continue to blight the lives of others until people learn enough applied psychology to recognize the personality differences between tyrants and statesmen, between bosses and leaders, between schoolmasters and educators, and between neurotic females and well-adjusted mothers.

Americans look out upon a sorely troubled world. The problems of international relations are baffling, and the influences of leaders in international affairs are often discouraging. Furthermore, we can do little or nothing about many of the most discouraging problems beyond our own shores. Even with the best of psychological training, we could not teach the people of a foreign nation to choose or direct their leaders more intelligently. However, through the aid of psychological insight, we, in our own nation and niche in life, can often interpret the most hopeless of situations; and this

ability to interpret the mental factors helps to lift us to a more intelligent plane of living.

The ability to recognize psychological currents everywhere and to interpret them intelligently is a most desirable accomplishment. Young people, particularly those who seek to train themselves for the positions of leadership of today, as in business affairs, want to see more clearly the human problems in our time. The complexities of our industrial civilization call for a wisdom which the members of this generation have not as yet fully attained. The psychological problems around us, in this country and in our own place, require the aid of all that psychological research can contribute. A review of some of these problems may stimulate us to study the helpful findings of psychological workers.

### ***Outstanding problems that are partly of a psychological nature***

One important kind of psychological problem arises from the fact that our magnificent industrial and technical development has not resulted in equally magnificent emotional satisfactions for many of our citizens. Engineers, scientists, and inventors have produced a technological age which is truly marvelous, but which has not always satisfied the hearts and minds of the men who operate its machines, nor of the customers who benefit from its products. We are like children playing with powerful but somewhat dangerous toys.

Economic insecurity, whether caused by political or other conditions, certainly has an important bearing on emotional insecurity. We must also recognize, however, that economic security does not imply emotional security.<sup>1</sup> Many persons

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with high incomes feel insecure because of psychological problems that wealth does not solve. Furthermore, unemployment is not entirely an economic problem; many unemployed people have a psychological immaturity which would cause them to be unemployed in any economic system.

The state of mind is often more important than the state of the nation or the international situation. When a person no longer believes that individual ability determines individual success, he is apt to look to some stronger person or to some political system which promises to play the role of all-providing father.

When people lose faith in themselves and their ability to cope with life's problems, they are likely to turn to an untried system of government or leadership or to "escape" from the intolerable situation, as is exemplified by many of the 500,000 drug addicts in this country.<sup>2</sup> Or certain mental ailments may develop, as found among the 613,405 psychiatric patients in hospitals at the end of a recent year.<sup>3</sup>

### ***Problems of students who were not having academic difficulties***

When we ask people about their own psychological problems, we find that almost all appear to be living with bothersome worries.

One of the best studies of personal problems of special interest to college students was made of 259 healthy, "normal" students, sophomores at Harvard from the classes entering in 1937-8-9-40. The problems reported were either raised by the students themselves or were recognized by the investigating staff. These students were selected for good health, satisfactory academic status, and overtly good social adjustment. They partici-

pated voluntarily in the research. With regard to such factors as socio-economic status and race or creed, these students were representative of a fair cross section of the college population. The investigations consisted of the coöperative observations of a physician, several psychiatrists, a physiologist, an anthropologist, a psychologist, and a social case-worker (who interviewed practically all the families as well as the young men themselves).

. . . In the first place, the students were made to feel that they were helping in the investigation by talking about themselves or asking questions, and that they were not encroaching on anyone's time. In the second place, each participant knew that he would be put through certain routine examinations by different observers: the medical examination, the anthropological measurements, the psychometric tests, the psychiatric interviews, etc. In this way he became aware of different fields in the study of man, and his interest in his personal characteristics was aroused. We could observe a certain educational advantage in the system. Thirdly, he could voluntarily choose any one of the various examiners to discuss matters of concern to him.<sup>4</sup>

The report of the investigators omitted aspects of a boy's life which occurred before college or during postgraduate years and purely medical or other technical aspects that would not be in the sphere of a counselor. Problems resulting from military service, or that could be solved without too much trouble by the person concerned, were also omitted. Ninety per cent, 232 students, had problems they wanted to talk over. See Table 1. Twenty-seven men (10 per cent) seemingly had none.

The kinds of problems varied greatly according to individual situations. Most of them centered around social or family relationships. Many men revealed multiple in-

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TABLE 1\*

## KINDS OF PROBLEMS RAISED

(Including both self-offered problems and those recognized by the Staff.)

	<i>Number of 259 Participants</i>
1. <i>Social adjustment</i> (shyness, feelings of inferiority, social sensitivity, making friends, meeting and getting along with girls, immaturity <i>per se</i> , roommates, class dissatisfactions)	113
2. <i>Adjustments to family</i>	
a. Parental discord, separation, divorce, remarriage . . . . .	14
b. Antagonism to parents, reaction to domination or discipline, family criticism, lack of understanding, family relations in general . . . . .	69
c. Advice concerning physical or mental health of parent. . . . .	18
d. Adjustment to death of parent . . . . .	6
3. <i>Career and life work</i> . . . . .	67
4. <i>Finances in college</i> . . . . .	35
5. <i>Need for discussions centering around subject's personality</i>	
a. Emotional instability, tenseness, excitability, fears and concerns, "psychoneurotic" symptoms . . . . .	50
b. Discussions of personality in general, integration of personality, handling of arrogance and egotism . . . . .	47
c. Need for directions, objectives, purpose, and values . . . . .	32
d. Mood swings . . . . .	21
e. Rigidity, "just-so" personality. . . . .	12
f. Possible mental illness . . . . .	6
6. <i>Academic</i>	
a. Adjustment to Harvard, dissatisfactions with Harvard . . . . .	20
b. Academic help needed, organization of time and work . . . . .	14
c. Intellectual lacks for college or career . . . . .	6
d. Field of concentration (majoring) . . . . .	3
7. <i>Sex</i>	
a. Marriage, love affairs, sex relations . . . . .	39
b. Problems arising from masturbation . . . . .	17
c. Need for information concerning homosexuality . . . . .	3
d. Information about venereal disease . . . . .	2
8. <i>Others</i>	
a. Anti-Semitism, anti-Nazism . . . . .	8
b. Religious conflict, search for religious belief . . . . .	8
c. Alcohol . . . . .	7
d. College scrapes . . . . .	6
e. General advice needed . . . . .	6
f. Help in getting job . . . . .	5
g. Stammering, speech . . . . .	4
h. Insomnia . . . . .	3
i. Handwriting . . . . .	2
j. Extracurricular activities . . . . .	2
k. Revolt against New England . . . . .	2
l. Extreme wealth . . . . .	1

\* From Clark W. Heath and Lewis W. Gregory, "Problems of Normal College Students and Their Families," *School and Society*, Vol. 63 (1946), pp. 355-358.

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terconnected problems, such as personality difficulties, adjustment to family and friends, college finances, and career. Others revealed only isolated problems in a setting of very sound personality.

The authors pointed out that in an unselected group of college students, more problems would be likely to occur than did in this study, as obviously poorly adjusted students were eliminated in the selection of participants.

### ***Problems of students who were experiencing academic difficulties***

The "Problem Check List (The College Form)," by Ross L. Mooney,<sup>5</sup> is probably the most widely used formal method of surveying students' problems. It lists 330 items that represent problems common to students. Students underline those that apply to them, and encircle the underlined problems that are especially troublesome. Students mark an average of 30 problems, but the range is from one to 106.

Items that were indicated as problems by 17 per cent or more of 430 Ohio State University students, tending to be selected for their academic difficulties, are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2\*  
LISTING OF ITEMS MARKED BY SEVENTEEN  
PER CENT OR MORE OF THE CASES  
ARRANGED IN RANK ORDER

<i>Per Cent of Cases</i>	<i>Items Marked</i>
40 . . .	Getting low grades
38 . . . . .	Getting enough sleep
37 . . . . .	Finding time for independent reading
36 . . . . .	Tendency to worry
	(All items above this line checked by <i>one-third</i> or more)
31 . . . . .	Moodiness, having the "blues"
31 . . . . .	Concentrating

<i>Per Cent of Cases</i>	<i>Items Marked</i>
30 . . . . .	Vocabulary too limited
29 . . . . .	Finding where I belong in the world
27 . . . . .	Taking things too seriously
27 . . . . .	Fearing failure in college
27 . . . . .	Slow in reading
27 . . . . .	Inefficient methods of study
26 . . . . .	Worry about examinations
25 . . . . .	Weak in spelling, grammar, punc- tuation
	(All items above this line checked by <i>one-fourth</i> or more)
23 . . . . .	Getting a decent job after gradua- tion
22 . . . . .	Speaking up in class
22 . . . . .	Acquiring a more pleasing person- ality
22 . . . . .	Nervousness
21 . . . . .	Failing to get ahead
21 . . . . .	In too few student activities
21 . . . . .	Inability to express self in words
21 . . . . .	Poor memory for detail
20 . . . . .	Tiring very easily
20 . . . . .	Too easily discouraged
20 . . . . .	Slow in mathematics
	(All items above this line checked by <i>one-fifth</i> or more)
19 . . . . .	Inability to take good class notes
18 . . . . .	Too little time for recreation
18 . . . . .	Forgetfulness
18 . . . . .	Clarifying what I really want
18 . . . . .	Inferiority
18 . . . . .	Needing to know my vocational strengths and weaknesses
18 . . . . .	Sacrifices of parents
17 . . . . .	Forgetting past mistakes
17 . . . . .	Carrying on a conversation
17 . . . . .	Wanting security
17 . . . . .	Feelings too easily hurt
17 . . . . .	Inadequate high-school training
	(All items above this line checked by <i>one-sixth</i> or more)

\* Source of table: Ross L. Mooney, *Manual to Accompany the Problem Check List, College Form*. The Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, September 15, 1942, pp. 41-42. Based on 430 students using second mimeographed edition, all from Ohio State University and tending to be selected for their academic difficulties. Later editions of the *Manual* have been published since 1942. Mildred Chapin Klohr, "Personal Problems of College Students," *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. 40, No. 8 (October 1948) presents a survey of female college students

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### **Short-term changes in student problems**

The "Problem Check List (The College Form)," by Ross L. Mooney, also was given twice to a group of freshmen at Colorado State College of Education, in October and December of the same year.<sup>6</sup> The number of students who filled in the list both times was 190, and this study is based on the data furnished by those students.

Four items were checked by at least 25 per cent of the students both times:

	<i>Per Cent</i>
Wanting a more pleasing personality ..	31
Worried by examinations . . . . .	29
Slow in mathematics . . . . .	26
Don't know how to study effectively . .	25

Classes had started only ten days before the October administration of the test, but the first quarter was nearing an

TABLE 3

PROBLEMS WHICH OCCURRED FREQUENTLY IN DECEMBER AND SELDOM IN OCTOBER AMONG 190 STUDENTS

	<i>October</i>	<i>December</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Getting low grades . . . . .	24	44	20
Tired of same meals all the time . . . . .	7	23	16
Wanting to leave college . . . . .	0	12	12
Not enough sleep . . . . .	23	34	11
Not enough time for recreation . . . . .	8	19	11
Too little chance to go to shows . . . . .	4	15	11
Grades unfair as measure of ability . . . . .	0	11	11
Purpose in going to college not clear . . . . .	7	16	9
Dull classes . . . . .	1	10	9
Too little time for sports . . . . .	9	18	9
Too little chance to listen to the radio . . . . .	10	19	9
Too little chance to read what I like . . . . .	17	26	9
Not smart enough in scholastic ways . . . . .	14	22	8
Not taking things seriously enough . . . . .	11	18	7

TABLE 4\*

PROBLEMS WHICH OCCURRED FREQUENTLY IN OCTOBER AND SELDOM IN DECEMBER ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THESE FREQUENCIES

<i>Item</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>December</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Don't know how to study effectively . . . . .	77	18	59
Trouble in using the library . . . . .	53	4	49
Trouble in outlining or note-taking . . . . .	51	4	47
Lacking self-confidence . . . . .	62	27	35
Unskilled in conversation . . . . .	61	29	32
Unable to concentrate well . . . . .	56	25	31
Lacking in leadership ability . . . . .	38	12	26
Afraid to speak up in classroom discussions . . . . .	51	25	26
Slow in mathematics . . . . .	61	36	25
Being ill at ease at social affairs . . . . .	41	17	24
Afraid of making mistakes . . . . .	48	24	24
Weak in spelling or grammar . . . . .	45	22	23
Wanting a more pleasing personality . . . . .	69	47	22
Wanting to learn how to entertain . . . . .	28	9	19
Too easily led by other people . . . . .	27	8	19

\* Source of table: Nora A. Congdon, "The Perplexities of College Freshmen," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. 3 (1943), pp. 367-375.

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end when it was administered again in December. In December, there was a decrease of 24 per cent in the number of problems checked. The problems also changed somewhat—for example, "Curriculum and Teaching Procedures" problems, which were insignificant in October, jumped in December.

If the reader will examine the personal problems reported for both the students who were chosen for their lack of academic and certain other problems and for those who tended to have academic difficulties, he will note that many students have need for a study of those aspects of psychology that have possible applications to their daily living.

### ***Problems that led to discharge of employees***

Personal problems that are related to personality also have considerable bearing on one's effectiveness and adjustment to work, as indicated by a study of the causes for discharge of approximately 4,000 office employees from 76 large business concerns. Table 5<sup>7</sup> reveals that only about 10 per cent of the employees discharged were fired because of lack of specific skills. Character and personality traits were the important factors in almost 90 per cent of the cases.

When Alanson H. Edgerton had spent over twelve years in an extensive study of vocational education, he too found that personality and character traits are often more important than skill or intelligence for success in employment. He and his colleagues examined 144,279 actual jobs in 2,630 fields and followed 15,824 youths through ten years of school and work.

Successful employees, he reported, must be versatile. Three-fourths of the employers he questionnaired wanted youths skilled in at

TABLE 5

#### THE MOST COMMON CAUSES FOR TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

##### *Lack of Specific Skills:*

1. Lack of ability in Shorthand.. . . .	2.2%
2. Lack of ability in Typewriting. . . . .	1.6
3. Lack of ability in English. . . . .	1.6
4. Lack of ability in Dictaphone work. . . . .	1.3
5. Lack of ability in Arithmetic. . . . .	1.3
6. Lack of ability in Machine Operation. . . . .	.9
7. Lack of ability in Bookkeeping. . . . .	.6
8. Lack of ability in Spelling. . . . .	.6
9. Lack of ability in Penmanship. . . . .	.0

Total—Lack of specific skills. . . . . 10.1%

##### *Lack of Character Traits:*

1. Carelessness. . . . .	14.1%
2. Non-co-operativeness. . . . .	10.7
3. Laziness. . . . .	10.3
4. Absences other than illness. . . . .	8.5
5. Dishonesty. . . . .	8.1
6. Attention to things other than office work during office hours. . . . .	7.9
7. Lack of initiative. . . . .	7.6
8. Lack of ambition. . . . .	7.2
9. Tardiness. . . . .	6.7
10. Lack of loyalty. . . . .	3.5
11. Lack of courtesy. . . . .	2.2
12. Insufficient care of or improper clothing. . . . .	1.6
13. Self-satisfaction. . . . .	.9
14. Irresponsibility. . . . .	.3
15. Unadaptability. . . . .	.3

Total—Lack of character traits. . . . . 89.9%

100.0%

least two kinds of work (such as lawyers who also knew banking, or stenographers who could keep books).

But more important than skill or intelligence, he found, is personality. In one sub-survey, studies were made of 3,607 men and women who had lost their jobs. It turned out that 77 per cent had been fired for tactlessness, unfairness, irritability, bad manners, etc. Again, Dr. Edgerton rated a group of job holders for (1) intelligence and (2) personality. The most intelligent 33 per cent earned only \$139.44 more per year than the least intelligent; but the highest 33 per cent in personality earned \$842.73 more than the lowest.



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Specifically, well-liked employees are cooperative, loyal, polite, tactful, friendly, patient, alert, daring, confident, and cheerful<sup>8</sup>

### ***Psychological problems of businessmen***

The employees of business are not the only workers who have psychological problems, some of which result in discharge. Executives, too, have their unique problems, both as individuals and as executives.

When we talk about businessmen and their psychological problems, we should recognize that the principles and problems of the mental life are common to all people of our civilized society. Students, business executives, employees, and customers have essentially the same emotions, feelings, and traits as individuals of other classifications. The psychological principles that apply to the person in the school and the home also apply to the same individual in the office and the factory. Basic principles are universal; only settings differ. As students of human behavior, we can be alert to the meanings in a person's behavior regardless of where he may be active.

When a man speaks to us he is always telling us two stories at once even though we commonly attend to but one of them. One is the tale he actually tells, and it may be about anything. The other is a story about himself—the story constituted by the fact that he, under the circumstances present, does tell us just that tale and tells it to us in just the way he does. The style and the matter of a man's speech or of his writings, it has been said, is a picture of what the man is—of his point of view, his character, his intellectual resources, his tastes, his temperament, et al. And all this is exhibited to us, if we but give it our attention, not only when a man expresses himself in language but equally where this mode of expression is of other sorts. How a man walks or sits, what sort of clothes he wears and how he

wears them, what sort of house he builds, how he spends his leisure and his money, what he fights for and how he does it, the undertakings to which he devotes himself, the sort of gods he worships, which books he reads, the arts he cultivates and the sorts of products he makes them yield, the modes of conduct and the social institutions which he approves or disapproves—all these things provide us with a picture of the man and of his environment into which we can project ourselves in imagination as effectively as we can into the characters and situations represented in the stories he tells, the plays he acts, or the books he writes<sup>9</sup>

The student who studies human behavior extensively wherever he finds it learns to see the patternful nature of the individual's activities, and how certain acts in behavior are related to other acts. The person's behavior becomes more meaningful as it fits into basic patterns that characterize the individual. For example, the executive who failed as a youth to learn how to compete in games with other boys is also apt to be unable to endure the presence of rivals in his business relations. Such an executive seldom hires subordinates or assistants who are as able as he. The department head who has ability but surrounds himself with weak personalities is harmful to the business concern and also is a problem to the college graduate who seeks to advance in that executive's department. The student, therefore, should seek to know psychological principles and patterns in behavior wherever he may find them in order that he may be able to use them when needed in business and other settings.

### ***What psychology is not***

In Greek mythology, Psyche was represented as a beautiful maiden having the wings of a butterfly. Psyche symbolized

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the soul.\* The butterfly symbolized human immortality. Originally psychology, from the root words *psyche*, soul, and *-logy*, a combining form meaning a science—the science of the soul—was a branch of philosophy.

A generation ago psychology severed its formal relations with philosophy and became a science in itself. It no longer studies the soul, nor is it interested in such problems as communication with the dead. Psychology and psychical research are two different fields, and the psychologist does not have very much hope of successful discoveries in *psychic* realms. Psychology has lost its mystery. It is not interested in cults or in magical influences on people who happen to be about us. It does not take the place of the witch doctor.

Psychologists are not interested in character analysis from observation of superficial physical signs, except to report that such methods of analyzing people are largely fallacious. Many sales managers mistakenly think that they are psychologists when they try to predict a man's selling ability from the color of his hair or the shape of his chin.

Most psychologists are not interested in mind reading or in thought transference. They have not found that mental telepathy has sound foundations. Investigations of those incidents in the lives of their friends which indicated that mental telepathy might exist usually showed that such experiences were coincidences which occur in the life of everyone. When the psychologists have checked or examined phenomena of this sort, they have found that the apparently mystical should be treated in terms of natural laws.

Nor is psychology a short cut to success

in business or in life. Many people who study psychology do so with the hope of finding an open sesame to success. It will not make a mentally strong and powerful individual out of a weakling. It is of assistance, of course, in bringing out the latent possibilities of people and in enabling them to adjust themselves to one another, but we should look upon psychology as a science.

### *What psychology is*

Psychology is method, not magic. The outstanding approach to the problems of our modern age is our highly developed technique for gaining insight into all aspects of our experiences—namely, the scientific method. Steps in the scientific method are: (a) observation of a chosen phenomenon; (b) collection of objective data; (c) analysis of the data; (d) drawing of conclusions from the data, and (e) verification of the findings by repetition of the observations made in the experiments. Delicate instruments have been invented to aid the observer in detecting and measuring variations of the phenomena under study. Involved statistical techniques have been developed for treatment of the data. The thousands of scientific studies being made by psychologists and other scientists are slowly modifying our daily work and living. They have already revealed possibilities for utilizing human and physical forces that were not dreamed of by our forefathers. The use of the scientific method for gaining insight has partially displaced unsound methods such as those of superstition and occultism.

We now define psychology as the "study of human behavior by scientific methods." *Behavior*, as used here, refers to more than conduct, deportment, or

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manner. It includes all normal and abnormal activities of the whole organism, even those of feeble-mindedness and insanity. *The aims of applied psychology are the description, prediction, and control of human activities in order that we may understand and direct intelligently our own lives and influence the lives of others.*

Psychology is a most useful study because every man must live with himself and with others. Even though a person never studies it as a science, his every thought and act illustrate its principles. To live means to function, and behavior is the material of psychology. The unit of study is the individual.

Of course, a person may live a pleasant life and never study himself or his behavior. An angleworm and a cow are presumably content, but we have no evidence to indicate that they are intelligently happy. Happiness for the modern man demands more than mere organismic contentment. He wants to be physically comfortable, but he also wishes to know the laws of mental life, the principles of human behavior, so that he may utilize them for new satisfactions. Our present civilization rests upon the basis. "Let us study life and its conditions so that we may utilize our findings to rise to new and more intelligent levels of personal satisfactions and social relationships."

Every person is something of a psychologist. The roots of the subject are as old as the human species. However, modern scientific psychology is a relatively recent development. The first American laboratory was started in 1883 at Johns Hopkins University, and in 1889 the first title of "Professor of Psychology" was be-

stowed upon William James of Harvard University.<sup>10</sup>

Present-day psychologists pride themselves on their use of the scientific method. Formerly, it was not unheard of to set up a law after making a hypothesis. Now the accent is on objectivity and quantitative data. Statisticians and psychologists have collaborated to achieve scientific methodology. They have made possible the objective appraisal of facts with a minimum of subjectivity by devising methods of treating quantities of data to ascertain whether they have any real significance. A classic example is the concept of correlation, by which it is possible to compute what relationship one factor or group of factors bears to another factor or group of factors. The last chapter of this book presents a few of the more simple statistical techniques in use today.

Another method by which experiments are made more scientific and conclusions dependable is the use of control groups of subjects with experimental groups. Use of a control group with an experimental group makes it possible to learn which factors under investigation have a bearing on the findings. Animals are used frequently as subjects by some experimental psychologists because of the impracticability of running certain types of experiments on human beings. Through such experiments it has been possible to learn about important aspects of drives and motivations, effects of thwarting, and problem-solving behavior, for example. Caution must always be exercised, however, in generalizing that results obtained from animal experiments apply also to human beings.

In addition to the basic methodologi-

cal tools already mentioned, such as statistics and experimental and control groups, there are secondary tools such as rating scales, morale and attitude surveys, readership surveys, the polling of selected samples or panels, and objective and projective tests.

Some psychologists who are particularly interested in personality and characteristic behavior have developed schools of thought or theories regarding it. Other psychologists are inclined to the eclectic view, and take some phase from each school or theory into their own thinking. There is much general agreement, however; as, for example, on the viewpoint that all types of personality deviate from the "average" to a greater or lesser extent, and that all behavior is adjustive, although not necessarily successfully so. Each person adjusts himself to his world in his own way. Average or so-called normal behavior is really only theoretical. There is no sharp division between normal and abnormal behavior. Behavior considered normal might be said to represent that of approximately 68 per cent of the people in a society when their behavior is interpreted in terms of a normal frequency curve (See the last chapter of this book.) The other 32 per cent of the people differ more and more from the normal as they get further from the mode, or most common type of behavior. Such a definition would be arbitrary only. However, atypical behavior may be viewed as the less common methods of adjustment in a particular culture.

When a person's behavior is so far removed from the norm of his society as to make him or society uncomfortable, psychotherapy is often indicated. This is done by clinical psychologists, who uti-

lize the work of experimental and other psychologists. Diagnostic devices are used, an example encephalograms, which record brain waves and are used to distinguish mental disorders due to epilepsy and brain tumors from disorders due to functional causes. In conjunction with therapy, psychological tests of various kinds are frequently administered to aid in ascertaining the dynamics underlying the behavior displayed.

So much work has been done by psychologists that only certain major divisions can be treated in any course in applied psychology. The divisions chosen for consideration here, because of their probable value to the student as a student and as a possible leader in business, are the following.

### *Personality*

Students who are interested in improving their personalities—and most students are—are especially interested in principles that underlie personality development. Much serious work has been done in this field to ascertain relationships between environment, experience, natural endowments, the physical (organic) state of the individual and his personality. As yet there are few final answers, however, although many hypotheses are being explored.

The oft-used terms "introvert" and "extravert" usually intrigue students. If they have come by some means to believe that they are either introverts or extraverts, they want to know whether it is possible for them to change. Here again they should be warned that extraversion and introversion represent positions on a normal frequency curve. Most people are neither one type nor the other; they

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have some introverted characteristics and some extraverted ones. It is the tendency to display more of one characteristic pattern of behavior than the other that makes a person introverted or extraverted. In view of this fact, is a person doomed to remain one personality type, or can he change? The answer is that he can change, provided he can acquire new insights that enable him to develop new behavior patterns.

### ***Personal problems***

*Mental efficiency and effective study.* Also of special interest to the student are his problems in mental efficiency and effective study habits. Since these are largely a function of the personality in action, a person with new insights can improve his habits in this area of activity. Experiments on the nature and methods of learning have revealed some helpful suggestions for every student.

*Vocational adjustment.* The psychological problems of the student do not end with the completion of his college work. He must earn a living, as a professional worker or a businessman, most probably as an employee who has ambitions for himself as a supervisor, manager, or owner.

Vocational guidance has become more successful with the improvement of counseling techniques and the development of interest, aptitude, and achievement tests. Many schools require the student to take a battery of tests to ascertain wherein his abilities and interests lie and whether they are compatible with his educational record. Likewise, many employers test job applicants before hiring them to ascertain whether they are qualified for the job they desire and whether they meet the company's standards. Im-

proved testing procedures that estimate potentialities of applicants are becoming available.

Test-score profiles have been developed in an attempt to derive objective standards of interests, aptitudes, and abilities for various types of jobs. These profiles show certain characteristics that are typical of workers in the various types of occupations. Success in a vocation, however, cannot be guaranteed or predicted absolutely on the basis of test results alone. Again, success is a function of the whole personality. (See Chapter 11.)

Tests of ability and aptitude that are used in hiring are too numerous to mention. The trend, however, is in the direction of trying to make sure that new employees will fit harmoniously into the organization from the personality standpoint, as well as be able to do the work.

*Courtship and marriage.* Although a few psychologists have tried to develop criteria for ascertaining in advance whether a marriage will be successful, it has proved to be a difficult task. Some remarkably interesting studies have been made, however, and certain trends characteristic of successful and unsuccessful marriages have been found. (See Chapter 13.) Marriage is no different from any other social situation in which a person may find himself. He must adjust himself, not depend on outside forces to do it for him.

*Child guidance.* Most students, unless they are already parents, have little interest in child psychology. And yet one of the best ways to understand the adult is to understand the child. Research centers and individuals concentrating on the study of child psychology are responsible for many valuable contributions to the field of psychology as a whole. Of pri-

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mary importance is the growing appreciation of the importance of childhood experience because of its effects on character and personality. Also highly important is the conclusion that no matter what the overt behavior pattern of the child, it is his way of adjusting to his world. This is as true of the "naughty" child as of the "good" child. Psychologists have also taught parents the importance of maturation in the child's learning and activities, so that children are now less likely to be pushed beyond their stage of development than they formerly were.

### ***Dealing with employees***

*Interviewing.* Although applied industrial and business psychologists have done a great deal of work to determine the criteria of successful interviews and to ascertain how they can be made more diagnostic, most interviews are still conducted in a casual manner and without a basic framework of thinking on the part of the interviewer. Such unsystematic ways of interviewing permit only subjective analyses, whereas new interview procedures make the evaluation of interview findings more objective and significant. (See Chapter 15.)

*Merit ratings.* Various methods of deriving appraisals of employees and of informing them about their work have been studied. Anyone who aspires to become a responsible executive should become acquainted with these findings.

*Motivating employees.* To give management the "know-how" to motivate employees in the direction of improved efficiency and greater productivity, the American Management Association and other organizations are bringing to the attention of management the results of psychological investigations that deal

with human motivations. By this means psychologists are giving managements the opportunity to make employees happier and more productive with improved results for both. Psychologists in collaboration with progressive managements have made time studies and measured fatigue, effects of noise, lighting, and so forth. They have studied accident control, job evaluation, and values of different wage payment systems. Training courses for supervisors have been developed by psychologists. Methods of cultivating improved relations between supervisors and workers and of resolving grievances have been studied. Morale surveys and methods of solving problems posed by employees have had much attention. (See Chapters 18-23.)

### ***Dealing with consumers***

*Consumer research.* To study consumers and their wants, polls utilizing sampling techniques developed by statisticians are useful. Panels have also been set up by psychologists for specific purposes, such as when it is desired to question the same sample repeatedly.

*Advertising and selling.* The most effective methods of advertising, from the standpoint of both the consumer and the advertiser, are being studied. Readership reports directed by such psychologists as Daniel Starch, and new mechanical methods such as eye cameras, have increased advertising effectiveness for each dollar spent.

These are a few examples of the kinds of positive contributions that psychologists have been making to daily life and work.

The very fact that more than one thousand psychologists were called upon to help solve wartime problems of a

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practical nature proved that abstract knowledge of psychology and scientific methods is not a useless luxury in a desperately chaotic world. See Table 6<sup>11</sup> for a list of duties and functions performed by some of the psychologists in military service.

(The applied psychologist is a specialist who integrates the principles and other findings of psychologists who have special interests, such as those of experimental, social, and educational psychol-

ogy.<sup>12</sup> He adapts and uses these principles and findings in practical situations. He applies them to personal problems of the individual and to the problems of other specialists, such as the executive in business.)

### *Psychologists in business*

Corporations have not hired psychologists to the extent that they have hired certain other professionally trained men, such as engineers. In recent years, how-

TABLE 6\*  
DUTIES OR FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY PSYCHOLOGISTS IN MILITARY SERVICE  
(N = 968)

<i>Duties or Functions in Military Service</i>	<i>No. of Psychologists Spending Any Time on Each Duty or Function</i>		<i>Average No. of Months per Psychologist Spent on Each Duty or Function</i>
	N	%	
<i>Analysis of military tasks and occupations</i>	215	22.2	4.1
<i>Development of tests and procedures for selection, classification, and distribution of personnel</i>	386	39.8	7.2
<i>Test administration, interviewing, and classification</i>	598	61.8	8.9
<i>Development of clinical and counseling techniques and procedures</i>	227	23.4	6.4
<i>Use of clinical and counseling procedures for examination and consultation services</i>	460	47.5	9.4
<i>Development of training programs and of methods for evaluating training</i>	283	29.2	7.3
<i>Design and testing of instrumentalities of warfare (weapons, airplane controls, etc.)</i>	45	4.6	5.3
<i>Study of psychophysiological factors such as vision, hearing, and fatigue in the performance of specialized military tasks</i>	70	7.2	6.7
<i>Development of techniques for ascertaining attitudes or opinions and procedures for use in orientation programs, in morale services, and in psychological warfare</i>	89	9.2	3.3
<i>Analysis of statistical data (not included elsewhere on this list)</i>	284	29.3	4.3
<i>Other duties not listed above but psychological in nature</i>	285	29.4	6.4
<i>Other duties not listed above but NOT psychological in nature</i>	442	45.7	8.0

\*In order to get information as to background and wartime duties of psychologists in the armed forces during World War II, questionnaires were mailed to each of the 1,710 psychologists and psychologists-in-training who served. Nine hundred and sixty-eight completed and returned their questionnaires, and these were analyzed for several purposes, one of which was to ascertain the number of jobs performed by psychologists in military service and the distribution of time in months spent on each. Duties performed included a great deal of test administration, clinical and counseling work, development of tests, analysis of statistical data, development of training programs, and a variety of other tasks.

From Steuart Henderson Britt and Jane D. Morgan, "Military Psychologists in World War II," *The American Psychologist*, American Psychological Association, Inc., Vol. 1, No. 10 (October 1946) p. 429.

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ever, some business executives have called with increasing frequency upon psychologists and have invited them to assist in dealing with business problems, to act as consultants, and to work as full-time psychologists in their organizations. Accurate data on the number of psychologists who are now employed on a full-time basis in business are not available. Finch and Odoroff<sup>13</sup> made a study of the employment records in applied psychology, covering a twenty-two year period, of all members and associates of the American Psychological Association. They estimated that it is not improbable that one half of the total time of American psychologists is being devoted to applied psychology of all kinds, business and other.

More recent data indicative of the situation were published in an annual report by the executive secretary of the American Psychological Association. The association office analyzed one fifth of the biographies of members listed in the 1948 directory. The secretary found that the members fell into seven fields of interest, according to size:

1. Clinical psychologists, including those in remedial work, account for 30 per cent of the total membership of 5,045

- 2 Psychologists interested in advisement and guidance, including the school psychologists, constitute 17 per cent of the membership.

- 3 Experimental psychologists, including the physiological and comparative groups, 17 per cent.

4. Personnel psychologists, 14 per cent.

5. Child and educational, 10 per cent

- 6 Social psychologists, 5 per cent.

7. Statisticians, those who construct and analyze tests and whose major interest is in psychological measurement, 5 per cent.

About one half of all association members are employed by colleges and uni-

versities. Twelve per cent are federal employees, and nearly three fourths of this 12 per cent work for the Veterans Administration. Of the 863 psychologists included in the sample who submitted biographies and whose fields of employment were listed, only 29 were reported as employed by business and industry and 20 as business consultants. Some other psychologists, an unknown number, who did not report themselves as employed in business or industry, do work on a part-time basis in the field of business psychology.<sup>14</sup>

(In the light of these findings, it is obvious that very few college students will become *business psychologists*. Few psychology majors will ever wear the label, occupationally speaking, which they had as a major in their college studies. In this respect psychology is similar to mathematics. Very few students who major in mathematics ever have the occupational designation of *mathematician*, even though they use mathematics in their work. They are more likely to be called engineers, accountants, statisticians, or clerical workers, although they use mathematics constantly, they think of themselves, and their employers think of them, as trained in some business field, such as accounting, manufacturing, or selling. Similarly, students of psychology who go into business are likely to find many applications of their psychological knowledge even though they are not classified on a payroll as psychologists.)

Knowledge of psychological principles and techniques is useful to students who go into business, as evidenced by the fact that businessmen frequently call on psychologists for assistance. Also, psychologists do a great deal of research on their own initiative regarding problems in



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business, as is shown by an examination of several issues of *The Journal of Applied Psychology*.

### ***Psychology should contribute toward adjustment to change***

Certainly, we cannot stop change any more than we can stop time. Almost every change which benefits some one person or industry brings new psychological problems to others. No one can prevent these changes which, in the long run, seem to spell progress. Nor would many care to turn back to the former modes of living, when life was simpler but everyone worked seventy hours a week and had to amuse himself by attending funerals and spelling bees. Every individual, stupid or intelligent, is jostled by the technological and social forces that surround him. What then can the intelligent individual do about it, if anything? What can he gain for this purpose from a study of psychology? A suggested major objective for the educated person of today is personal development in two important respects:

(a) To learn about the *modern techniques involved in dealing with people*, such as the clinical method of analyzing personalities, tests in hiring applicants, rating scales in promoting employees, recent developments in supervising employees, predicting consumers' wants, influencing groups of people, using clarifying statistics, and other factual methods. These are examples of knowledge that may be learned through college classroom approaches.

(b) To gain something more important than knowledge only, namely, the mental quality which we term *adaptability on the part of the individual himself*. This means that he must catch the spirit

of the age in which he lives and become an intelligent participant in the changes taking place about him.

Of course, no man can foresee all the great changes that will occur in the later years of his life, but he can adapt himself to the changes occurring in his own time and place. His guiding attitude should be that of expecting changes and preparing to meet them. A fundamental psychological purpose for the intelligent individual, regardless of sex, vocation, or environment, is that of adjusting himself to the accelerated rates of change taking place about him

Adaptability is far more than knowledge. It is a mental habit that can be acquired by anyone who really seeks it. *Adaptability is the habit of finding and using opportunities in the environment and following not the lines of least resistance but those of greatest opportunity.* The habit of acquiring new points of view, new skills, new facts, and new habits can be learned. Everyone can to some extent travel, attend classes, read books, see moving pictures, listen to the radio, talk with others, and learn new ideas from various other available sources. However, more besides travel, education, and social contacts is necessary to bring about adaptability in one's self. Conscious recognition of one's mental habits or adjustments and intelligent direction of self-growth are most important. These principles will be treated in Chapters 2 to 9.

Once a person recognizes the importance of adaptability and then studies the principles of adjustment, he will discover how his psychological tendencies and habits can be modified in the direction of greater adaptability. The age-old laws

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of evolution are still with us. The struggle for existence is not new; only its form has changed. The machine has only accelerated the rate of change and accentuated the need for a certain kind of psychological development in order to capitalize the changes for individual benefit.

The individual who recognizes these rapidly changing conditions and their mental requirements may have two sustaining convictions. These are that the world still has many unsolved problems, and that determination to help solve an immediate problem always has been and always will be a worth-while goal. Anyone can find self-expression in solving a near-by problem in his work through the three following channels of direct attack:

1. Improving the mechanical equipment.
2. Improving the methods of operating the equipment or of doing the work.
3. Improving the human relationships.

The fact that the worker in the past got much of his feeling of worthwhile participation from his craftsmanship does not mean that the present-day worker cannot achieve the same feeling. Anything now being done could be done better, more easily, more economically, or more pleasingly. For example, a stenographer cannot hope to improve the typewriter or office machines she uses, but she can always improve her methods of work. In times of depression when thousands of stenographers are walking the streets looking for jobs, certain employers are seeking more able stenographers.

The same situation applies to businessmen, teachers, and students. Many young

people have not learned how to gain creative self-expression through the three general channels of improvement because the books they have read, the courses they have taken, and the diplomas they have earned do not require development of adaptability. Some of their studies have taught them to criticize life as it is. Few have learned to recognize the rapidly changing conditions under which we live, to feel in control of themselves, to tackle systematically the problems of the immediate job, and to become adaptable. Every man with a job and a steady income should assume that he may some day lose the job and his income. Every girl who marries should assume that she may some day become a widow and have to earn her own living. No one can prevent catastrophe, but every intelligent person can prepare himself psychologically to deal with catastrophe.

Our ultimate dependence cannot be on systems of government or business, but on ourselves as individuals. Life and civilization always have been and always will be dangerous. Dangers change only their form. The entire history of civilization is one long series of crises. Some of the individuals who survived were only fortunate; others were intelligent. The spirited man is still master of his fate.

Some years ago when the *Titanic* sped across the Atlantic on her maiden voyage, she struck an iceberg and sank. One American newspaper cartoonist of unusual insight drew two contrasting illustrations of the tragedy. One drawing showed the ship broken and about to sink. Underneath that picture were the words: "The weakness of man—the supremacy of nature." The other drawing illustrated how a certain passenger

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stepped aside to give his place in the last lifeboat to a woman with a child. This picture had the words: "The weakness of nature—the supremacy of man."

Adaptability is far more than knowledge. It depends upon the ability to control one's habits and to change them intelligently. To do this, the individual

needs the self-knowledge which psychology can often contribute. In the next few chapters we shall examine certain mental habits that inhibit and others that facilitate adaptability and thereby gain that insight which contributes to man's supremacy over himself as well as over nature.

### PROJECTS

1. No single textbook can possibly supply all the information now published in the field of applied psychology. Hence you should examine and note differences in the tables of contents of any of the following applied psychology textbooks that may be available in your library:  
Berrien, F. K., *Practical Psychology*. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1944.  
Burt, H. E., *Applied Psychology*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1948.  
Gray, and others, *Psychology in Use*. American Book Company, New York, 1941.  
Husband, R. W., *Applied Psychology*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1949.  
Moore, Herbert, *Psychology for Business and Industry*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1942.  
Poffenberger, A. T., *Principles of Applied Psychology*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1942.  
Strong, E. K., *Psychological Aspects of Business*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.
2. Visit your library and examine the periodicals that might be of special value to the person who studies applied psychology. List the titles and content of several articles that appeal to you. Quote parts which you find interesting or of value to you. Be prepared to describe your findings to other students.
3. Do you know an adult who has been unemployed or irregularly employed for several years? Describe his psychological characteristics. Did unemployment cause his psychological problem, or did psychological problems cause his unemployment?
4. Examine books and journals for descriptions of the work done by The Psychological Corporation. Perhaps you can read "Report of the Activities of The Psychological Corporation—1939," by Paul S. Achilles and Henry C. Link in the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 24 (April 1940), pp. 109-121, or the *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, Philip L. Harriman, editor. Philosophical Library, New York, 1946, pp. 607-8.
5. Examine biographies and autobiographies of famous contemporary leaders. Point out any relationships between the leader's psychological characteristics and his policies or achievements. Examine books such as E. S. Bogardus, *Leaders and Leadership*. D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1934.
6. How does training to be a business technician differ from training to be a business leader?
7. A professor of astronomy in a large university frequently receives letters asking for astrological advice, such as: "My son was born under the sign of Taurus. He is contemplating joining the navy. Will his life be safe?" Assume that you are the astronomer and compose a brief letter to the mother.
8. Many scientists believe that human nature and the social sciences have not kept pace with the physical and chemical sciences. Some have suggested that we should retard certain sciences until human beings catch up with them. What arguments can

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you present for or against the suggestion?  
Should we choose the goal of improving

human adaptability to keep pace with de-  
velopments in all fields?

**COLLATERAL READINGS**

Berdie, Ralph, "The Field of Applied Psychology," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol 24 (1940), pp 553-575

Roethlisberger, F J, "Human Relations, Rare, Medium, or Well-Done," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol 26 (January 1948), pp 89-107

Shartle, Carroll L, "Occupations in Psychology," *The American Psychologist*, Vol 1, No 12 (December 1946), pp 559-582

Sherif, Muzafer, and Hadley Cantril, *Psychology of Ego-Involvements* John Wiley & Sons, Inc, New York, 1947, Chapter 1



*PART TWO · UNDERSTANDING THE INDIVIDUAL'S  
BEHAVIOR THROUGH THE ADJUSTMENT CONCEPT*



## 2      The problem person is a person with a problem

*The forms of behavior which we are apt to classify as inappropriate or abnormal really have important meanings for dealing with ourselves as well as others. The behavior of the problem person is not merely the effect of environment or the age in which he lives. It always has purpose for the individual. It is part of his pattern of adjustment to his problems. A first step in appreciating the real meaning of the behavior patterns that characterize an individual's personality is to become aware of the problems in his psychological development. When we recognize patterns of adjustment we can deal intelligently with the problem persons whom we meet in daily life and work.*

THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION HAVE MADE some very great gains in bodily health and personal comforts in recent years. Material advantages, such as ownership of automobiles and indoor plumbing, have increased tremendously. The expectation of life at birth has steadily increased since the turn of the century, largely as a result of the control of infectious diseases, which formerly took a heavy toll of lives among infants, children, and young adults. For the first time in the history of the nation, the expectation of life at birth for white females is now 70.3 years, and that for white males is 65.1 years.<sup>1</sup> Educational opportunities have improved for the boy and girl.

In 1900, the average American youth's chances of going to high school were one in ten. In 1950, they were eight in ten. These and numerous other advancements might be cited as evidence of the progress of the American people. But what about their mental health?

### ***Some figures on mental maladjustment***

At present about 8,000,000 persons, or more than 6 per cent of the population, suffer from some sort of mental illness. One out of every ten persons will sooner or later need the help of a psychiatrist, and one out of every twenty will spend some part of his life in a mental hospital. Almost as many people are admitted to



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mental institutions each year as are graduated from our colleges. Estimates by physicians indicate that half of the people who go to doctors for physical complaints actually have mental or emotional disorders.

The significance of mental illness was cast in bold relief by World War II. Brigadier General William C. Menninger, director of the Neuropsychiatry Consultants Division, Office of the Surgeon General, reported "We found that 39 per cent of all men rejected at induction were suffering from some type of personality disorder—1,825,000 out of a total of 4,650,000 men." Furthermore, 43 per cent of all medically discharged—even after some of the maladjusted had been screened out at the time of induction—were discharged for neuropsychiatric reasons.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Menninger also stated. "Wartime discharges of Army personnel on neuropsychiatric grounds was greater than the total of infections, heart, stomach, respiratory, eye, ear, nose and throat ailments, genitourinary troubles, tuberculosis and venereal disease. For every man medically discharged, there is statistical evidence that at least five other men were seen by a psychiatrist for some type of personality disorder which did not lead to discharge. In addition, 150,000 soldiers were discharged through administrative, rather than medical, channels because of personality difficulties."<sup>3</sup>

The rates in Table 7 present the number of resident patients per 100,000 of the general population. The number of resident patients in all permanent-care hospitals per 100,000 of the total population increased from 345.5 at the end of 1937 to 382.4 at the end of 1946.

In 1940, more than one-half of the hospital beds in this country were to be found in nervous and mental hospitals, according to statistics compiled from the 1940 Census of Hospitals, conducted by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association. Statistics from the same source for 1946 indicate that mental hospitals accounted for about 46 per cent of all hospital beds and about 51 per cent of the average hospital population. The definition of a nervous or mental hospital used in the American Medical Association's survey is relatively broad, with the result that, in addition to hospitals for mental disease as such, institutions specifically for mental defectives, alcoholics, drug addicts, and other marginal cases are included. It is estimated that patients for whom statistics are presented here, that is, patients in hospitals specifically for the treatment of mental disease, occupied approximately 36 per cent of all hospital beds and would have accounted for about 43 per cent of the average population of all hospitals in 1946.<sup>4</sup>

Many persons who read statistics on the increases in our mental-hospital populations assume that the problem of mental disease is caused by our so-called fast living. Actually, much of the increase can be attributed to the increase in the proportion of old people in our population. See Table 8. Studies of the statistics on mental disease indicate that the highest incidence rates are not found among persons in the adolescent and adult years, the age-periods often regarded as of greatest psychological stress, but among those over 60 years of age.

The idea that the hustle and bustle of modern life are responsible for the occurrence of mental diseases is not convincing when explorers report that the natives of many primitive societies with more simple cultures suffer from the same mental diseases that are found among us. Certainly, some of the increases in the incidence of mental dis-

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ease can be attributed to our improved facilities for discovering persons having mental ailments, the increased number of mental hospitals, and decrease in the social stigma formerly, and to some extent still, attached to mental disease.

Obviously the costs of mental illness, whatever the causes may be, are very great, but current expenditures for overcoming this kind of illness are much smaller than for other diseases. We

spend \$100 a year for research for each case of poliomyelitis, but only twenty-five cents a year per case for mental disease. And for every dollar spent for research into the causes, treatment, and prevention of mental illness, \$100 is spent for hospital care of the mentally ill.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the patients in hospitals for mental disorders, we have to consider the inmates of our prisons.

TABLE 7

RESIDENT PATIENTS AT END OF YEAR, WITH RATES, HISTORICAL, IN HOSPITALS FOR PERMANENT CARE OF PSYCHIATRIC PATIENTS, BY TYPE OF CONTROL OF HOSPITAL, FOR THE UNITED STATES 1937 TO 1946

Resident Patients at End of Year		Per Cent of Total				Rate <sup>1</sup>	
		State Hospitals	Veterans' Hospitals	County and City Hospitals	Private Hospitals	Total	State Hospitals
Year	Total						
1946	529,247	84.2	9.1	4.4	2.3	2382.4	2321.9
1945	518,018	84.7	8.1	4.6	2.5	371.1	2344.5
1944	506,346	85.8	7.6	4.2	2.4	366.7	2343.2
1943	500,564	86.1	7.2	4.3	2.5	366.7	2338.2
1942	497,938	86.9	6.5	4.3	2.4	369.8	2330.5
1941	490,506	85.1	6.2	6.5	2.2	368.2	2317.2
1940	480,637	85.4	6.2	6.2	2.2	364.2	311.0
1939	472,385	84.7	6.1	6.9	2.4	360.9	305.6
1938	457,983	84.0	5.8	7.9	2.4	352.8	296.2
1937	445,031	84.0	5.5	7.8	2.6	345.5	290.4

<sup>1</sup> Represents number of resident patients per 100,000 of the estimated total population as of July 1 of the specified year. Since these rates are based on revised population estimates, they may differ slightly from corresponding rates previously published.

<sup>2</sup> Based on estimated civilian population as of July 1.

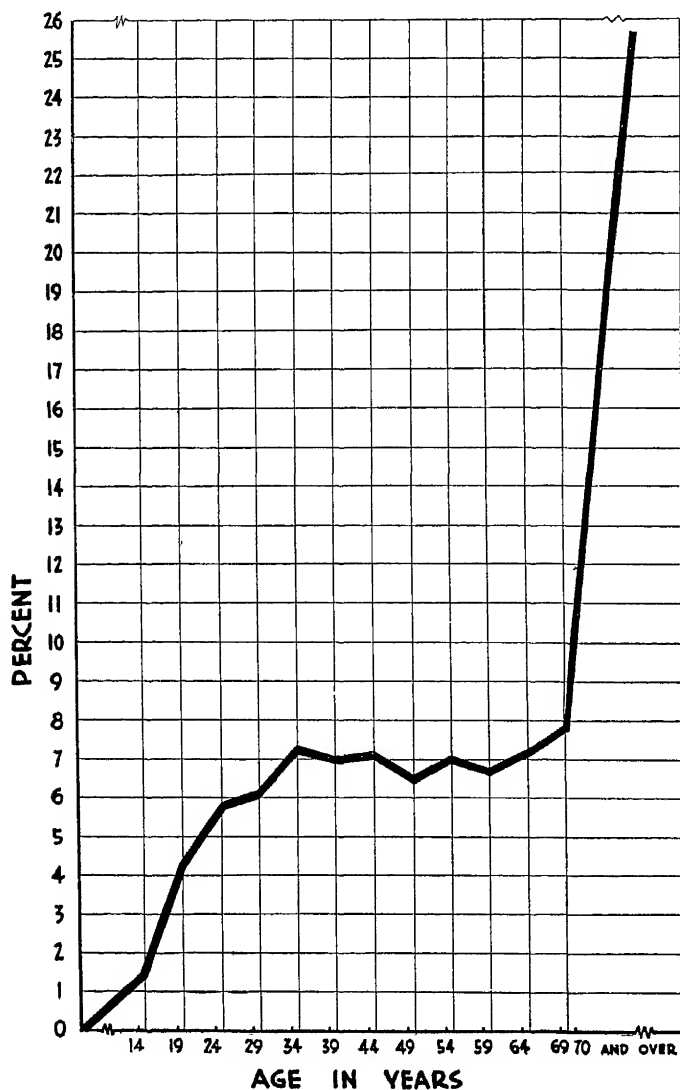
Although these figures indicate that psychiatric care is a very considerable element in the total picture of medical care, they do not imply a nation which is rapidly becoming psychotic. The treatment of psychiatric patients requires, on the average, a much longer period of hospitalization than is required for general hospital patients. Consequently, in any period of time, many more beds are required for the treatment of a given number of psychiatric cases than are required for the care of an equal number of general patients. A complete turn-over of patients in general hospitals occurs several times during the course of a year, whereas it is probable that approximately four fifths of the patients in a typical mental hospital at any given time have been in residence for at least one year, and an appreciable number of them have been in residence for as many as twenty years. The relatively large number of hospital beds occupied by mental patients, then, represents the accumulation of patients with chronic mental disorders admitted in previous years, rather than the large number of patients admitted in the current year. The estimated 287,000 admissions to all mental hospitals covered by this report constitute only 1.9 per cent of the admissions to all hospitals reported by the American Medical Association Census of Hospitals. For further details, see the source of this table: *Patients in Mental Institutions, 1946* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1948, pp. 5-12.

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About 700,000 short-term prisoners pass through prison gates each year. Long-term prisoners comprise another 150,000. To these 850,000, several hundred thousand, about a half million, drug addicts should be added if we wish to see the broad outline of the problem of major mental disorders and maladjustments.

## *The real challenge to the student*

The figures cited above are impressive and give emphasis to the enormity of the problems of mental maladjustment that are on the institutional level. It is, however, the far greater numbers who suffer from minor mental or non-



THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE and incidence of first admissions to hospitals for mental disease. The over-all curves for the males and the females are essentially the same. These are total figures. The age curves of incidence vary for different psychotic groups. Schizophrenic (dementia praecox) and manic-depressive psychoses are most frequent in young adulthood or mid-maturity. The arteriosclerotic cases, in contrast, rise most rapidly in the years after 70. The chart data shown above apply only to first admissions to hospitals of one state for the mentally ill. In some states, the numbers of beds available for the mentally ill are limited and statistics on first admissions do not reflect accurately the actual incidence of mental disorders. Data for this chart apply to 12,385 first admissions for the year 1945—From "Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Mental Hygiene," April 1, 1944 to March 31, 1945 LEGISLATIVE DOCUMENT (1946), No. 83, State of New York.

## the person with a problem

TABLE 8\*

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES AT SUCCESSIVE EPOCHS, IN PERCENTAGES

<i>Age Group</i>	1850	1920	1950	2000
Under 20 years	51.8%	40.7%	33.0%	25.7%
20-49 years	39.3	43.9	44.5	41.3
50 years and over	8.9	15.4	22.5	33.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\* Louis I. Dublin, *Our Aging Population*. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, 1931, revised 1947.

hospital varieties of maladjustment who offer the student of psychology his real challenge. Every student at times is confronted by classmates, relatives, and friends who are so unhappy or so poorly adjusted as to irritate or worry their colleagues. Some workers of the shop and office have sudden emotional outbursts that baffle their friends and supervisors. Husbands and wives sometimes are unable to meet the mental demands of married life. Sometimes, too, our own unhappiness or emotional disturbance may arouse us to our own need for a systematic approach to the study of adjustment and maladjustment.

We all meet peculiarly behaving people whom we should like to understand. Undoubtedly you have had some annoying experiences with friends, relatives, fellow employees, or students in college whom you consider queer, or sullen, overconscientious, over-suggestible, mentally twisted, disturbing, misfit, sexually perverted, and so on. How did their personalities become warped? What, if anything, might be done to help them?

What facts and points of view are needed by friends, parents, and executives to facilitate the development of strong personalities? How can you and I

direct our own mental habits in order to facilitate our happiness and mental health? Perhaps we should begin our study of mental ailments by first noting their place among all human illnesses.

All human illnesses, maladjustments, and adjustment mechanisms may be classified into the following groups:

- A. *Organic*. The tissues have been impaired
  - 1 *Traumatic*—Mechanical injuries or wounds, such as broken bones or cuts.
  - 2 *Toxic*—Poisons in the body, such as alcohol or drugs.
  - 3 *Micro-organic*, popularly called bacterial—Germ infections or such diseases as smallpox, typhoid fever, and colds.
  - 4 *Glandular*—Some of these are discussed in Chapter 6.
  - 5 *Tissue changes*—Cancer, tumor, arteriosclerosis, and so on.
  - 6 *Psychoses, organic*—So far as insanity is concerned, approximately 42 per cent of the cases are caused by organic conditions. These diseases with their percentages of total admissions are mainly senile dementia (8 per cent), cerebral arteriosclerosis (10 per cent), general paresis (7 per cent), and alcoholic psychoses (5 per cent). In these disorders a definite physical or organic basis is known to be present. In business, these organically caused disorders are seen in the occasional cases of

## *the person with a problem*

brain tumor, epilepsy, sleeping sickness, strokes, general paresis or syphilis of the central nervous system, hardening of the arteries, and senile dementia.

B *Functional*. These ailments do not involve any measurable impairment of the tissues. About 58 per cent of all psychopathic or mentally ill cases appear to have a functional origin and cause.

1. *Psychoses, functional*—Pronounced mental disorders, which unfit the individual for adjustment to his usual environment, principally dementia praecox (23 per cent), manic-depressive psychoses (9 per cent), involuntional melancholia (4 per cent), and others\*

2. *Psychopathic personality*—A general classification for persons who are neither psychotic nor neurotic. It is a convenient borderline term for social misfits that includes the pathological liars, sex perverts, vagrants, eccentrics, misanthropes, troublemakers, moral defectives, and criminals who commit crimes without justification. The psychopaths constitute about 2 per cent of first admissions to mental hospitals and 15 to 20 per cent of incarcerated criminals

3. *Psychoneuroses*—Mild mental disturbances or patterns of behavior which do not wholly unfit the individual for his usual environment. Often called "nervous cases" in the home and in business offices

✓ C. *Common adjustment "mechanisms" or "dynamisms"*—These are found among all normal persons and are not evidence of abnormality. They become maladjustments only when extremely inappropriate manifestations handicap the individual who uses them too frequently or too extensively. Examples of terms used for some of the more common adjustment mechanisms or behavior dynamisms are.

1 *Overcompensation*—The behavior resulting from the extreme motivation is much greater than necessary for the situation. If expressed indirectly and to an appropriate degree, it may be a positive substitute activity

2 *Defense Mechanism*—Maintaining a sense of personal worth by resorting to behavior that guards some aspect of the personality from scrutiny by others or by one's self

3 *Identification*—A mental process which expresses itself in the form of an emotional tie with other persons (or situations) in which the individual behaves as if he were the person with whom he has this tie. "Before I do anything, I always ask myself what my 'hero' would want me to do." Also, basking in reflected glory.

4 *Regression*—Reverting to the role of a child or living in an earlier, easier world as a means of escape from present situations of a frustrating or unsatisfying nature, returns to infantile types of behavior. "If I can't be a big businessman in the city, I can go back to the farm of my childhood."

5 *Rationalization*—Reasoning in regard to the problem is distorted to justify an act or opinion which is actually based on other grounds, as in the "sour grapes" or "sweet lemon" or Pollyanna interpretations

6 *Negativism*—Resisting suggestions from others, doing the opposite of what is expected, or, in some cases, doing nothing at all

7 *Conquering Hero Mechanism*—Role playing, in imagination, in which the individual is superior or successful

8 *Suffering Hero Mechanism*—Role playing, in imagination, in which the individual is inferior or attains superiority through his "superior" inferiorities.

✓ 9. *Projection*—The tendency to ascribe to other persons or situations drives

\* The percentages of total admissions, given in parentheses above, should be differentiated from vital statistics of this kind which usually show first admissions, readmissions, and resident population in state mental hospitals. The percentages in parentheses do not total 100 per cent because of difficulty in classifying many patients who are placed under headings such as "other psychoses."

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and complexes that belong to oneself. Ideas of reference and delusions of persecution are examples.

- X<sup>10</sup> *Introjection*—The tendency or act of absorbing the personality of others, or situations, into one's own mental life to the extent of reacting to external events as though they were internal ones. By some, this behavior is considered an extreme form of identification.
- 11 *Egocentrism*—The observer is so tightly tied to his own personality that he is unable to share directly the experiences of others. The term is used also in regard to an act to overcome being ignored and to get attention, even if unfavorable, as a symbol of social approval.
- 12 *Habit spasm*—A convulsive involuntary contraction of a muscle or set of muscles that helps to reduce tension. An unconscious purpose may be attention-getting. "People will notice my twitches."
- 13 *Sexual anomalies*, such as homosexuality, sadism, masochism, and exhibitionism.
- 14 *Invalidism*—Habitual ill health or exaggerated ailment resorted to as a means of dealing with one's problems. It offers the individual an apparently acceptable excuse in his failure to meet his own or others' expectations.

Most persons need not concern themselves about the organic psychoses—the severe breakdowns of the human machinery, or the functional psychoses—the extreme cases of mismanagement of oneself. The physician and psychiatrist must deal with these. In a brief survey of this kind, we must relegate cases which require hospital or institutional treatment to experts who specialize in those problems. Every person, however, has frequent dealings with the psychoneuroses and common adjustment mechanisms. At times every person exhibits symptoms of abnormality, in a mild de-

gree, as 100 per cent management is not common to individuals any more than it is to businesses. "Qualitatively, we are all about the same, quantitatively, we differ widely." This old saying simply means that we all have the same behavior tendencies or traits, but we differ in the extent or degree to which we have them.

A study of the more common adjustment mechanisms, dynamisms, should enable us to recognize when we are using them, to avoid using them excessively, and to abandon inappropriate ones for more effective methods of dealing with our problems.

### *We need a basic pattern for our study of people*

We want to learn to think of human behavior in its dynamic aspects. The human being operates in as natural a manner as do other parts of the physical world. Every human act could be understood if we knew all the pertinent facts. True, we do not know all the important facts needed to understand each person, but we believe that a person's behavior can be understood on the basis of principles that can be learned. To understand an individual we need a pattern for our thinking. Furthermore, we need a pattern for our thinking which is far more meaningful than a mere classification of the individual's behavior. Telling a person how we classify his behavior does not help him; it usually annoys him; furthermore, it sometimes harms him, because he may unconsciously accept the descriptive classification as a model from which to pattern his own behavior.

A classification of human maladjust-

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ments and common mechanisms such as the ones we have listed is somewhat convenient for discussion purposes and record, but in handling people we need a scheme of thinking that is more meaningful. A human being is a living, responding organism and can be under-

stood only when we visualize him as an active, adjusting personality that evolves over a period of years. This means specifically that we can gain little help from statements such as, "He has an inferiority complex," or, "That's a defense mechanism." Such terms should be used mainly



"JUST A 'BUNDLE OF NERVES'" was the title of this advertisement in a "See Your Doctor" campaign of a well-known advertiser. Certainly, members of a family who are in need of medical or psychological treatment should consult trained specialists who can help the patient. Unfortunately, the members of the family who have to live with emotionally unstable, neurotic, or poorly adjusted persons do not have trained specialists to whom they can go in order to learn how to live comfortably with their sick and maladjusted associates. The normally healthy and well-adjusted persons have to adapt themselves as best they can. To make the adaptation, a great deal of insight and patience must be acquired. Eventually, too, it often becomes necessary for the healthier individuals to develop a personal philosophy which recognizes that our associations with difficult personalities force us to strengthen our own personalities. We grow through positive adjustments to our problem friends and situations. The strengths we acquire through our relations with them enable us to attain satisfactions that would not come to us through ease. Furthermore, our insight into their adjustments helps us gain greater insight into our own, and we therefore evaluate our psychological kinships more intelligently and more highly. (Photograph by courtesy of Parke, Davis & Company, Detroit, Michigan.)

as points of departure for our thinking about the individual's problems and the ways he characteristically deals with them

Nor is a knowledge of hereditary factors of much value to anyone who deals with problem persons. We may know, for example, that if one parent has a certain mental disease, the expectancy rate of mental disease for the offspring is 16 per cent, if both parents are so afflicted, the expectancy rate for the children is 68 per cent. This knowledge does not help us in practical situations, because we are always dealing with a specific individual. For example: if we know that both parents of a person have a particular mental ailment, is the subject of our analysis a member of the 68 per cent group who become afflicted or the 32 per cent group who never do become afflicted? Such statistics are of little aid to the educational advisor or the employment man. Often a knowledge of them does much harm, because the man who guides his human relations by means of statistics only is apt to be unfair to the many people to whom the figures do not apply.

Furthermore, many vital statistics have a kind of fatalistic effect on the individual to whom they seem to apply in part. He assumes that, his ancestry being what it is, there is little that he can do about or for himself through his own intelligent effort. This is a most unfortunate notion, because everyone can direct his own psychological development to a surprisingly great extent.

A knowledge of environment has some value in dealing with people but only a very limited value when we deal with a person. The old arguments about heredity versus environment are usually beside the point, because the individual is

not a sum of the two. He is the *product* of the two in interaction. The individual is not a rubber stamp of his background. Rather, he is more like a live rubber ball. He not only rolls in the grooves of his environment but he also bounces away from parts of it. And, like those of a football, his "bounces" are often unpredictable, though a knowledge of the field or area where the "bounce" takes place often enables the experienced observer to predict the direction of some of the "bounces."

Sometimes a football bounces just as one would expect; at other times it veers off in a wholly unexpected direction. On some few occasions, too, it scarcely bounces at all but comes to rest very quickly. This football analogy is somewhat helpful whenever we study a person's environment. To understand any individual in relation to his environment, we should ask three general questions.

1. *To what influences of the environment did he learn to react as expected?* That is, what influences has he adopted? Which ones does he now follow habitually in his life? For example, if he was reared on a farm, does he have a typical farmer's work habits and points of view? Or, if he was reared in the home of a Democrat, is he a Democrat? If he was reared in the slums, does he feel at home in the slums?

2. *To what influences of the environment did he learn to react in an unexpected or opposing manner?* For example, if he was reared on a farm, does he now despise farming and rural life? Similarly, does he dislike Democrats, and does he feel out of place in the slums?

3. *What influences of the environment might ordinarily be expected to affect the*



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*personality but have really had no effect?* Some people fail to react to certain influences in terms of acceptance or rejection, they react neither favorably nor unfavorably. Some farmers' sons grow up and neither like nor dislike the farm. The same principle can be noted when we

study any person's background. His early environmental history may have had very little effect on many of his present habits

These three concepts regarding the environment—*acceptance, rejection, and indifference*—compel us to seek for more



"I SIMPLY CAN'T STAND being cooped up here any longer!" The environment is incidental; the way the individual adjusts to the environment is most important. Illustration after Ralph Fuller (Reproduced by special permission from the artist and The Saturday Evening Post (November 25, 1933 issue), copyright 1933 by The Curtis Publishing Company.)

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than a knowledge of the peculiar person's environment.

The employment man who collects bulging files of data about his applicants should know how to organize and interpret the data. The college personnel man who has extensive card records of facts about each student needs a method of viewing the facts. The parent who learns the hundreds of incidents in the development of his children needs a pattern for his thinking in order to arrange the facts into psychological significance. Anyone who associates with people in business, in school, or in their homes should have a systematic approach to the interpretation of human personalities. The approach described here is known as the adjustment concept.

### ***The adjustment concept***

We can, if we wish, explain human behavior by many different systems of thinking, as shown by the several schools of thought in modern psychology. Each school makes its unique contributions by virtue of the fact that, when we study anything in terms of a given system of thinking, we often gain a new perspective of related matters. This particular system of thinking, the adjustment concept, is used by this writer because it is easily grasped and is most meaningful to persons who do not plan to become highly trained psychologists through years of graduate work in clinics and universities.

To understand a person, we may first think of him as in a state of activity. He is always active, whether he is sleeping, thinking, daydreaming, resting, playing, or working. Even dying is an activity. Some ongoing activities are always present, because the motive of life is to function. For us to think of a living indi-

vidual who is totally inactive would be impossible, for he would be frozen, mummified, or calcified. Basic to our thinking of human beings is the point of view of interaction, the adjustment concept. To say that an individual is always active and that through his activity he develops may be trite, but to appreciate how a personality grows in the adjustment process is not always so simple as it sounds.

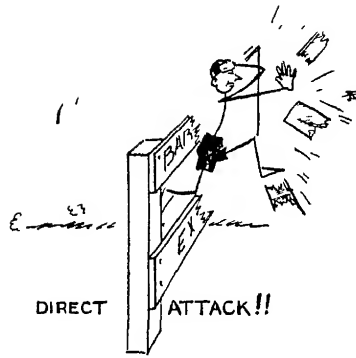
In his activities, the individual is always trying to achieve a satisfying state. In his functioning, his activity frequently is blocked or delayed by difficulties or barriers, and so he must learn how to overcome the difficulties or go around them.

A woodsman exploring in a forest exemplifies the adjustment idea. When he finds an obstruction in his path, he may use direct attack upon it, that is, remove it or go through it. Or he may go around it by means of a substitute or indirect route. Or he may decide to make a different kind of exploration, or even return to his home and do no more exploring at all.

Obviously, if the woodsman has once used a route, he will be apt to use it on the second and succeeding trips over the territory. He may use an old route even though he has found a better or easier one. An important part of the concept is that the woodsman does, at times, make new paths as a result of obstructions in his way. The barriers, often called frustrations, cause him to develop new mental habits and new urges to act.

Let us apply this barrier-adjustment idea to a few everyday situations. Assume that you are a student who is sitting comfortably in class and looking forward to a pleasant school experience. Suddenly the instructor announces an examination

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ADJUSTMENT BY DIRECT ATTACK upon the barrier or problem. The individual is in a state of ongoing activity, such as attending college. He finds that he must take a difficult examination. He studies diligently for the examination and overcomes the difficulty. If he fails in his first attempt, he persists until he succeeds. The original goal is kept and the successful adjustment tends to build up the ego—the individual's feeling of self-worth. His personality is strengthened and he is, to that extent, better prepared to meet future problems that involve volitional effort.

on some part of the course which you do not understand. You are annoyed by the barrier to your pleasant ongoing activity. You must make an adjustment. The adjustment you make will be one or more of the four general varieties.

### 1 *Direct attack* Examples

- a. Study for the examination.
- b. Prepare for the examination by having someone quiz you on the accuracy of your present knowledge.
- c. Outline the subject matter, recite to yourself all parts which you understand, and learn the important parts which are not clear to you.

### 2 *Substitute act of possible positive value.* Examples

- a. Change to another course.
- b. Transfer to another school.
- c. Decide to quit school and find a job in the business world.

### 3. *Substitute acts of negative value* Examples:

- a. Arrange to sit near a good student who will help you during the examination.
- b. Prepare a "crib" for the examination.
- c. Feign illness at the time of the examination and thus postpone or avoid taking it at the designated time.
- d. Accuse the teacher of unfairness.
- e. Berate or ridicule the students who study for the examination.

### 4 *Advanced stages of negative value adjustment* Examples

- a. Imagine yourself the hero of fiction or motion picture adventures and ignore your problem.
- b. Contemplate suicide.

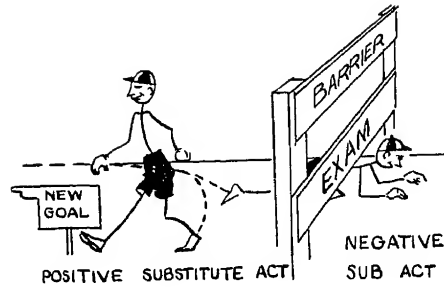
Of course, the student who deals with the examination barrier by *direct attack* also prepares himself to deal more effectively with new or later examinations in the same and other courses. He builds up efficient study habits. His ego or feeling of self-worth is increased in a sound way. He achieves a more satisfying state. His personality is stronger than it was previous to his dealing with the barrier.

A *substitute act* of positive value, at times, may be a more logical adjustment than direct attack. Although the decision to choose a substitute act may result in a feeling of failure with regard to the barrier thus avoided, it is likely to cause the individual to put extra energy into the substitute act. Not every student who fails in his school work and decides to go into business works harder in business than he did in school, but some do. A sense of failure in one field may stimulate the individual to put forth extra effort in another field.

The student who chooses to make an

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ADJUSTMENT BY SUBSTITUTE ACTIVITIES, *positive and negative* Instead of taking the difficult examination, the student may develop a new goal, such as going into business. If he does this, his feeling of self-worth may or may not remain the same, depending upon the extent to which the original goal was associated with pleasant emotional patterns. The evasive substitute activity of negative value is represented by subterfuge. This type of adjustment tends to weaken the personality and to lessen the feeling of self-worth. The reacting person's ability to meet similar problems is decreased by the latter variety of adjustment.



*evasive* adjustment weakens himself for the next problem. His ability has been lessened. The evasive experience has weakened his personality.

Obviously, no person makes direct attack or intelligent substitute act adjustments in every situation. Everyone uses evasion and retreat at times, but the strong personality tends to use the first

two habitually and the weak man ordinarily uses the latter two in dealing with life's problems.

If a given adjustment habit is once firmly established, it is easily repeated in dealing with the same or related barriers. Adjustments begin very early in life and are made every day until the end of life. Each time we deal with a problem, great or small, we contribute toward or detract from the effectiveness of our personalities. The employee who has worked in an unsatisfactory position for a year, a day, or even an hour is no longer quite the same employee that he was when he first began to work. In the course of his employment he has developed new mental habits or tendencies toward new habits. In his reacting he may have acquired either hatred or admiration for a department manager, or for certain kinds of work.

To repeat the adjustment concept, but to apply it to the worker who finds himself in an uncongenial job, the following outline elaborates the idea further.

### 1. *Direct attack* Examples

- a Study the mechanical equipment used in the work, if any is used. Improve its design or invent new equipment.
- b. Study methods of doing the work. Practice the methods and improve them.
- c Study the fellow workers and improve



ADJUSTMENT BY RETREAT: From a photograph of a state hospital patient whose emotional life has been turned wholly inward. He lives in a world of fantasy rather than of reality. His adjustment is of the retreat type.

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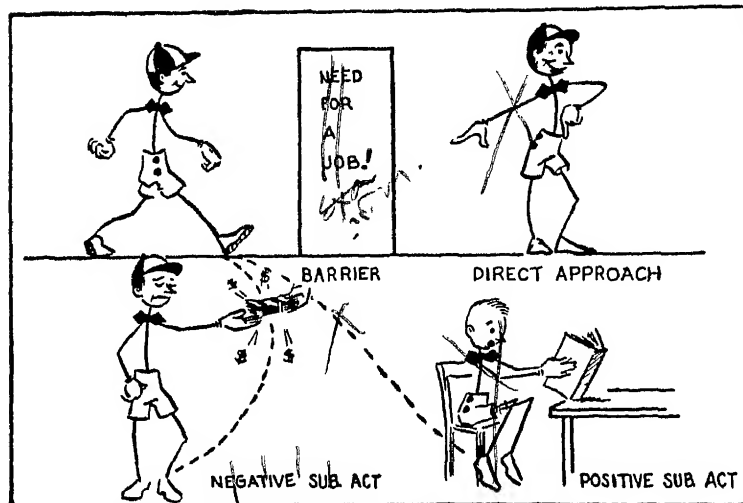
the human relationships Influence the fellow employees and supervisors in order to have them like him as well as enjoy their work more fully

### 2 *Substitute acts of possible positive value* Examples

- a. Obtain or continue to seek a transfer to another job
- b. Obtain or continue to seek employment elsewhere.

### 4 *Advanced stages of negative value adjustment.*

- a. Immerse himself in some mystical cult or pseudo-science such as a Hindu philosophy, astrology, palmistry, etc
- b. Isolate himself and avoid any possible failure by making no attempts to change his status
- c. Long for death and release from all life's problems.



THE EMPLOYEE WHO FINDS his job uncongenial and wishes that he could get a new job can make any one or more of several types of adjustment. He can remain on the job he has, but utilize it for his personal growth. He may also make the adjustment by a substitute act of positive value such as seeking and obtaining another job. He may also remain on the job, but compensate for his dissatisfaction through a hobby, athletics,

church work, art, etc. Substitute acts of negative value are of numerous kinds, such as finding fault with the world, criticizing others unnecessarily, acquiring functional illnesses, immersion in a cult, longing for death, etc. In this illustration, the negative substitute act is illustrated by the individual in the "gimme" response, getting unearned money from others.

- c. Compensate for dissatisfaction through a hobby, athletics, church work, art, etc

### 3. *Substitute acts of negative value.* Examples

- a. Criticise the job, the boss, the fellow workers, or industry as a whole
- b. Feign illness or, as a result of subconscious maladjustment, become too ill to work.
- c. Adopt an air of superiority toward the job.
- d. Feel inferior in the job and avoid thoughts of the work as much as possible.

The worker who habitually deals by direct attack with the problems of his job increases his ability to deal with more difficult jobs. He may never attain any famed expertness, but he tends to feel in control of himself in relation to the problems around him. He earns his own self-respect. He finds that life offers him many opportunities for growth and genuine happiness. He is confident about the future. Furthermore, in the process of adjusting himself to the barriers in his job, he acquires new behavior patterns, such

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as a dislike for certain types of supervision or a liking for certain kinds of work.

If, however, the individual's habitual methods of solving his problems fail to give him satisfaction, he feels frustrated. In *frustration*, continuing or recurrent strong motivation forces the individual to search for a solution to his problem. This searching, largely unconscious, results in highly emotionalized or unorganized behavior that lasts until some effective or seemingly effective solution is found. Frustrated persons are apt to be unusually forceful, persevering, and immune to appeals of logic and reason concerning the area of mental life colored by the frustration. As we shall see later, frustration-motivated individuals are a problem not only to themselves but also to those leaders who try to direct social movements rationally and objectively.

### ***Predisposing and precipitating influences***

Every person has many *predisposing tendencies* when confronted by a new problem. He may be young in years, but he is "old" psychologically. He is a member of a human race which is really millions of years old in terms of biological influences. Furthermore, his bodily equipment—sex, size, glands, muscular and other structures—all contribute predisposing influences in behavior. *Conditionings* (a) from a single intense emotional experience, such as a fright, or (b) from repeated experiences of the same kind, such as customs, habits, beliefs, education, parental training, and the whole culture where he has lived, are additional predisposing influences. These have affected him over relatively long periods of time. They will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 14.

*Precipitating factors* are influences

which act over a short period of time. These are likely to be emotional or exciting states, such as a recent threat, thwarted habit, ridicule, failure, success, fatigue, or disappointment. Obviously, the child who has just been scolded is likely to react to frustration somewhat differently from the way he would react at another time.

No one can unravel all the strands in the web of human personality. Life is too complex. We can, however, collect available facts about ourselves or others and try to see how the known facts arrange themselves into patternful relationships. A knowledge of psychology and the ability to use intelligently such concepts as adjustment often contribute to the art of dealing with people. It is especially useful to those who have counseling, guidance, or executive responsibilities. A starting point in this kind of analysis of a person is the sources of frustration or barriers.

### ***Barriers***

When we note the peculiar behavior of a maladjusted individual, we observe his peculiarity and then try to think of the way it originated. We try to think of the person's problems.

The sources of frustration in the lives of different individuals vary greatly, but we can mention typical barriers that necessitate adjustment. The problems or difficulties that stimulate the individual to seek adjustment may be a part of the external environment or within the personality. The particular nature of the barrier is not especially important. Any environmental situation or characteristic of a person may constitute a barrier. The important factor is the meaning of the situation or characteristic to the individ-



THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN in the morning just before feeding time. The mother was standing at the side of the bassinet holding the bottle. The baby was annoyed at the delay and began to cry. *Frustration* is as old as life. There is only one time when the human being has no frustrations, and that is in the period before birth. Frustration begins at birth and ends at death. (Photograph by Kenneth P. Marsh, Detroit, Michigan.)

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ual who is adjusting. A feeling of resentment, inadequacy, or inferiority toward the situation often indicates the presence of a barrier.

The two broad classes of barriers are (a) lack of capacity and (b) those which require abrupt changes in behavior. Obvious examples of capacity difficulties that demand adjustment are organic or physical conditions such as poor health or a crippled limb. Or there may be a chronic ailment or disability such as asthma, tuberculosis, heart murmur, epilepsy, color-blindness, or flat feet.

In the mental group may be found capacity problems such as low general intelligence, specific inaptitudes, emotional conflicts, bad habits, feelings of insecurity, lack of opportunity for training, and convictions of one's inferiority. Perhaps the most common personal difficulties are those which result from a lack of recognition for sincere efforts. This last type often occurs among children and students who think that they are doing well and then later find through comparisons with others that they appear to be inferior.

Bodily and mental punishment may accentuate the feelings of inadequacy. Many an introverted adult represents the effects of too many or too severe lashings of rod or tongue by the parent of the child. Any activity or situation may become a barrier if the individual is given punishment, neglect, or no approval in connection with it. Conversely, any activity may be satisfying if praise and prestige follow or accompany the activity.

Environmental barriers may be poverty, inhibiting customs or laws, and lack of opportunity for expression of the biological tendencies. However, the barrier objectively considered is not nearly so important as the interpretation that the

person gives it. The same situation that is a barrier to one person may be a challenge or an opportunity to another. Among nations, a sterile soil and a harsh climate may result in the development of a virile nation, whereas a land of plentiful resources may have a race of fruitless people. Similarly, a poverty-stricken home may stimulate a child to achieve eminence while the son of the rich man on the hill becomes a weakling. It is significant that neither the poor boy nor the rich boy necessarily becomes strong or weak. The way each adjusts to his situation determines whether he will be strong or weak.

Nor can we hope to remove all difficulties from the life of anyone. To do so would only handicap him for life as it is. As Herbert Spencer said, "The ultimate result of shielding men from the effects of folly is to fill the world with fools."

Throughout infancy, childhood, youth, and adulthood, the individual is constantly bombarded by experiences in which he is shown his inferiorities and inadequacies. For many people, a few experiences of inadequacy cause them to develop habits, through their adjustments, which make ordinary activities, such as the study of certain school subjects, very difficult. Reasons for many inabilityes and peculiarities can be traced to the early experiences of the child.

One girl could not be convinced that she was pretty enough to make a favorable impression on others. She had two sisters who were praised frequently for their beauty. One day a wealthy aunt visited the home and again praised the two sisters for their beauty. On one occasion, however, the aunt realized that she should make a favorable comment regarding the plain child and so she said to her: "And



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you, my dear, have a kind face " In spite of the fact that many people would rather have a kind face than mere beauty, this girl, who is now a woman, prefers work that isolates her from other people, especially those who are attractive in appearance. Any vocation that would require emphasis upon personal beauty or attractive attire is out of the question for her. She has given up all hope of making herself attractive to others.

*Any situation may be a barrier to one person but a means of satisfaction to another* Personal appearance became a great barrier to the above-mentioned girl because her own appearance was associated with feelings of inferiority However, to some women their personal appearance is an outstanding means of attaining satisfactions Similarly, the study of music is a barrier to many children whose parents compel them to practice on the piano for hours. To other children, music is the one satisfying outlet for self-expression Hundreds of school subjects, jobs, and activities are "meat for some and poison for others" The nature of the activity is incidental What the activity means, represents, symbolizes, or is associated with in the mind of the individual is the important factor.

Tasks that are easy to perform tend to be satisfying but are not necessarily so. Tasks that are difficult to perform tend to be annoying but are not necessarily so. Many students can learn certain school subjects far more easily than their classmates but prefer to study other subjects that are more difficult for them. Many housewives can do their housework with ease but dislike it. Many employees can do the tasks in their jobs with ease but prefer to change their vocations We should not assume that easily performed acts are always satisfying.

## ***How executives contribute to the better adjustments of employees***

Every executive can, and many do, facilitate the direct-attack adjustments of individual employees The executive may apply the adjustment concept when he finds that a salesman's volume has fallen off suddenly in a territory where the business activity of other companies has increased

The manner of the failing salesman may indicate that something is bothering him The astute manager tends to make inquiries regarding the failing salesman's habits, health, home conditions, and so on If he finds that the salesman's wife has learned to consider her husband's job a socially inferior one since her nagging mother moved into the home, the manager can discuss the situation sympathetically and prove that the husband's job is important A few special assignments that include a title may be all that is necessary to build up the salesman's self-respect and social prestige with the wife and mother-in-law.

Psychological insight and skill are applied in business whenever an executive feels with, thinks with, and works with employees who have disturbing emotional problems. The executive may not be able to give a technical psychological name to the employee's variety of inappropriate adjustment, but if he discovers the bothersome problem, notes the kind of evasive adjustment being made, and then instills confidence in the employee by showing him the possible direct-attack methods, the employee's behavior is likely to improve.

The adjustment concept causes us to recognize that we should not think of an employee as *being* this or that—as, for example, being conceited or sarcastic

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when dealing with difficult customers. The individual is not conceited or sarcastic, but he *uses* conceit or sarcasm when dealing with another personality. He has acquired the habit of using certain evasive methods, "personality tools," when dealing with other personalities.

Similarly, when an executive's stenographer becomes irritable, the psychologically minded executive tries to discover her problem. Perhaps her father has lost his job and makes little attempt to find another because he assumes that his employed daughter will support him. Or the girl's boyfriend may have become interested in someone else. Or any one of thousands of other problems may have occurred, each of which might necessitate that the stenographer make an adjustment. During the process of adjustment, the insight and encouragement of the executive may be very helpful.

Of course, many men have attained the kind of growth characterized by the personality tools of direct attack and intelligent substitute acts even though they have never studied psychology. The psychologists have simply clarified the process of adjustment so that people who lack psychological insight may the more quickly acquire it.

The significance of the classification of problem-solving methods has been ably stated by Robert H. Seashore:

It has thus far been implied that in dealing with any maladjustment it is first essential to determine the nature of the problem being faced. The next step is to determine what the individual is doing about the problem, and if his efforts are not successful, to consider the other methods of problem solving that might be considered as desirable alternatives. The writer has employed this classification in several ways, the simplest being a discussion designed to assist students of elementary psychology in starting to plan

a career. In this case they were asked to describe what they would like to achieve (either in general terms or by giving illustrations of other people's similar achievements) in each of five areas of endeavor: 1. educational, 2. vocational, 3. avocational, 4. leadership, 5. personal development. It was found that the students could do this fairly easily, particularly when they were urged to set goals which they would really be willing to work for if they thought there was some reasonable possibility of success. After listing the advantages and handicaps which they had for achieving each of the five goals they were then asked to describe what methods, if any, they had employed up to the present time to achieve each goal. If these did not appear productive of the desired results, they were then to examine the classification for alternative methods which might overcome the difficulties so far encountered. This procedure is based on the idea that the formulation of a problem is often more than half of the total process of solution, and that a systematic method of procedure may save both the student and his advisors a great deal of time and wasted effort.

Perhaps the greatest importance of this classification for clinical psychology is that of attempting to analyze personality characteristics in terms of *habitual methods of responding to the principal types of situations which every person faces*.

... Furthermore, the classification in terms of problem solving behaviors is an operational one which tells what the person has been doing so far and lists the principal alternative things which he or his consultants could do in the future to provide a more satisfactory solution. The fact that such a classification is not a static one is perhaps one of its most hopeful features, in that it breaks down such large and vague concepts as social maladjustment into things which the person can do about particular problems in his social situation. In this it parallels the work of all individualized remedial education such as athletic coaching, time and motion studies on industrial operations, where it is already recognized that technical skill and guidance can often produce marked improvements in individual performance. From this point of view clinical psychology gets beyond the

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problem of diagnosis and endeavors to place a greater emphasis on the provision of technical facilities for assisting the individual to deal with his problems more accurately. Both the consultant and the client can contribute actively to such counseling, and if the method is made clear, there should be greater probability of the client's being able to develop skill in the methods of handling future problems himself, or at least recognizing when he needs expert assistance.<sup>6</sup>

### *We admire direct-attack adjustments*

The human race has progressed because heroic individuals have used positive adjustments in the face of adverse situations. Most outstanding men have had difficult problems that required exceptional persistence in the use of direct attack. A remarkable example is that of a young man who received a life sentence to a midwestern prison. The first ten months he worked in the shirt shop. Then he managed to be transferred to the prison library, when an event occurred that made him determine to help his family. Let him tell the story.

Though I was getting along as nicely as could be expected, those near and dear to me were suffering. My father, who for some time had been failing in health and financially, suffered a stroke of paralysis. The doctors feared he would go completely blind. With the warden's permission, I spent a few hours at father's bedside.

All through the visit I could see that something was worrying him. Finally he explained that he feared for the welfare of my mother and sisters should anything serious happen to him. Not knowing how I was going to do it, I promised to look after them, if he were called to the Great Beyond. This promise eased his mind.

So I returned to the grim gray walls with a great deal more responsibility on my shoulders than I knew how to carry.

The next question was: How *could* I help? That was what worried me. Talk about being

helpless! In prison for life—and penniless—that is a deuce of a fix. But when a fellow *has* to do a thing, generally there's a way, if he'll just try . . .

Call it Luck, Chance, Fate—or what-have-you. Certainly it was a "lucky break" for me when a fellow-inmate showed me an article in *Postage*, telling how Louis Victor Eytinge, a prisoner in the Arizona penitentiary, had learned advertising and won fame by writing sales literature. Eytinge was called "The Man Who Came Back" . . .

Well, the next step was to get an advertising course and learn the business from the ground up. That's exactly what I did. But getting that course in advertising would have been *some job* for "yours truly" had it not been for the warden and the chaplain, for I was plumb broke, as flat as last year's tires. They arranged with the State Educational Department and the International Correspondence Schools to purchase courses on almost any beneficial subject desired. So I got mine in advertising.

That was the beginning of my career in the advertising business. But man! Oh, man! It didn't tell me a thing about all the hell I'd have to go through before I ever made a nickel out of the business. Nor did it reveal that I was going to spend month after month of worry, and endanger my health, by studying too much and working too hard under adverse circumstances . . .

Anyone who likes to study can accomplish a lot, if everything is comfortable and quiet, where they can concentrate on the subject. But studying here is different! Generally, in the adjoining cell on the left, a jazz-king is playing Yankee Doodle on a squawking Victrola, in the right-hand apartment, a radio fiend is capturing all the beautiful static on the air, above, on the next range, perches a musical genius trying his best to pull sounds out of an old accordion, and three other fellows in the same cell are all trying to talk at once. A fine chance for a fellow who has to concentrate on studying and composing letters to tell a few thousand prospects why they should use a certain suction pump or get their shoes repaired at a certain cobbler's inn. Still, it *can* be done if you *want* to do it!

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Because of this confusion, before the lights would go out at 9 15 each night, I could not study and get the most out of it, so I often stayed up until 12 or 1 o'clock to study after the other prisoners were in bed. This could be done by moving the book back and forth in the small shaft of light that filtered through the latticed steel bars. After a short siege of such study, I became thin and weak. Because of ill-health, I was transferred to the hospital as night nurse. There I could better care for myself by getting out into the fresh air evenings.

I kept on studying, harder than ever. Sometimes, instead of exercising, I went upstairs to delve deep into the realms of advertising at my desk of store-boxes.

Such persistence was bound to be rewarded. Finally I began making money. My prospects were convinced that I could write productive advertising literature. My one aim, above all, was to please. Often I wrote copy over and over again to get it just right. Thus far I have never had a dissatisfied customer. Most of them praise my advertising work and come back for more.

Here are a few illustrations.

My receipts have totaled more than \$18,000. The most taken in during any one month was about \$500. Since father died, about two years ago, I have supported my mother and several small sisters. An editor of a mail-order trade journal has hired me to write one advertising and business article a month for a year; another has hired me to conduct an Advertising Consultation Department in his magazine, a business trade journal, another magazine in the financial field has offered a position as Advertising Manager, which I was unable to accept, because of being unable to leave my present abode.<sup>7</sup>

During the eleven years he spent in prison, he managed to train himself and succeed in a vocation where competition is unusually keen. Many of his clients were surprised when they learned that he was a prisoner, but he is now a free man, the governor having pardoned him.

### ***Adjustments are more important than environment***

From the standpoint of the incidence of mental disease, as discussed in the early part of this chapter, the adjustment concept means that the environment is often an incidental part in our important mental habits. The environment may be paced slowly or rapidly and be relatively simple or complex. The individual's adjustment to the pace, whatever it is, is what counts. In other words, it is just as easy to drive an automobile at fifty miles an hour as to drive a horse at twenty—once the driver has learned the art. The art of living is an individual matter and must be learned by the individual regardless of when or where he lives.

Whenever we compare the lives of those who succeeded in dealing with the conditions of life with those who have failed, we find that the strong persons developed good adjustment habits and the failures developed evasive and retreat habits. The same observation applies to the people of a nation. The strength of a nation does not wholly depend upon natural resources nor on geographical location but mainly upon the strength of personality of its people. We need only compare the resources and people of the various nations, as, for example, Switzerland versus Russia, to see ample evidence of this axiom. The leaders and citizens of the United States must recognize this basic truth or suffer through the lack of its application. If too many individuals learn to lean upon charity or other artificial aids rather than upon their own strong adjustment habits, this nation will become weaker and the eventual prey of the stronger. This means that everyone, regardless of race, culture,

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or age, can benefit from a thorough study of the adjustment process in order that he may guide his own adjustments intelligently

*Good adjustment* means that the person to whom it is ascribed is one who usually uses the direct-attack and positive-value mechanisms in dealing with his problems. He feels that he has attained or is attaining goals that are satisfying to him and approved by society. When he helps to solve problems of value to society, he never exploits or injures other persons to attain his ends. He believes in and seeks to enhance those values which the race has found necessary for survival and for spiritual growth, such as truthfulness, altruism, and objective thinking. He feels that he "belongs" and that he is needed where he finds himself. He utilizes the immediate situation for further growth in his ability to deal with new and more difficult problems that befall him. He enjoys life in-

telligently and shares his enjoyments

One purpose of education in general and of psychology in particular is to assist the individual in learning those adjustment habits which are of the direct-attack and positive variety. You and I, as laymen in the field of mental hygiene, can do very little to assist the psychotic, but we can do a great deal toward the development of sound mental habits in ourselves and our associates.

Tables 9 and 10 will enable the reader to see a general outline of the adjustment concept. This list of barriers and adjustments is not intended to be exhaustive, nor is any one item of behavior supposed to be fixed regarding its classification. As previously stated, any variety of behavior can be classified only in relation to its context or setting. However, a brief examination of these tables should help the reader in developing an alertness to the kinds of adjustment which he can observe in his everyday experiences.

TABLE 9

### EXAMPLES OF BARRIERS TO WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTS

#### I "Capacity" barriers

- A *Insufficient capacity* to perform satisfactorily the activities that others expect the individual to perform or that he himself expects to perform
  - 1. Organic or physical.
    - a Poor health.
    - b Atypical body shape or size.
    - c. Endocrine imbalance
    - d. Lack of athletic ability
    - e Defective sensory equipment, such as deafness
    - f Defective motor equipment, such as stiff joints.
    - g. Unattractive personal appearance, real or fancied.
  - 2. Intellectual
    - a Intelligence too low; for example, inability to do satisfactory school work or to handle jobs requiring brain work.
    - b Ability evaluated too high, for example, individual's parent expects him to be an honor student or an accomplished musician
    - c. Specific incapacities, such as lack of ability in mathematics.
  - 3. Social
    - a. Lack of friends and inability to make friends
    - b. Lack of ability to maintain ego in the face of bullying, ridicule, snubs, nicknames, and so forth.

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TABLE 9 (Cont)

- c Competing with superiors, for example, an average student rooms with a bragging superior student
- B *Capacity too great* for required or present activities
  - 1 Rating of individual's capacity by parent, teacher, mental examiner, or supervisor much lower than it actually is
  - 2 Constant association with inferiors in education, health, or social development
  - 3 Environment unstimulating, as among children of foreigners and among fellow workers who set poor examples, working hours too long for normal development, and so forth
- II Barriers arising from a *change* in activities
  - A Barriers arising because the individual is compelled to change his activities *abruptly*
    - 1 Birth of another child in a family in which the individual was an only child and a transfer of affection from the older child to the newborn.
    - 2 Adoption into a strange family.
    - 3 Death of a loved person
    - 4 Sex experiences that occurred too early in life and could not be continued satisfactorily.
    - 5 Disappointment in love, betrayal of confidence
    - 6 Conflicts in love that require immediate adjustment
    - 7 Sudden change from a higher to a lower standard of living.
    - 8 Sudden change from a lower to a higher standard of living
    - 9 Loss of a job, new job not satisfactory.
  - B. Barriers resulting from the individual's *lack of training or preparation* to meet his problems and his being thus compelled to accept new activities
    - 1 Normal associations with other children forbidden by parents, consequently, child or adult now adapts himself to new environments or contacts with great difficulty
    - 2 Puritanical, austere, or unsympathetic parents
    - 3. Parents who have been too lenient and have not trained their child to solve adult problems, such as the wise spending of money, the acquisition of proper habits, freedom of choice, etc
    - 4 Teachers who do not understand their pupils
    - 5 Disinterest of parents in the child, broken home, mother who is employed or who is interested in other activities more than in the child's development
    - 6 Compulsion to continue an unwanted education or to study subjects of no interest, such as music, languages, etc
    - 7 Compulsion to take an unsatisfactory job
    - 8 Association with superiors in studies or in work
    - 9. Association with persons of greater wealth, refinement, ability, or charm, and a feeling of inferiority caused by the differences
    - 10 Association with others of assumed superior race or nationality
  - C Barriers arising from the *continuance of activities* that should have been superseded by other activities
    - 1 Remaining in a social environment too long for personal development.
    - 2 Remaining in a job too long
    - 3 Continuation into adulthood of inefficient or childish habits, such as poor study habits, hisping, temper tantrums, sullenness
    - 4 Continuation into adulthood of childhood emotional tendencies, such as parent fixations *Oedipus complex, Electra complex*
    - 5 Clinging to outmoded religious creeds that appear to be out of harmony with new experiences—a condition found among some college students
  - D Frequent *interruptions* of ongoing activities
    - 1 Frequent change of school
    - 2 Frequent changes in the home.
    - 3 Frequent changes of home town.
    - 4. Frequent shiftings of tasks or of instructions in work.
    - 5 Reprimands by superiors.
    - 6. Naggings by mate
    - 7 Frequent inhibition of desired acts that are not approved by society and the aroused energy of which is not directed into satisfying channels but accumulates from repeated thwartings.

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TABLE 10

## EXAMPLES OF ADJUSTMENT ACTIVITIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL

- I Adjustment by *direct attack* upon the problem
- A As applied to any problem
1. Repeated attempts to solve the problem
  2. Stoicism
  3. Enjoyment of difficulty
  4. Refusal to accept defeat
  5. Admission of the problem, recognition of its true nature, and treatment of it through intelligence and insight
- B As applied to an employee's situation when he wishes to grow through his work
- 1 Study and improve the equipment of the job
  - 2 Study and improve the methods of work
  - 3 Study the fellow workers and improve the human relationships.
- II *Positive substitute activities* that often enable the individual to go around a barrier or a problem
- A Activities in dealing with people
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 Doing favors for others   | 15 Doing stunts or tricks                   |
| 2. Taking positions of leadership                                     | 16 Persuading people                        |
| 3. Being active in organizations, such as the church, a club, a lodge | 17 Selling things to people                 |
| 4 Being socially popular  | 18 Entertaining or amusing others           |
| 5 Speaking in public  | 19 Improving or correcting others           |
| 6. Attending social functions   | 20 Helping those who are weaker             |
| 7 Debating  | 21 Taking care of children                  |
| 8 Making new acquaintances  | 22 Impressing the opposite sex              |
| 9 "Playing politics"  | 23 Seeking the approval of others           |
| 10 Playing games with people  | 24 Teaching others                          |
| 11 Analyzing others   | 25 Identification with another personality. |
| 12 Supervising others   |   |
| 13. Associating with inferiors  |   |
| 14 Associating with superiors   |   |
- B. Intellectual activities
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 Studying                               | 5 Creating mechanically                                 |
| 2 Developing money-making schemes        | 6 Inventing new systems, such as for production control |
| 3 Collecting stamps, books, and so forth | 7 Studying and developing philosophies.                 |
| 4 Creative writing                       |   |
- C Physical or manual activities
- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1 Mechanical work                               | 3 Physical labor      |
| 2 Household work, such as sewing, cooking, etc. | 4 Outdoor work        |
|   | 5 Athletic activities |
- D Emotional activities
- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 Painting, or studying art             | 4 Religious activities          |
| 2 Studying music, vocal or instrumental | 5 Impersonating others, acting. |
| 3 Writing or reading poetry             | 6. Symbolical behavior          |
- III. *Negative substitute or evasive activities*
- A. Handicaps to the individual
- |                               |                              |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Criticizing others          | 6. Bluffing, conceit         |
| 2. Annoying or teasing others | 7 Cynicism                   |
| 3 Rowdiness                   | 8 Sarcasm                    |
| 4 Bullying                    | 9 Argumentative responses.   |
| 5 Air of superiority.         | 10 Refusal to make decision. |

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TABLE 10 (Cont)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>B Mere annoyance to others, or not positively developmental when carried to extreme degree</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Distinctive mannerisms</li> <li>2 "Show-off" behavior</li> <li>3 Doing tricks or stunts</li> <li>4 Joining organizations merely "to belong"</li> <li>5 Mimicry</li> <li>6 Personal adornment</li> <li>7 Emphasis on clothing</li> <li>8 Talkativeness</li> <li>9 Exaggeration</li> </ol> <p>C Serious evasive habits indicating minor maladjustments</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Excessive daydreaming</li> <li>2 Regression</li> <li>3 Projection</li> <li>4 Introjection</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10 Fictionizing</li> <li>11 Overagreeableness</li> <li>12 Travel in order to get away from difficulties.</li> <li>13 Exaggerated attempts to impress the opposite sex</li> <li>14 Attending movies frequently.</li> <li>15 Excessive reading of fiction</li> <li>16 Ancestry worship</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 Invalidism</li> <li>6 Sulkiness</li> <li>7 Extreme introversion.</li> <li>8 Alcoholism.</li> </ol> |
|--|--|

### IV Retreat adjustments

- A Solitude, stay-at-home habits to avoid ordinary problems.
- B Mysticism.
- C Living in another world—pronounced escape from reality
- D Death wish and suicidal tendencies

### PROJECTS

- 1 Read Table 9 and check the barriers you have had in the course of your adjustment history. Select one of your barriers, preferably of the kind that would not embarrass you if a description of it were read by a friend or teacher.
  - a Write a brief description of the barrier or problem and the adjustment you made to it
  - b. State how the barrier and your adjustment to it have affected your own personality in dealing with others, in doing school work, or in earning your living
  - c. If you have a friend available for the purpose, ask him to read your description of your barrier and your adjustment. To what extent does he agree or disagree with your interpretation of your own psychological conclusions?
- 2 Hendrik Willem Van Loon was reported as having said
 

"The purpose of education is to get a perspective of yourself so that you can understand yourself in relation to those around you. It enables you to have an active and pleasant life. It enables you to go through the world with the least amount of friction and a proper amount of understanding. That is all education is supposed to do . . ."

  - a Let's look at our colleges and see what is going on. We find that they are doing little in the way of educating students. The colleges in the United States are simply big play pens where the incompetent can send their children for four years."
  - b. Do you agree with Van Loon that colleges "are simply big play pens"?
  - b. What evidence can you offer to refute his statement?
- 3 "Virginia Martin, 18, Salt Lake City, Utah, one-armed stenographer, turned in the only perfect copy during a recent typing contest"—*American Magazine*, February, 1935
 

What term would you apply to her adjustment to her handicap?
- 4 In this book, the major criterion of good adjustment or psychological maturity is the degree to which the adjustment helps the individual in the development of his ability to deal adequately with new and more difficult problems. Leon J. Saul, in his book *Emotional Maturity* (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1947), Chapter 1, offers additional criteria of



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emotional maturity. Stated very briefly, these are:

1. Does the child achieve the capacity to live independently of the parent organism?
2. Does the child enjoy the *giving* of himself in the activities of play, work, and social relations?
3. Is he relatively free from hampering feelings of inferiority, egotism, and competitiveness?
4. Do his standards and ideals of himself contribute toward growth as well as toward restraint?
5. Has he passed from the infantile stages of self-gratification to "object interest" in people and things outside himself to the levels of love and productivity?
6. Are his fears and angers controlled and directed toward creative rather than destructive ends?
7. Does he have a firm sense of reality?
8. Is he flexible and adaptable?

"We have now mentioned eight of the major aspects of the emotional development of man and some of the characteristics of maturity to which each leads. This list is not exhaustive; these aspects are interrelated and are not all on the same level. But we have tried to discern some of the forces in the personality which are basic and from which the many other attributes of maturity are derived. We have seen that when the development is fulfilled the adult is predominantly independent and responsible, with little need to regress, and also is giving and productive, although still able to relax and to receive normally, he is co-operative rather than egotistical and com-

petitive, he is in relative harmony with his conscience, which easily integrates with his mature feelings and behavior, his sexuality is free and integrated with mating and responsible productive activity, both sexual and social, his hostility toward others and toward himself is minimal but is freely available for defense and constructive use, his grasp of reality is clear and unimpaired by the emotional astigmatism of childhood, and freed from childhood patterns, he is discriminating and highly adaptable. And among the many results of such development, his anxiety is at a minimum.

"It cannot be too strongly emphasized that maturity means not merely the *capacity* for such attitudes and functioning—but also the ability to *enjoy* them fully. It means that the individual now derives pleasure from the exercise of his adult powers and not only from his infantile demands. In the neuroses there is typically a protest against the adult productive, responsible activities and guilt and shame over the childish impulses, each vitiates the other. Normally, they are in such proportion and relationship that both are enjoyed."<sup>8</sup>

- a. Can you name an adult who has attained this high level of maturity?
- b. If the most mature persons whom you know have not attained this level of maturity in all its aspects, does that mean that the individual should feel psychologically inferior? Which is the more important for the individual to insist upon complete maturity for himself or to seek to gain a sense of growth for himself, a never-ending quest?

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### 3 Adjustment by substitute activities often of some positive value

*Frustrations and feelings of inadequacy often result in adjustments such as compensation, radicalism, or identification. Certain adjustments, though rather unusual, give the individual the motivation which enables him to apply himself to a life program or vocation. If the object of the motivation becomes a program that serves others in the ways they wish to be served, the motivated person is likely to become successful or even famous.*

EDGAR RICE BURROUGHS, AUTHOR OF THE Tarzan stories, is one of the world's most successful writers. His books have been translated into fifty-six languages and dialects. Twenty-five million copies have been sold.

Alva Johnston has given us a psychological analysis of this world-famous writer from which the following paragraphs are taken:

Burroughs is clearly the man to tell the 130,000,000 Americans how to write. His life story ought to be the supreme textbook. The main rules for literary training that can be gathered from the experiences of Burroughs are:

1. Be a disappointed man.
2. Achieve no success at anything you touch
3. Lead an unbearably drab and uninteresting life.
4. Hate civilization.

5. Learn no grammar
6. Read little
7. Write nothing
8. Have an ordinary mind and commonplace tastes, approximating those of the great reading public
9. Avoid subjects that you know about.

Burroughs had been an ill-paid employee and an unsuccessful small businessman for fifteen years before he wrote a word of fiction. The great difficulty in basing a college training on his rules is that of compressing into four years all the dullness, wretchedness, and futility which it took Burroughs fifteen years to assimilate.

Burroughs started at twenty as a cattle drover and then became an employee on a gold dredge in Oregon. For a time he was a railroad policeman in Salt Lake City. He put in stretches as an accountant, as a clerk and as a peddler. His most important position was that of head of the stenographic department of Sears-Roebuck, in Chicago. A docile employee, he was never fired. An inveterate

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reader of help-wanted ads, he was constantly obtaining new positions not quite equal to his old ones. Added to that, he was always ready to join his own pennilessness to the pennilessness of some other man, and to found a partnership on any naive dream of avarice.

During his entire business career he never earned as much as his prep-school allowance. Twice he was compelled to pawn his family heirlooms in order to buy food for his wife and children. His failure as a businessman was so complete that he was reduced to earning a living by writing hints on how to become a successful businessman.

He was too poverty-stricken to pay for any of the tired businessman's relaxations, but he hit upon a free method of making himself feel better. When he went to bed he would lie awake, telling himself stories. His dislike of civilization caused him frequently to pick localities in distant parts of the solar system. Every night he had his one crowded hour of glorious life. Creating noble characters and diabolical monsters, he made them fight in cockpits in the center of the earth or in distant astronomical regions. The duller the day at the office the weirder his nightly adventures. His waking nightmares became long-drawn-out action serials.

Burroughs had given away serials to himself for five years or more before he learned that he could sell them. He had become a master of the slaughter-house branches of fiction.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, many men have failed in business to the depth reached by Burroughs but they did not happen to adjust to failure in a way which pleased people. Burroughs' adjustment to his problems not only satisfied himself but also satisfied certain psychological needs of millions of other people who became readers of his books. The important point for us to keep in mind is not that a man has problems or failures but how he adjusts

to his barriers, and whether his adjustments have value for other people as well as satisfaction for himself.

Whenever we study the lives of famous men and women, we are likely to find that their chief psychological assets were their adjustments to severe handicaps. Beethoven was handicapped by deafness but wrote some of the world's best music. Byron's clubfoot and his poverty-stricken neurotic parents gave him a sense of inadequacy for which he compensated by writing poetry. Demosthenes and Moses were stutterers and yet both became famous leaders. Benjamin Disraeli suffered from ozena, a degenerative disease of the mucous membrane of the nose that produces a constant stench from the nostrils, but he became a prime minister of England. Arturo Toscanini, successively conductor of the Metropolitan Opera Company, the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, the National Broadcasting Company Symphony Orchestra, compensated for his near-sightedness by developing a remarkable memory. Steinmetz, though deformed in body, left an imprint on our civilization by means of his genius for pure research.

The great men of the world have had all kinds of personal problems—some severe, some minor. Many factors entered into their success—too many for us to unravel clearly and completely. The nature of their handicaps is less important than the intensity of effort which resulted from adjustment to the handicaps. Certain it is that many of life's biggest prizes go to those with physical \* or mental handicaps, real or imaginary. Perhaps if the progress of the world depended upon

\* Alfred Adler has stressed the idea and given many examples of compensation brought about by some organ inferiority. See "A Study of Organ Inferiority and Its Psychological Compensation," *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph*, 1917, for his early writing in this field.

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only the purely normal people (if such exist!) we would all still be living in primitive fashion.

### **Compensatory mechanisms**

Many people of no great importance illustrate the compensatory mechanisms as well as do the famous. For example, many sculptors, musicians, speed typists, experts in fine needlework, men who write name cards with flourishes, and others whose work demands delicateness of touch developed their skills as the result of an effort to compensate for left-handedness. Many of these persons were potentially left-handed but were compelled to change to the right hand.\* Of course, the right-handed person can achieve success in skilled movements just as readily as the left-hander, but the former often lacks the urge. Every individual has some psychological handicaps regardless of bodily health or high intelligence. Barriers to adjustment may or may not be related to intelligence.

The compensatory mechanism is easily recognized when we recall the example of anyone who, being little in stature or having physical defects, habitually assumes a haughty air, a cold gaze, a pompous manner, or a loud voice. Consider some of the military and political leaders of history who are known for their bombast as well as their short stature or physical defects.

Compensatory mechanisms are charac-

terized by extra effort or aggressive conduct in order to defend the ego or feeling of self-worth. The individual's compensatory behavior enables him to reduce the tension caused by feelings of inadequacy. Confronted by a barrier to his ongoing activities, the individual naturally seeks to react in ways which appear to overcome the deficiency, decrease feelings of tension, and give increased feelings of self-worth.

Every person has some defects, and so we expect him to have the desire to feel superior in one or more respects. Each man wants to be worth while in his estimation of himself. If he is frustrated † in the attainment of his goals so that he cannot meet his obstacles in a positive manner, he will do so in an indirect manner. Inferiority cannot be endured. Superiority, or at least a sense of adequacy, must be achieved. A sense of failure, guilt, or shame is hard to accept. For example, the woman who feels inferior may ape the cultured or the rich and attend functions for which she does not care or lectures which she does not understand. Attendance at the opera may be imperative for her, because it puts her into the desired class of those who are admired.

When the individual is confronted with barriers to which he cannot make a direct adequate adjustment, he may seek satisfactions through substitute activities that have positive values. For example, pupils who cannot attain satisfaction in scholarship may do so on the athletic field. Girls

\* The child's stuttering which occasionally accompanies the shift from the use of the left hand to the use of the right hand is not caused by the inability of the brain to make the change but by a sense of inferiority brought about by the parent's or teacher's harsh treatment of left-handedness. When a person loses the use of his writing hand through accident and changes to use of the other hand, no speech defect arises; he is not criticized for his awkwardness.

† An excellent treatment of frustration with examples of adjustments is presented in *Frustration and Aggression*, by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, Sears, et. al, published for The Institute of Human Relations, Yale University Press, 1939. See pages 12-17 for six good illustrations of the concept of frustration. Page 53 presents a summary of principles.

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who do not find their personal appearance attractive may become good students. High school students who find their studies very difficult are apt to quit school and seek jobs. The employee who feels disgraced because his father has been convicted as a criminal may achieve satisfaction by taking up art work, athletics, church work, stamp collecting, or by inventing new machinery.

When we study the lives of some labor leaders, we find that certain barriers confronted them in their earlier years of employment. They were not successful as workers themselves and so they dealt with their failure by helping the workers whom they believed to be as unhappy as themselves. Likewise, businessmen who cannot succeed in business often make an adjustment by entering another type of work, such as teaching. Teachers who cannot attain satisfactions in teaching may make an adjustment by going into business.

Compensations or substitute activities may be useless, even harmful, or they may be of great value to the individual and to society. The man who goes into the business world and finds that he is not a good businessman can substitute for that lack of attainment the satisfactions of church work and fraternal activities. Of course, the normal individual takes some interest in his community, his home, and other phases of good citizenship, but, if he remains in business and makes his outside activities a heavy sideline, he shows that he is not really well adjusted to his job. He is seeking compensation for some lack that he feels in his personality. It is usually well, therefore, that the general manager should frown upon outside activities of employees when those activities absorb very

much time without bringing better adjustments to the man's job.

In this connection, we may ask whether every person goes into a chosen vocation in order to compensate for some inadequacy. Do not education and the examples of others have any influence in the choice of work? Of course they have some bearing with many individuals, as when a father tells his son about the money to be made in the legal profession and then has the son talk with some enthusiastic lawyer who convinces the lad that law is the most honorable and remunerative profession. Law, as a vocation, becomes associated with other desirable ideas of prestige, fame and wealth. However, it is also evident that many of the vocations we select are chosen as an avenue of expression for thwarted tendencies. If a boy is a poor athlete, he may take refuge in his books. If he cannot be worth while as a physical specimen, he may become a college professor, a scientist, a statistician, or an accountant.

Many positive or desirable substitute activities are compensations for inadequacies in social relations. The individual who meets barriers that make him feel inadequate may learn to obtain personal satisfactions from being kind to others, public speaking, playing politics, doing tricks, taking care of children, or teaching others. All these habits or tendencies are desirable and may be utilized vocationally. The understanding employer tries to give the employee the type of work that utilizes adjustment tendencies which are already well established.

To the counselor, adjustment by positive substitute activity is very important because evidence of such adjustment is likely to mean that the individual has a strong inner drive. When Daniel Starch

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studied the life histories of one hundred and fifty men by personal interview, analysis of their characteristics indicated that one important factor in the success of the ablest men was their inner drive. These men were divided into three groups: Fifty top executives, heads of America's leading enterprises, whose salaries ranged from \$50,000 to over \$200,000, fifty second line, mid-level executives, whose salaries ranged from \$7,000 to \$20,000; and fifty small businessmen, whose salaries ranged from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

. Of two men with equal intellect, of equal capacity to take on responsibility, or equal skill in handling people, the one with twice the drive will achieve twice as much, or six times as much.

Is it true that most men get to important positions because of wealth or luck?

I carefully searched the careers of our 150 men and found that 9 per cent of the men in the top groups went into their father's business, whereas, 20 per cent of the men in the low group did so.

Two facts are plain: Only one in eight men steps into his father's business, and actually twice as many do so in the low group as in the top group

As to work, I have also diligently searched the careers of our executives and found that 78 per cent of the men in the top level worked hard and long, whereas, only 20 per cent of the men in the low group did so

There are two powerful forces behind the inner drive in great men

The first is their all consuming purpose—the goal from which there is no swerving—the preconceived destination which drives the locomotive on and on

"Great souls have wills, feeble ones have only wishes" is an old Chinese saying

The second force behind the inner drive of great men is not money or material reward

It is emotional—it is the anticipated satisfaction of achievement<sup>2</sup>

The trained personnel man, vocational counselor, executive, and teacher are all interested in studying the individual in order that behavior tendencies may be utilized for greater self-expression. When a personnel man refuses to hire an applicant for a selling job and says to the applicant, "I will not hire you for the sales department because you really would not be happy there," the interviewer has recognized that the applicant's adjustments are not of the kind that would make him satisfied in sales work.

A man may be capable of selling and even have a good record in salesmanship work but still decide that he must do something else because his friends regard salesmanship as Babbitty and he feels inferior as a salesman. Hence, he wishes he were an artist or something respected by his friends. This principle is often important in labor problems.\* Many dissatisfied employees are trying to find forms of self-expression whereby they may escape their feelings of social inferiority and appear superior in the estimation of their associates. The job or experience that causes one man to feel socially superior may cause another to feel inferior. A man's reactions to a job often depend upon how he is attempting to adjust his inner mental life rather than upon the job itself.

Many positive or desirable substitute activities are compensations for personal inadequacies, real or imagined. The person who has difficulty in admitting to others or himself some inadequacy in his

\* Of course, a great deal of labor unrest comes from well-adjusted workers who believe they have a right to a larger share of the income from the business, better conditions of work, and so on. These desires may be no more evasive than those of a merchant who tries to get the highest possible price for his goods.

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personality may try to guard it from scrutiny by others. He develops some modes of behavior that shield or appear to shield him. He often protects himself from anxieties by such *defense mechanisms*, and his associates may learn to avoid any mention of his inadequacy. They know that any mention of his defect, real or imagined, is likely to result in exaggerated behavior or withdrawal from the social situation. Sometimes the individual's tendency to exaggerate some trait in order to draw attention away from a weakness and turn it in another direction results in *overcompensation*.

Usually, individuals who overcompensate are unable to accept defeat. Those who overcompensate work their way out of a difficulty by vigorous attacks. They crave superiority and power, as exemplified in the case of a college student who resented ridicule by his father. When this student was asked to state his three greatest wishes, he gave the following

- 1 Immunity to death for a period of one hundred years. This would give me the means toward a number of personal desires—money, a woman, power to help free the world from oppression, and establish democratic government throughout the world.
- 2 That I find a woman who would always love me. All of the worldly ends that the first wish would grant would not insure that essential to my complete happiness.
- 3 That I retain all the human characteristics I now have. The "superman" role, which the first wish would give me, must not deprive me of the simple joys, sorrows, sympathy and understanding that human beings are endowed with.

There is no doubt indeed that someone who wants to defeat death, to be loved forever, and to combine with his superman role the ability to enjoy the simple joys of daily life, is striving for power and superiority all around. He has to get every-

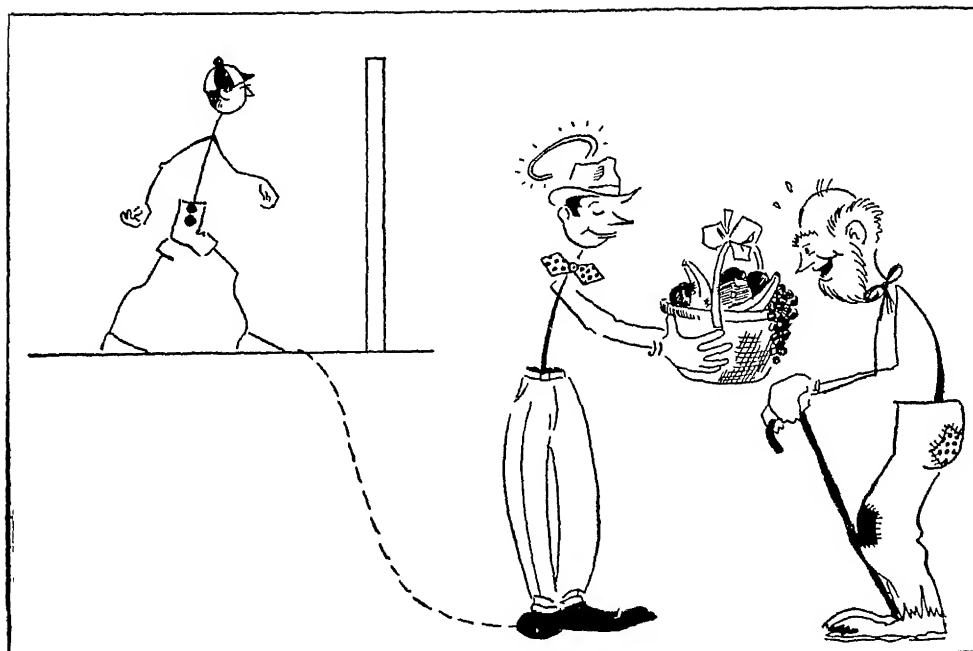
thing he wants, he is unable to sacrifice anything.<sup>3</sup>

### **The Messiah complex**

Any person who finds himself in a predicament because his life is unsatisfying is likely to try to solve his own problem by attempting to alleviate the predicaments of others. The student who plans to do college teaching and then later finds that he cannot do so may adjust himself by helping others who are in a difficulty similar to his. This type of adjustment is, perhaps, one of the most common psychological origins of the professional adviser. Teachers and executives who find their work unsatisfying or difficult often enter the advisory field as counselors, college deans, assistants to principals, welfare workers, or personnel men. Such counselors become engrossed in their work and are likely to be sympathetic toward those who seek their advice. This kind of adjustment is both psychologically sound and socially desirable. When people make comments about a clinical psychologist to the effect that he is trying to help others make better adjustments because he really is trying to help himself make better adjustments, the comments are complimentary. The adjustment is beneficial to both the advisees and the adviser. Personality development should be reciprocal rather than one-sided.

If the person who has made such an adjustment in the direction of helping others has had an intensely unpleasant experience in connection with his problem, he may develop an extreme form of the Messiah complex—the radical reformer's tendency. The radical wishes not only to help those toward whom he is sympathetic, but also to destroy all per-





**IDENTIFICATION WITH THE UNDERPRIVILEGED** Some persons make adjustments in the direction of identification with the misunderstood or unappreciated. Such individuals are apt to seek vocational expression through positions that enable them to be kind and helpful to the unsuccessful members of society. This kind of "uplift" tendency is often found among sons of very successful men, especially when the son feels that he has not met his father's expectations of him.

sons and features connected with the hated situation. He wants a new educational system, or a new economic order, or a new religion, or even an entirely new civilization. Back of every fanatic is an emotional history that explains his fanaticism. Most malcontents have had very unhappy childhoods which have a direct relation to their radical ideas.

#### **Rowdies and radicals**

The rowdy and the radical, who like to annoy or shock their associates, may have their desires to be noticed directed into worthy channels. Any skillful teacher knows that she can direct a rowdy pupil's impulses into better channels

by assigning to him the task of controlling the other rowdies in the room. Or she may give him recognition by appointing him traffic patrol leader. Or he may be induced to protect the girls instead of teasing them. His rowdiness may be an attempt to gain the limelight, and any personal recognition accompanied with an assignment of responsibility is likely to be more satisfying to him than a continuation of his annoying conduct.

Similarly, the college student who has radical tendencies toward the economic order is likely to moderate his extreme points of view if he is assigned the job of helping some of the chronic down-and-outers. Few experiences are so likely to change the young industrial radical into

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a conservative as the task of hiring some of the industrial misfits, supervising their work, and then paying their wages out of his own money. When he goes into business for himself and observes many a worker's carelessness, tardiness, and irresponsibility toward the employer's needs, he is apt to decide that his former panacea for economic disorders is impracticable.

The college student who realizes that he is considered a radical by his acquaintances often has difficulty in getting a job. Many employers shy away from him. He imagines that they deny him employment because of his "advanced" ideas which clash with their interests. Actually many intelligent employers have little fear of so-called advanced ideas but they realize that the radical employee is rarely a good team-worker. He is likely to be either a free lance or, if in a group, a disturber of the group. Most employers like to feel that their employees like each other and function smoothly as a "team." Hence many avoid the radical for his lack of group integration rather than because of his ideas as such.

Colleges are often accused of having nests of radicals among the student members. Some radicals can be found in any large group, but their numbers in the colleges are relatively small. For example, one study of 3,758 students of four state universities and fourteen church-affiliated colleges indicated that only 22 students made scores on a Conservatism-Radicalism "Opinionaire" that showed definite radicalism. The mean score of all students indicated, if anything, a slight tendency toward conservatism. There was a uniform tendency for seniors to be less conservative than freshmen. Women were uniformly more conservative than men.

One college stood apart from the rest as definitely conservative.<sup>4</sup>

The small number of students who can be classified as radicals usually have problems in adjustment and are more in need of a clinical psychologist's services than a policeman's club.<sup>5</sup> Radicals reveal important personality changes in their histories, but the exact nature of the relationship between the changes and the radical political activity can be revealed only through analysis of each individual's adjustments.<sup>6</sup>

When autobiographical material in one study of radicals and nonradicals was evaluated, it was found that radicals were more likely to consider themselves rejected by their parents, more pessimistic, more handicapped in social relations, more subject to inferiority, but that they had more special aptitudes than nonradicals. They did not show more undesirable adjustment mechanisms, however. These data should not be regarded as evaluations of radical theory or as implying neuroticism in radicals, but rather as an effort to establish the factors which sensitize certain individuals to, and prevent others from accepting, radical ideologies.<sup>7</sup> Another study of the characteristics of radicals and conservatives found no difference between the emotional stability of the two groups, but again the radicals had more inferiority feelings. Radicals were found to be brighter usually, better informed, slower in movement and decision, more introverted, self-sufficient, and dominant. Rarely were they products of small towns, and there was no distinction between the two groups in regard to size of family or of income.<sup>8</sup>

Radicals, rowdies, and reformers need the same constructive treatment which

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we should accord to others who are maladjusted. The business executive who finds that he has hired radicals should think of them as stimulating critics and decide whether the benefits from their criticism outweigh the annoyances they cause him. If their actions become a burdensome task for the executive, he should recognize that the normal employees also deserve attention. When the normal employees are neglected so that maladjusted radicals may be given more time and thought, the executive should refer the maladjusted employees to the specialists of a clinic and devote his best efforts to the more ordinary members of his organization.

### ***The Oedipus and "secretarial" complex***

Occasionally we meet the boy of seventeen who marries a forty-year-old woman. Such a marriage does not necessarily indicate that the boy has a mercenary motive. The woman may be a widow or spinster who has no money. Sometimes the widow has several children older than the bridegroom. Why does a young man marry a "girl" of that type?

In the Greek myth, Oedipus was led to kill his own father and to marry his mother, Jocasta. Freud and his followers have presented some evidence to indicate that sons become attracted toward the mother and daughters toward the father. The former fixation is called the *Oedipus complex* and the latter is called the *Electra complex*. Clinical psychologists have found that the boy who fixates his emotional life in the mother image may be jealous of his father, who is a great barrier to his love for his mother. When the boy grows up he may become rebellious toward the schoolteacher or the executive, because they are symbolic of the author-

ity of the father. Some of the greatest men of history never married until after their mothers died. Others married but respected their mothers more than they did their wives.

The attempt to duplicate the mother or father image takes form even in the frequent marriage of near relations by neurotics. From this new relation, they seek and often find the comfort denied them by a reality which insisted upon leading them away from the pleasure and security of infantile life.

Many creative artists have married and been "comforted" by wives older than themselves. Yet in their work they betray conflict and turmoil, stained with their neurotic symptoms, buried in the inner layers of their conscious. Often the expedient does not succeed, and the artist hops from marriage to love affairs and then back to marriage, seeking relief from his psychic tension. The genius of Strindberg and Milton aches with the throb of unhappy sex lives, Shakespeare derides his Ann Hathaway in his "Taming of the Shrew." Dr. Samuel Johnson, a notorious sufferer from hypochondria, finds his plain, ignorant wife the apotheosis of all womanly virtues because she ministers to his neurosis and gives him the infantile comfort he still seeks. Even Socrates had his Xanthippe!

The failure to relieve the pressure of an Oedipus fixation upon his mother is the key to the life and literary creations of D. H. Lawrence. This artist, aware of the truth of psychoanalysis, tried and failed to dissolve the complex which marred his sex and love life. His books shriek with the sex motif, all his life was dedicated to a war against the censorship of sex in literature. His personal as well as creative life was marked by a species of exhibitionism, all this represented a conscious attempt to free himself of the invisible cord that bound him to his mother. But with all his efforts, he was impotent to escape from his prison. All his protests, his invectives hurled against a "sex-as-sin-conscious" society, his attempts to find sex happiness with many women, represent a whistling in the dark. He remained un-

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happy and unfulfilled because of an Oedipus complex that never was solved<sup>9</sup>

Edward A. Strecker, who has had extensive experience as a civilian and army psychiatrist, found considerable evidence to cause him to conclude that the high incidence of neuropsychiatric disorders (nearly 20 per cent of men of draft age, World War II) in the United States is largely the result of psychological immaturity. In the majority of cases, he believes this to be the fault of the mother (and occasionally the father) who consciously or unconsciously prevents the child from growing up. The mother who consciously or unconsciously but selfishly prevents the child's emotional emancipation is almost certain to have an adverse influence on the child's maturity.<sup>10</sup>

When a mother hugs and kisses her small boy far more than she does her husband, she may be conditioning her child for bachelorhood or for a troublesome married life. It is often quite natural for mothers to direct their starved affections upon their children because the fathers are too busy in the office and the shop to be companionable to their wives. For a while after marriage, the husband may have given his young wife all the loving companionship that she craved, but, as time went by and the children came, father had to get his nose closer to the grindstone. Consequently, he delegated all the care of the children to the mother.

The "secretarial" complex in business is one result of the over-affectionate mother. Some executives have a child-like dependence upon their secretaries. The executive who claims that he has the perfect secretary would be surprised to know that she is really average in comparison with good secretaries. His admiration is often based upon the fact that he uncon-

sciously associates his secretary with his mother. In such a situation the secretary represents the mother image to the executive, she may be the most powerful member in the organization. His subordinates soon learn that they must not antagonize her. The secretarial complex is not wholly disadvantageous in its mild form. To some men it is a logical and helpful means of emotional adjustment. It becomes questionable, however, when the employer happens to be married and divorces his wife in order to marry his secretary.

The ability to recognize the Oedipus complex is also of importance to the businessman when employees will not leave the home town of their parents, even though their parents do not need them at home. Sometimes the individual is in a state of mental conflict, because he is torn between the normal desire for a mate and the old love of his parent, or, if married, between the love of the mate and that of the affectionate mother. Emotional conflicts of this type are taking place in the minds of employees at times, and in this way may unfit them for a whole-hearted application to business and life.

### *Identification*

The person who, when at the theater, identifies himself with the hero, fights his battles, endures his hardships, conquers the villain, and finally marries the heroine, is not, for the time being, a mere observer or onlooker, but is the character in the picture or the play, psychologically speaking. Such a person makes many incipient movements that give reality to his imaginary acting. In like manner, the loyal college student attending the football game of his alma mater

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gives the player who is carrying the ball many a vigorous "shove" from the grandstands. For the moment the spectator carries the ball. He has identified himself with the team and is mentally doing the same things that the team is trying to do.

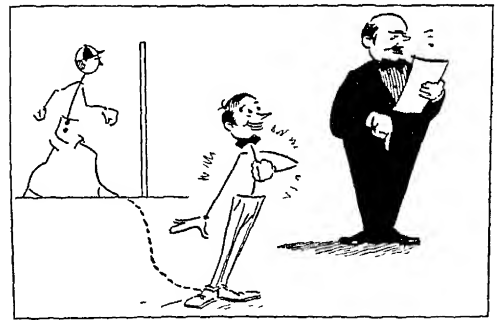
Every sport fan knows that the successful football team is the one in which the members identify themselves with the team as a whole. Each player does not play an individual game but integrates his playing with that of the entire team.

Through the achievements of other persons, groups of persons, and institutions, the individual may reduce tensions arising from his own inadequacies. Identification may be made with social and political organizations or reform movements as a compensation. An individual may also identify himself with his material possessions, as exemplified by the housewife who cleans and protects her home so well that it becomes uncomfortable to others. Possessions such as the house, clothing, automobile, office desk, or factory machine may be used to gain many subconscious satisfactions as well as obvious prestige values.

Positive identification is one of human nature's most valuable means of making wholesome adjustment. It is present in the life of every well-balanced personality; it is absent from the mental lives of certain patients in hospitals for the mentally ill. In other patients, the identifications are carried to an extreme degree. They identify themselves so completely that they become "Napoleons," "Hitlers," "Messiahs," and so on. The well-balanced person of any age is the one who has learned the art of identifying himself intelligently with the people and the tasks of his daily contacts. The factors of his personality are integrated into an

effective working unit. He feels at home with his associates, his supervisors, his family. Unlike the cynic, he finds the age in which he lives reasonably admirable because he has identified himself with its admirable movements.

Identification is the important fundamental of a happy married life. Ideally and typically, two people marry, not mainly for sexual gratification but for more complete identification of their personalities. In the course of history, society has developed many institutions in



IDENTIFICATION WITH ONE'S SUPERIORS. Some persons make adjustments in the direction of identification with the able, competent, and successful. Such individuals are apt to seek vocational expression through managerial positions.

order to enable its members to identify themselves with satisfying personalities. In addition to marriage, we have the church, which aims to have the individual identify himself with the cosmic power.

The good citizen identifies himself with his community and his nation. The well-adjusted pupil identifies himself with his school and his teacher. The great teacher first acquires a strong personality and then enables his students to live partially within his personality in order that they may thus develop their own personalities.

Teachers and business executives

## *adjustment by positive substitute activities*

should try to assist their pupils and employees in identifying themselves with the age in which they live, the institutions of which they are a part, the social groups in which they are nurtured, and the employers or others who give them employment. The true educator and builder of men instructs not by teaching subject matter only but by showing people their places in the scheme of things, by pointing out the trends of the past and the possible trends of the future, by discussing the problems of today that challenge us to excel our forefathers, and the beauties of the machines, of nature, and of man, in addition to their cruelties.

The skillful executive who enables employees to identify themselves with his personality must also help them to transfer their identifications to other tasks, persons, and institutions. He may direct them so well that they wish to become a boss "like him." Later, the employees may find they are really interested not in the intrinsic values of their tasks but in the person who happened to supervise them. The able executive who has insight into the processes of identification among his employees is careful to see that they clearly differentiate between interest in him and interest in their work. Each worker should be led to find the intrinsic values of his work and to feel that he is a worth-while member of the institution to which he belongs. The same admonition applies to the teacher in relations with his pupils.

Children who are maladjusted may be induced to reveal the nature of the barriers in their adjustments by means of analysis of their identifications. Joseph C. Solomon, psychiatrist at the Baltimore Clinic of the Mental Hygiene Society of Baltimore, has reported how maladjusted

children can be made to disclose "secrets that gnaw their minds"

The method consists in playing with dolls with the child "Active play," according to Dr. Solomon, is a new method in which the children play a game about themselves without disclosing their own identities.

"By active play therapy," he said, "the psychiatrist is able to secure firsthand information from the mouth of the child as to how he or she is reacting to his or her environment."

The young patient identifies himself with the doll, and in his play is prone to make the doll express his own feelings.

"The mere putting his thoughts into words plays an important role in the child's mental catharsis," Dr. Solomon said. "It is generally accepted that the aeration of the child's mental conflicts has beneficial treatment value."

Children are also encouraged, he said, to express their animosities and to give physical expression to their hostilities, as well as to talk about them. After repeated demonstrations the patient no longer feels the need to express his hostility.

"It should be kept clearly in mind," Dr. Solomon warns, "that the method is partly a trick by which a child says things about himself that he ordinarily would not tell."

Resentment may result if the child feels he has been trapped. During the treatment the physician participates actively, and from time to time, as a suitable occasion arises, makes suggestions to direct the child's future thinking. Thus therapeutic suggestions are incorporated in the play.<sup>11</sup>

### ***The alert executive recognizes adjustment tendencies and directs them into positive channels***

Some executives are very sensitive to the feeling tones in the lives of their employees; others are unaware of them. The important action-channels of employees are not always those which are obvious to the observer. Such obvious emotions as the hysterical or angry expressions of

## *adjustment by positive substitute activities*

the aroused worker are likely to be mere surface ripples. The really significant emotions are hidden beneath the surface—they are undercurrents in the inner basins of the individual personality. People suffer in silence for years. They brood over injustices. Their resentments are cumulative. Their reservoirs of emotional energy are recognized only by the executive who is alert to human emotions and their meanings. Once these reservoirs are revealed to the capable analyst, he may be able to direct the energies of the employee into channels of activity that lead to a more satisfactory and constructive life.

The executive who is alert to the barriers and adjustments in the lives of his employees is also likely to be alert to their strong qualities. If he notices that an office employee is especially skillful in persuading others but also has some show-off tendencies, the executive can direct the employee into salesmanship and train him properly for the work.

Another employee may not have the knack of persuading people but likes to entertain them by clowning, being the "life of the party," and by telling stories. Such an employee is likely to be invited to many social affairs where he amuses

others but fails to achieve anything valuable for the employer or for himself. Accordingly, the employer may counsel him regarding training for public relations work that will build goodwill in the community for the company. The entertaining ability can be focused for a purpose which benefits both employer and employees.

The employee who is legally minded may be given the responsibility of keeping in touch with governmental rulings that affect the business.

The employee who is fussy, meticulous, and overly careful can usually be placed in work which requires those habits, such as handling cash or performing an operation requiring manual skill.

Most employees are somewhat adaptable. Their adjustment tendencies, whatever they are, can often be directed for the advantage of both employer and employee. But to do so means that the executive must be alert to the potentialities within the individual, his deep-seated emotional tendencies, his adjustment history. Furthermore, the executive should have the manner of a leader who can, through a definite vocational program, inspire men by showing them visions of their better selves.

### PROJECTS

1. Terms applied to the adjustments described in this chapter are mainly the following.

1. Substitute act having positive values
2. Compensatory mechanism
3. Defense mechanism
4. Messiah complex.
5. Oedipus complex.
6. Electra complex
7. Identification

How would you classify the adjustments present in the main characters described in the following paragraphs:

- a. Samuel is an office employee of a lumber company. He is intensely loyal to his employer, Mr. Brown. The town where they live is small, and Samuel and Mr. Brown have mutual acquaintances. Whenever Samuel can possibly do so, he praises his employer. Samuel's expressions of loyalty have become so extreme that Mr. Brown is often embarrassed.
- b. John is a college student of intelligence but he has many unpleasant mannerisms such as sensitiveness to any com-

## *adjustment by positive substitute activities*

- ments about him. When he is not angry, he is likely to give the impression that he dares anyone to insult him.
- c William is the son of a well-to-do widow. He had never been away from home overnight until this fall when he entered college. He soon became homesick and returned to his home because he felt that his mother needed any money which he might be able to earn.
- d Marylee says that she won't marry until she finds a man as nice as her daddy.
- e. Robert Burns resented the repressions of the Scotch and wrote literature to express his own revolt.
- f An injury resulting from a hemorrhage at birth left Earl Carlson with a permanent scar on his brain, an area the nerve currents could not bridge. Hence, if Earl wished to eat his soup, his brain

would dispatch the message but the message would never arrive. Only a convulsive flood of energy with a series of haphazard muscular movements would result. The soup would never reach his mouth.

When Earl became an adult, he managed to go through college and became a physician. Later he became Director of the Department of Corrective Motor Education for the Birth-Injured and Allied Problems, the Neurological Institute, Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, New York, where he treated children with handicaps similar to his former handicap. (See Harry W. Hepner, *Finding Yourself in Your Work*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1939, Chapter III.)

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## 4 Adjustment by substitute activities usually of negative value

*"Do you enjoy novel reading, Miss Prim?"*

*"Oh, very much. One can associate with people in fiction that one wouldn't dare to speak to in real life."—Speed*

*When happiness is difficult to attain and the individual lacks intelligent perspective of his barriers and adjustments, he is apt to seek happiness through fictions, psychological returns to childhood, blaming others for his situation, or to make some other form of evasive adjustment. These habits of evasion tend to weaken the individual for dealing with future problems.*

A SIMPLE EXAMPLE OF ADJUSTMENT BY evasion is illustrated by the cashier who steals money from the cash register. Fundamentally, stealing is wrong, not because of the laws against it, but because it weakens the personality for dealing with future situations. This is the major criterion of an adjustment as to whether the act has positive or negative values: Does it strengthen or weaken the individual for dealing with future problems?

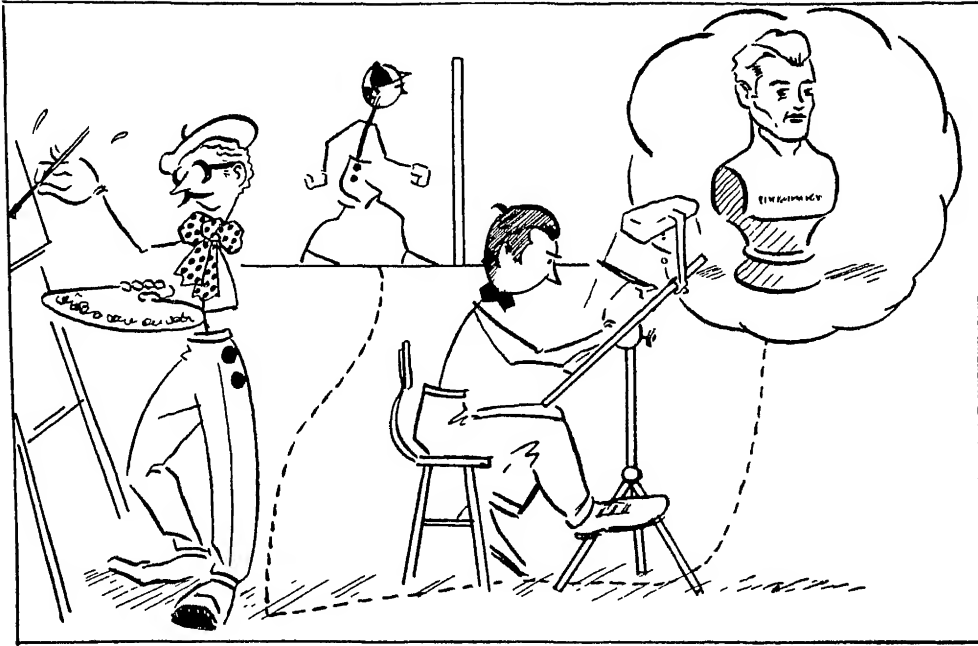
Certain kinds of evasive adjustments are very common and so have been given names, such as regression, projection, and invalidism. Giving a type of adjustment a name has little value except as a convenience for discussion. However, the individual who knows the names of typical forms of evasion is likely to be more alert in recognizing and dealing with them

Evasive and retreat forms of behavior have meaning, they indicate purpose and the use of poor habits in accomplishing the purpose. A discussion of typical evasive habits should increase our ability to appreciate what the maladjusted individual is trying to accomplish by means of his evasive behavior. Perhaps we can suggest the substitution of good habits for poor ones. The following discussion of evasions should also help us increase our psychological alertness in recognizing typical evasions on our part and possibly suggest methods of improving our own mental habits.

### **Defense mechanisms**

The individual who has failed to develop adjustment habits that enable him to feel at home in his social situations

## adjustment by negative substitute activities



ADJUSTMENT BY SUBSTITUTE ACTIVITY of negative value may eventually lead to adjustment of positive value. The youth who has problems to which he first adjusts by escape into the "arty" or Bohemian aspects of the artist's life may thereby also find himself and eventually devote himself to art in its most meaningful and enduring forms. Similarly, the boy who escapes into the study of nature may thereby become interested in the best aspects of science. The adjustments of evasion do not always remain on the negative value level, many persons rise to positive levels from the negative value levels.

may resort to excessively aggressive conduct and make himself a nuisance to others. More typically, however, he acquires habits of inferiority. He reacts with pronounced fear responses to most social situations. His mannerisms of inferiority enable him to avoid much competition and criticism. His habits of personality in social situations are poor because he chose poor adjustive techniques when confronted by barriers such as severe punishment by parents, criticisms by teachers, and the competitiveness of his playmates.

The pattern of convictions, attitudes, and overt behavior of social inferiority is indicated by symptoms which are de-

scribed in the following inventory by Bagby:

1. *Sensitiveness to criticism.* The person with a pattern of social inferiority reacts poorly to criticism or ridicule, and suffers from it. Frequently he also shows "ideas of reference," that is, he is so sensitive about comments concerning him that he suspects strangers, sidewalk groups, and so on of criticizing him.

2. *Tendency to derogate others.* He belittles other people because by pointing out their faults he minimizes his own. Pointing out that others' accomplishments are "no good" builds up his own feelings of self-worth in a negative way.

3. *Poor reaction to criticism.* A person with strong inferiority feelings does not want

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

an opponent who is his equal in strength or skill. He must win or have a rationalization for not doing so, therefore he does not want to compete with anyone who might surpass him. If he does and is beaten, he claims that his opponent had "all the luck," or that some minor physical condition handicapped him.

4 *Often preoccupied* If he attends a social gathering that is mildly antagonistic or inattentive toward him, he is likely not to

hungry for self-esteem that he gratefully and completely accepts flattering remarks made to him. Some persons with strong inferiority feelings flatter others to popularize themselves.

7 *Seclusiveness* He does not develop normal social contacts because he fears disapproval. Frequently a person rationalizes that he has no time for them, that there are no congenial people around, etc., never realiz-



"AMERICAN GOTHIC" How would you describe the probable adjustments of these two characters so excellently portrayed by Grant Wood? (Courtesy of Grant Wood and the Art Institute of Chicago)

participate fully. He finds himself little jobs that will occupy him, or he attaches himself to a close friend on whom he will shower all his attention.

5 *Rationalizes his inadequacies* The person with strong inferiority feelings habitually creates socially-acceptable reasons for his inadequacies, so that he does not bear the onus of his failures. The student who explains away his low grade by declaring "the prof didn't like me," or "the grading system was unfair," is a typical example.

6 *Over-susceptibility to flattery* He is so

ing that the reason for his lack of social life is fear of disapproval.<sup>1</sup>

Of course other patterns of the symptoms of defensiveness in social situations occur. A common example is the very dignified gentleman who seems to wear an armor plating of dignity as a protection against criticism and social inadequacy. As one humorist said "Don't mistake dignity. Lots of times it enables a man who says nothin', does nothin', and

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

knows nothin' to command a lot of respect!"

Everyone is certain to meet this type of dignity. It is protective. The individual avoids risks of social failure by means of a manner which causes others to treat him with the kind of respect his manner demands. His associates sense his sensitiveness and tenseness. They defer to him when in his presence but they avoid his presence whenever possible. He is a lonely person and can be "reached" only when he is in circumstances where he feels sufficiently secure to be able to relax. In our modern American culture he is a poor leader when propitious circumstances place him in an executive position.

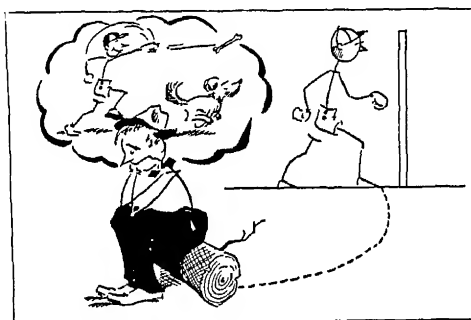
### **Regression\***

We occasionally meet the man who acts and dresses in the manner of several decades ago. We have also known the type of adult who talks of the "good old days when boys were gentlemanly and girls were virtuous." Such expressions may mean that he is simply giving evidence of having partly outlived his age. The problems of his present are too great for him to solve satisfactorily and he regresses mentally to a former happier state when life was more satisfying.

The employee who once had a good job but lost it may make an adjustment by living in that former happy state, or he may react to his present situation in an aggressive manner and look toward the future rather than the past. Psychologically, old age sets in just as soon as the past appears to be more pleasant than the present and the future. There is but one stage in the life of man when all his wants are satisfied just as soon as they oc-

cur, and that is when he is an embryo. As soon as he is born he begins to have wants which are not always satisfied when they occur. He must adjust himself to his world until death overtakes him and ends the process of adjustment.

The unmarried woman may regress to the days when she had a lover but lost him, or she may face the future with a zest for new loves and new adventures. Barriers such as a broken engagement, failure in studies, bankruptcy in business, or discharge from a good job should cause



ADJUSTMENT BY REGRESSION or return to a former happier state is very common. Many of our nostalgic songs stress the scenes of childhood and youth.

no tears, but should motivate the individual for a stronger attack upon new ventures. Failure to do this is illustrated when an older employee has failed in a hard job or a business for himself, and the remark is made "The experience took the heart right out of him." In some forms of insanity, regression takes place to an extent that is almost unbelievable. The patient goes back to childhood in talk and conduct.

Regression, of the kind which is a form of relaxation that leads to possible later attack on one's problems, is found in

\* This tendency is also called retrogression by a few authors. See particularly Laurance F. Shaffer, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

childish hobbies and games. Toy trains are an example.

The hobby of playing with toy trains now has more than 100,000 American men enthusiasts, who have invested at least \$10,000,000 in their equipment and support three hundred local clubs, three magazines and a national association, which holds annual conventions. One millionaire even has one of these miniature railroads installed in a Wall Street building, where it occupies two entire floors<sup>2</sup>

Many people who regress are unhappy because they are no longer children. The world has moved on but they are left behind. In trying to adjust themselves to modern problems they take refuge, through their imaginations, in the mental life experienced when they were happy, carefree children. They find it satisfying to regress at times:

Backward, turn backward, O Time, in  
your flight!  
Make me a child again, just for to-night!

The girl who longs for the ignorance and the innocence of pre-adolescence finds adjustment difficult. It would be better for her to prepare for motherhood or, if unmarried, to sublimate her sex energies into socially acceptable channels. Also, the middle-aged married woman who has not developed a deep-seated interest in her own family or in a career is apt to take an excessive interest in young men, especially if she was attractive when young. The poor adjustment to her increasing age and declining beauty cause her to regress to her youth when boys admired her. Many middle-aged women grow bitter when they can neither achieve an acceptable relationship with young men nor develop another interest that is intrinsically sound. Well-adjusted women grow old gracefully.

Regression to childish mannerisms, *infantilism*, is exceedingly common. The average grown-up frequently shows his infantilism by his temper tantrums, pouting, dawdling, weeping, clowning to attract attention, making grimaces, or noisy nasal and throat habits. These childish mannerisms are so common and meaningful that we can often recognize what a maladjusted person is trying to do if we say to ourselves "What would the person's behavior signify if it were performed by a four-year-old child?"

The college student who suffers from "homesickness" demonstrates that he has a barrier in the form of being too closely attached to the members of his family and that he must turn to them to shield him and make his decisions for him. In the new college environment, he finds barriers in the form of strangers among faculty and student body who pay little attention to him, and so he develops fears and anxieties which result in physiological imbalances that lead to such physical symptoms as headaches, indigestion, or loss of appetite. His physical symptoms now "prove" to himself and to others that he should return home at once!

Regression is a serious problem to the new executive who has been hired to put a money-losing company back into the profit-making column. Many of the old employees have fixed habits which once were sound but are now inefficient in comparison with modern methods. The old employees may be pursuing methods the very opposite of those pursued by the man who is in tune with the new American tempo. What should be the attitude of the new executive toward an organization that is antiquated in methods and attitude? Should he "clean house" and "fire" most of the old employees and ex-

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

ecutives, replacing them with new blood? Or should he try to revitalize the old members? We must remember that adjustment habits cannot be erased and new ones formed at a moment's notice. The behavior patterns that are in the nervous systems of the old employees were put there by many thousands of repetitions, and new ones are difficult to produce. Shock is the only quick method, but this also does much harm. To rebuild an old organization may require so much time and effort on the part of the key executives that the end does not justify the means. However, this does not imply that all the old timber of the structure is bad. Certain employees bearing the scars of battle may be better because of having withstood the onslaughts of competition. The better policy may be to save the good material and scrap the outworn.

### ***Fixed ideas***

Every businessman has met examples of the employee who was reprimanded for some slight infraction of the rules and who brooded over the reprimand for months—his feelings being wholly out of proportion to the seriousness of the affair, or the employee who had to be discharged and who returned again and again for a reconsideration of his case; or the old employee who demanded a pension even though the company has not given pensions to other employees and has never consciously given the impression that pensions were granted, or the executive who wants a decision in his favor, and, if it is not rendered wholly in his favor, reopens the case at each conference and insists upon discussing it, to the disgust of his fellows; or the person who loses a lawsuit and then carries the case to higher courts until the lawyers

decide to neglect it or to postpone it indefinitely.

Why do these individuals persist in their fixed ideas? One reason may be that the ego of the complainant has been assailed. The concession demanded in his favor is desired, not for its intrinsic worth, but, as he says, "It's the principle of the thing." He wants the decision in his favor because he needs it to make himself appear worth while in his own estimation. The complaint often indicates that the individual is adjusting to a barrier of a failure type and he resents that his desired success cannot be achieved through normal channels. The really big man is willing to make concessions to others and does not feel that he has compromised his own integrity or worth. It is the little fellow who cannot accept anything less than complete surrender from others. The person who has some great achievement to his credit is not likely to feel the need of small concessions. It is well, therefore, to try to make the complainant feel satisfied by showing him that you admire him for certain other qualities and that he really does not need what he desires—you like him as he is.

Most of the persons who develop these fixed ideas lead so routine or narrow a life that they lack practice in making the daily little adjustments which we learn to make when we associate with many people. The employee who operates a semi-automatic machine for five days of the week and then goes home to a lonely room where he sleeps until the next day is a fit victim for fixed ideas.

Sometimes managers wonder whether they are supplying too many side activities and forms of recreation for their employees. The danger from these extra ac-

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tivities lies in the fact that they are often patronized by one group or clique, and the backward employees who need more contacts do not take an active part. To prevent this, it is well to see to it that each employee does take an active part in the company's recreational activities or in some other activities not sponsored by the employer. Employees should appoint committees to look after the retiring fellows who have no stimulating forms of recreations. Each and every employee should be encouraged to attend some company recreational affairs.

Executives themselves may lead too narrow lives. Of all the men whom the writer has ever met, the one most fixed in his ideas is an executive who lives only for his business, which he inherited. His two-year-old baby and his wife are merely incidental parts of the home, like the furniture. His mental and emotional life is too circumscribed, and, when he attends a conference where he can talk, his associates become angry and disgusted with his harping upon nonessentials that were considered settled long ago. To be normally adjusted, everyone needs many varied intellectual, emotional, and physical exercises.

### **Negativism**

One of the greatest problems of the executive is that of securing the cooperation of his associates and subordinates. Whenever any program of action is suggested that involves some absent member of the organization, the question arises as to how to handle the absent but important individual. The point is raised as to how to sell the idea to him. Some member of the group may suggest: "Let's ask him to do the opposite of what we want, and then he'll want to do it." A

few employees always seem to carry a negative attitude toward any ideas that are proposed to them. How did they acquire such reaction patterns?

In many cases of negativism the habit pattern was established by the persons who reared the individual as a child. If we observe a mother rearing her child, we may find that she is constantly setting up barriers to the child by telling him what to do and what not to do. The commands flow in rapid succession: "Wash your face," "Say 'Thank you,'" "Give the toy to little brother," "Come here," "Stop that," and so on. Most of these demands from the adult come at times when the child is busily engaged in some absorbing activity, such as building a castle, flying an airship, or slaying a giant. Small wonder that he feels that adults are tyrants who spoil his fun and can be dealt with only by opposing them through breaking valuable articles or by other forms of naughtiness. Sometimes the repressions of childhood lead to later expressions of opposition to authority as in kleptomania or exhibitionism. These are simply adult varieties of "naughtiness" which the individual cannot explain.

Children who have the barrier of too much discipline from parents may withdraw into themselves and daydream rather than play active games, or they may voice their resistance in their dreams at night when they talk to themselves and say: "I don't have to," or "I won't do it." Boys who are reared by a mother and several older sisters who supervise every act of the child often acquire a negative attitude toward all women, and, if they marry, their wives are apt to say: "My husband loves me and I love him, but he does just the opposite of anything I tell him to do." Small wonder that he

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is negatively set toward the requests of women who have "lorded" it over him for years!

Adjustment by negativism may be expressed passively, as in doing nothing when something is expected, or it may be active negativism—doing the opposite of what is expected. In some forms of insanity the individual may be so negative as to refuse to obey the normal promptings of the bodily processes, such as swallowing the saliva.

In industry, negativism may find an outlet in joining labor organizations or in performing duties to the point ordered but no farther. The executive who finds that his employees are quarrelsome or do what is asked of them but no more may take stock of himself to learn whether he has hired a group of employees who were negative when hired or whether he has made them negative in attitude by the tone of his voice and the manner in which he gives orders. The dictatorial type of executive may get results by cowing his employees or by brilliant tactical strategy, but he seldom gets that teamwork which gives joy to the executive who knows that "the boys are with him to the utmost." The great leader of men has learned that it is best to explain the reasons for his requests in a straightforward but friendly tone and manner which convinces the employees that he believes in and likes them.

### ***Fantasy, or daydreaming***

The imaginary representation of satisfactions which the individual would like to attain but does not attain in everyday life is called *fantasy* or daydreaming. It is so easy an adjustment to make when a barrier arises that everyone daydreams to some extent.

In the *conquering hero* mechanism, the individual does not successfully face his situations in direct attacks, but pictures himself doing the deeds or possessing the things he desires. The boy who is thwarted in his attempts to do as he pleases at home can soar away in his imagination to wonderful lands of cannibals and kings, where he can conquer armies and achieve honor. As he becomes older, he daydreams of financial success, with several large automobiles, a magnificent estate, a yacht, plenty of money, and then, to cap the climax, he will become a member of the board of education and fire all the teachers whom he does not like! On other days he may picture himself as a great prize fighter, a football player, a bandit, or a preacher. The girl daydreams of the social approval of others about her, where she is a great singer, a social worker, a missionary, or a Joan of Arc.

A certain amount of daydreaming is normal and natural for all persons, but when it becomes a substitute for reality, it eliminates the necessity of actual achievement and causes the individual to live in a world of fantasy. In hospitals for the mentally ill, we find patients who are satisfied to live within their imaginations. Some of them imagine they are great men and women, such as Napoleon or Queen Victoria. As Kipling said, if one can dream and not make dreams his master, he is a successful man.

G. H. Green<sup>3</sup> has suggested four types of fantasy which are varieties of the *conquering hero* daydream. In the *display* fantasy, the dreamer gains social recognition for some act of ability or daring. In the *saving* daydream, the dreamer pictures himself performing some brave deed under extreme difficulties and



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thereby gaining the affection of the person rescued. In the fantasy of *grandeur*, the individual imagines himself a great person such as a king or even a god. In the *homage* daydream, the dreamer imagines himself performing a service for someone whose love he desires. Many other kinds of daydreams are used by individuals as a means of adjusting themselves to problems, such as the *destruction* daydream in which enemies may be put to death, injured, or destroyed in the fantasy.

The *suffering hero* or *martyr* type of escape is also common, as in the small boy who, because he is reprimanded, decides that he will be a very wicked bandit, rob trains, be put in jail, and eventually be hanged. His body will be brought home, and all his parents, relatives, friends, and teachers will be sorry that they mistreated him.

This type of behavior is also expressed on a milder level by the stenographer who becomes peevish and sullen. Usually she can be stimulated in several different ways. Her supervisor may approach the issue in a direct frontal attack and tell her to "snap out of it" because she is making the day unpleasant for everyone around her, or he may give her so much work to do and demand it so soon that she simply will not have time to think about herself. However, a very sensitive girl may be paralyzed by a severe scolding. It is well, therefore, to treat each employee as an individual rather than as one of a class. One rule should govern the executive: The employees must be stimulated to deal with situations as they are rather than as they would prefer them to be.

Important questions for the executive are: "What are my employees really

thinking? What kinds of daydreams are they having? Are their minds filled with pleasant imagery?" The employees may apparently be busy at their tasks, but their minds may be filled with unvoiced curses for the boss and wishes that they were a thousand miles away from him and his picayune job.

Factory workers who perform repetitive jobs usually overcome boredom by means of daydreams. Mind-wandering of the fantasy variety is a protection against monotony.<sup>4</sup> It compensates for the deficiencies of life in general, and many a poorly adjusted person has sought a repetitive job so that he might enjoy his fantasies without the interruptions of the alert thinking which would be a part of a more varied job. Many machine tenders are very happy while at work—their minds are roaming about in delightful worlds of fantasy.

All persons like to get away from monotony and routine in order to enjoy vicarious adventures. When we go to the moving picture show and throw ourselves into the emotionality of the plot, we not only escape from our humdrum world but also "experience" worlds which we can never hope to enjoy in actuality. One reason why we do not care to see moving pictures or plays that describe life in its daily routine is that we want to escape our own realities and live in a new world rather than in the kind we have each day. Those of us who have routine jobs want to identify ourselves, for example, with the young man who was reared in the country but went to the city and there beat the captains of finance at their own game. We want to see beautiful women in the moving picture; women who are never troubled by boresome problems of taking care of crying babies and mending

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

socks. We want the ideal pictured in the dramatizations to help us escape our problems. The happy ending is the only satisfying one, because we experience realistic living every day and do not find it sufficiently thrilling.

. . . the movie . . . notoriously furnishes an antisocial "escape" that takes mere murder in its stride and delightfully threatens maid, matron, and debutante with the fate that is worse than death. All this in a theater darkened just enough to enjoy the moral support of one's beshadowed neighbors without actually suffering their active chaperonage. Motion pictures thus become, in a milder degree, a recognized mechanism for multiple defrustration, like mixed bathing and the country club drink-and-dance.<sup>5</sup>

### **Projection**

Two automobile drivers collide with each other and telescope their fenders. What happens? Do the two drivers get out of their cars and apologize to each other? Is their first reaction that of arranging for an adjustment? Usually, the response indicates that each driver blames the other. It is often difficult for either driver to admit that he made a serious mistake.

Ask a drunkard the cause of his downfall and he will have some plausible explanation. It may have been his early companions, his mother-in-law, or his wife. This rationalization usually develops in some accidental manner, as when the intoxicated husband comes home and his mother-in-law meets him at the door and chases him away from home. He then broods over the affair and blames her rather than himself. Finally, he comes to use that explanation of his alcoholism as a satisfactory mechanism rather than admit frankly that he is unable to face his problems and must escape reality by the drink route.

Occasionally we hear unjustified rumors of immorality as a result of projection. A woman accuses some reputable and important member of the community of gross immoralities. Such stories throw undeserved suspicion upon the accused individual. The suspicion should really be directed toward the accuser, for the accusing woman is merely projecting to someone else the impulses that she herself is trying so hard to combat. She could not bear to admit to herself her terrible impulses and so she built up pictures of others who did the things that shamed her self-respect. Many a reformer has retained the integrity of his selfhood by joining an organization to combat the same tendencies that he had to fight in his moral life.

The fanatical reformer and chronic accuser are often unpopular among intelligent people, and the unpopularity is partly deserved. If one has a normal desire to improve the world, he will tend to do it in a quiet and tactful manner rather than by beating his chest and crying his aims from the housetops. The clinical psychologist who visits so-called liberal clubs is often amused by the large percentage of members who have not grown up emotionally and are projecting their own maladjustments upon a conjured monster, such as the economic or political system. Many of these club members are so maladjusted that they are unable to analyze modern problems objectively. Some prate glibly about cooperation and sharing with others when they themselves are rank individualists who emotionally could not cooperate even though they might intellectually wish to do so. We can rest assured that when our economic or political system does evolve into a better stage, its evolution will have

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

been brought about by balanced personalities, and not by the self-styled projecting liberals. True, occasionally we all do some projecting, because admission of our own deficiencies is painful, but we cannot solve our personal problems by "jumping on somebody's neck." The well-adjusted personality does not condemn his environment, he analyzes it objectively and utilizes it in new ways.

The student who has the barrier of

failure in an examination often projects the cause to the unfairness of the teacher. The man who slips in his marital relations tends to cover up his digressions by accusing others of infidelity. The man who fails in business does not, as a rule, blame himself, but imputes his losses to the "powerful forces of Wall Street" or governmental interference. The production foreman who falls down on his schedule may have sound reasons for so

## **The Neighbors**

**By George Clark**



## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

doing; but it is to be expected that he will suggest that the blame should be placed on some other executive. Forceful executives often develop the habit of asking their subordinates to perform certain jobs and of implying, when the orders are given, that excuses are not going to be even considered. This method has decided benefits, because it causes the subordinate executives to spend their mental efforts in working out schemes for the accomplishment of the desired end rather than in seeking excuses of the projectionist's kind. The executive who insists upon results and results only may develop the reputation of being hard-boiled, but his methods are sounder psychologically than those of the other man who accepts the excuses of poorly adjusted employees. Any organization that is made up of a large number of "projectors" is also a red ink organization.

The executive himself often projects his failures to factors other than himself. If the balance sheet figures are unsatisfactory, he can blame his employees, competitors, or government interferences, or he can calmly analyze the situation for the causes of failure and then busy himself on an improved plan of procedure for the next fiscal period. "Passing the buck" satisfies the "passer" but does not bring objective results.

### ***Scapegoating***

All through history primitive peoples have transferred their own guilt and suffering to other living creatures. Civilized man continues to do the same today. Now, however, transfer is usually made to a person or a group of persons, whereas in ancient times an animal was often selected. Probably the most famous transfer ceremony on record is the one de-

scribed in the Old Testament wherein the Hebrews, anxious to rid themselves of their feelings of guilt, transferred their sins to a live goat (Leviticus 16:22.)

To rid themselves of feelings of guilt and suffering, people of today use similar methods. They find a scapegoat—an object, institution, person, or group of persons—on whom they can project their aggressions. These aggressions may be wholly undeserved. Although scapegoating is an ever-present phenomenon, it is particularly noticeable in times of social strain, such as during war, famine, revolution, or depression.

Aggression includes verbal and physical abuse, and the victim seldom retaliates because the scapegoat is invariably weaker than the persecutors. In eighteenth-century American history the Salem witches served as scapegoats, because to the accusers of that day the witches personified the devil whom the sin-ridden wished to attack.

There are other reasons for scapegoating. When people are deprived of what they want or what they have, they adjust by aggression, not necessarily against the source of their deprivation, but against any object, person, or group that is convenient. Although the chosen scapegoat may be partially blameworthy, the extent to which it is blamed is out of all proportion to its deserts. Usually, too, the scapegoat must take blame not only for immediate conditions, but for long-standing and deeply rooted frustrations.

The demagogue who seeks political power often encourages scapegoating. By pointing out a scapegoat, an unscrupulous person may achieve a unity among diverse elements who have only the scapegoat as a focal point.<sup>6</sup> Propagandists know that it is easier for most people

### *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

to blame their own troubles on some persons or institutions, such as financiers, religionists, the educational system, foreign organizations, or any other popularly accepted "devil." The political opportunist finds out who the unpopular "devils" are at the moment and speaks for the projectionists in demanding reforms.

Experiments show that frustration such as a ruined evening may bring anger toward far-away people.

This was revealed when two psychologists learned that a group of young men at a

camp was to be given a series of tests which would be boring to them and which were so difficult that everyone was bound to fail miserably. The time taken to give the tests forced the men to miss what they considered the most interesting event of the week, Bank Night at the local theater. The men, it was anticipated, would be frustrated and made angry by this situation.

Before the men knew the nature of the tests and the fact that they would miss Bank Night, their attitude toward the people of a far-away nation was measured by means of rating-scales.

After they had taken the tests and realized that they could not enjoy the evening at the theater, they were once again asked to rate

## **Grin and Bear It**

**By Lichty**



"Frankly, we need some one to act as a sort of goat around this office—think you can qualify?" (Courtesy of Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate Reprinted by permission)

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

this nation. It was found that their attitudes after the frustrating tests were reliably more hostile toward the nation than before.

Similar groups who were not frustrated by the tests and who rated the same nation twice revealed no such change.

The psychologists who turned the test evening into an experiment were Dr. Neal E. Miller, of Yale University, and Richard Bugelski, of the University of Toledo. They see in the results an expression of the tendency to blame someone else for an individual's own misfortunes, known to psychologists as the scapegoat device . . .

"In ordinary social living," Dr. Miller points out, "men and women suffer frustrations especially when they are unemployed or are compelled to accept a reduction in pay. Their anger can spread to scapegoats in the same way that the anger of the men in the camp spread to the people of a foreign country. It is one of the functions of propaganda to induce people to use as scapegoats innocent foreigners who, even though not necessarily responsible for the frustration, are made to serve as targets for aggression." 7

Somewhat veiled hostility characterized men who were subjected to frustrating situations while being deprived of their night's sleep. Sears, Hovland and Miller found in an exploratory study. In order that the subjects, male college students, might not know the true nature of the experiment, they were told that the purpose was to study reflexes and motor activities of sleep-deprived men.

After attending classes during the day, the subjects reported to the laboratory at 7.30 P.M. where they were kept under close observation until eight o'clock the following morning. During the evening they studied and read. Games and cards were to be brought in about midnight to relieve the monotony, but the materials for these diversions never arrived. At 3 A.M. the experimenter who was to have brought them came in, but had "forgotten" the games. At midnight the subjects

were suddenly told not to smoke any more, while the experimenters continued to smoke in their presence. A group discussion from which the men were getting some enjoyment was arbitrarily halted, and a period of silence was maintained. When the men became hungry in the late evening, they were told that a hot breakfast would be brought in at 5 A.M. At 6 A.M. the experimenter who had gone out to get the promised breakfast had failed to return, so the two remaining experimenters "decided" not to wait for him. They therefore tested the men's reflexes and motor activities to maintain the ostensible purpose of the experiment.

During all these frustrations an "in-group" was formed among the subjects, and the cleavage between it and the experimenters was obvious. Aggressive reactions to the frustrations were directed largely at the experimenters, however, they were almost entirely in the form of jocular references to the dullness of the experiment and wisecracks about the uncooperativeness of the experimenters. The tone of voice and inflection the subjects used in making their "cracks" made their aggressiveness unmistakably clear. Typical of the remarks made by subjects are the following:

3.40 A.M. An experimenter ostentatiously lit a cigarette. Group of five subjects sitting together: "Where's this partial entertainment you offered us? How about some stories?" (E told dull joke, no laughter) "We discussed cannibalism earlier in the evening" (E: "Would you eat human flesh?") "We may yet tonight." (Meaningful look at one of the E's, much snickering among S's)

3.50 A.M. "What would happen if we would walk out?" "I suppose you'd blackmail us." "I bet it would wreck your experiment if we did. Let's leave."

5.15 A.M. "Are all psychologists mad?"

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"They're all queer I've been watching 'em for a couple of hours" <sup>8</sup>

One piece of aggression that was not a joke or wisecrack was done by the most outspokenly aggressive subject. The sheet of sketches which he drew to represent



THE JOYS OF AFFECTION

SPONTANEOUS DRAWINGS revealing the hostility aroused in a deprivation experiment situation. Note the sarcasm in the title!—From R. R. Sears, C. I. Hovland, and N. E. Miller, in the *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 9 (1940), pp. 275-295.

psychologists amused the other subjects highly. His sketches are reproduced in "The Joys of Affection."

It must be pointed out that hostility and aggression might have been expressed differently<sup>9</sup> had the relationship between experimenters and subjects not been one of professors and students.

### Introjection

In projection, we shape the world to suit ourselves—to the satisfaction of the ego. In introjection, we do the opposite. The world shapes us in the images of itself. The introjectionist follows the surge of the crowd. In time of war, he believes all the propaganda that is put out by his side. In politics, he remains within the party lines and cheers without mental reservation for his candidate. He does not calmly analyze and then choose the better of two or more courses of action, but he adopts one course with all his emotional power. In business, he is the "carbon copy" man, the "yes" man. He tries to anticipate the slightest wishes and beliefs of his boss and then adopts those as his own. He likes to be dictated to and ordered about. He dwells within the shadow of his superior and scrapes and bows to the fiddling of those above him. His cooperation is as blind as it is devoted.

Many executives seem to prefer an organization of introjects. They are easy to handle. They satisfy the ego of the executive and he imagines that he is in full control of his employees, but his organization is one that neither thinks nor analyzes. It is too pliable. Too many companies are headed by men who like a pliable personnel. One business consultant claimed that he had one basic criterion for sizing up the strength or weakness of any business concern. His evaluation of the management was determined by comparing the top executive's ability with the ability of his associates. "If the top executive chooses associates, vice-presidents and department heads, who are as able as he, the whole organization is bound to be a strong one," according to this consultant.

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The first grave charge against the one-man system (of business management) is that it created an organization with only one thinker. Eventually, the president who operates on the system will become the only thinker in his corporation. This does not mean that others in his organization will do no thinking about the business beyond their immediate concerns, but they will invalidate their constructive ideas by not freely expressing their thoughts. Either through fear or natural laziness, or a reluctance to feed another's vanity with the credit of their own ideas, they will lean more and more on the one-man head of the business for all decisions.

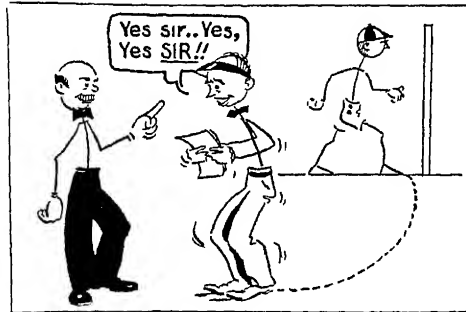
One of the greatest faults of the one-man system is that it stultifies creative desire, imagination, originality and ambition—all creators of ideas—by bringing together and training an organization of "yes" men. From my observation, we all have certain fundamental characteristics and we possess them from the cradle to the grave. Allow a child or a man to have his unopposed way long enough, and eventually he will be led to consider his own way as not only the best but the only way. His ego will encourage him to minimize or forget his mistakes and greatly exaggerate the importance of his successful decisions, and those around him who are dependent on him for their livelihood cannot be blamed for taking the easiest way and agreeing with their adversary quickly.

Throughout the plant and the office of a one-man business, men in high and low positions compete with each other, not on a basis of proved merit, but according to their standing with the "chief." And usually the most proficient "yesser" enjoys the highest standing. This is the greatest breeder of factory and office politics, of jealousy and ill-will. Disputes are not settled by the records or by other just means, but through front-office favoritism, and the organization is soon undermined by resentment and grosser emotions arising from the unfair competition.

In giving promotions and fixing wages and salaries, the system equally is at fault. Usually, advancement goes to the best factory or office politician. Loyalty and efficiency are seldom rewarded. That is why the morale of

the personnel of any one-man business is often below par.

Throughout the last few years we have been surfeited with propaganda which exalts labor at the expense of capital. The purpose of the extreme radical always is to erect a vicious barrier between the two. Conflict is deliberately promoted where there must be complete understanding for an elimination of difficulties. Before the age-old problems of capital and labor can be solved, honest representatives of both classes must be convinced of the fact that neither is of any progressive value without the driving force of new ideas.<sup>10</sup>



MANY PERSONS ERRONEOUSLY BELIEVE that the typical business executive prefers employees of the introjectionist kind. Only the rather inappropriately adjusted employers prefer them. Most well-balanced executives prefer employees who have ideas and express them tactfully. Of course if the employee is defensive in manner and becomes assertive when he presents his ideas, the listener is likely to be irritated rather than pleased.

What can the executive do when he finds that an otherwise good employee is too willing to imitate him? He can make at least one attempt to readjust him by explaining the situation very frankly and telling the "yes" man to agree less and to make more suggestions. The slavish employee may have been conditioned in that way by some other executive who fired him for disagreeing with the boss. An executive cannot "jump" on employees for an honest questioning of his



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decisions and then expect them to be filled with helpful suggestions the next day. The fear of losing their jobs will give them introjective characteristics. Employees are not always to be blamed for "putty" minds. Certain executives have so strong an inferiority complex that they cannot endure the presence of subordinates who are their equals in ability.

Many introjectionists develop their introjective habits in their adjustments to cruel parents, stern teachers, or executives who resent suggestions. Through such experiences, the individual learns to cater to people at all times, rather than to cater to them some of the time and to oppose them when opposition is appropriate. An executive's study of the employee's past history will often reveal experiences which brought about the introjective behavior.

### ***Compulsion neuroses and phobias***

In the compulsion neurosis, the individual cannot explain why he feels that he must perform a given act, but he dreads failure to follow the ritual which he has set up in his own mind. In its mild forms, it is found among normal people and is generally treated as an idiosyncrasy or a superstition, as in the individuals who tap wood in order to avoid a calamity which they have escaped thus far. Such compulsive acts are trivial and do not effect emotional health.

The more serious compulsions are known as *manias* and are given specific names to indicate their type as *kleptomania*, the impulse to steal things that are not needed, *pyromania*, the impulse to set fire to things; *onomatomania*, the impulse to say a word again and again or to hunt for it in the memory, *dipso-*

*mania*, the periodic uncontrollable craving for alcoholic beverages, and *arithmo-mania*, the obsessive tendency to count everything, such as the stones in the sidewalk or the objects in a room. A mania is an exaggerated predilection toward a type of activity and is often contrasted with extreme dread of some specific type of situation as in a phobia.

A *phobia* is a persistent and irrational fear of a harmless object or situation. The individual may know quite well that he has no logical reason to fear the thing that he fears. Examples are *claustrophobia*, fear of closed places, *acrophobia*, fear of high places such as the tenth floor of an office building; *agoraphobia*, fear of open spaces, such as fields or wide streets; *pyrophobia*, fear of fire, *misophobia*, fear of dirt, and *aelurophobia*, the fear of cats, Napoleon's well-known fear. The phobia usually comes on very suddenly and overwhelms the patient, who is seized with trembling, sweating, pallor, and all the usual signs of extreme fear. All this, in spite of the fact that the patient knows quite well that his fears are merely morbid and under irrational control. Some persons having phobias are able to continue their daily work by avoiding the situations which stimulate the phobia responses. Others have phobias which unfit them for certain forms of economic life.

The woman who was afraid to look into a mirror for fear that she would find a hair on her face knew that the finding of a hair was no real cause for alarm, but still she became so fearful of seeing her reflection that she refused to handle silverware or to open her eyes in a room where there were windows. The executive who was seized with fear whenever he was in a building higher than the

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second floor knew that the building was perfectly safe, he simply could not go up to any height. The stenographer who spent most of her time washing her hands knew that her hands were reasonably clean, but still she feared they might be soiled. The bookkeeper who feared to make the figure five knew that figure was harmless, but still he feared it.

What are the barriers which give rise to such apparently irrational adjustments as manias and phobias?

Means<sup>11</sup> studied the fears of a thousand college women and found that only 38 per cent of them indicated any knowledge of the origin of their fears. About 70 per cent of the fears of known origin were due to some personal experience. The first five fears in their relative importance were snakes, cancer, death of loved ones, death by burning, and bulls.

At least three of these fears are considered by psychoanalysts to be sexual in nature—snakes, burning, and bulls. If we accept the explanation of some psychoanalysts, we shall interpret these manifestations of abnormal fears and impulses as symbols of barriers which are inadmissible impulses. The woman who could not look into a mirror for fear she would see a hair on her face was unable to do so because hair symbolized some sexual wish that she refused consciously to admit to herself. The executive who could not go higher than the second floor of a building was fearful of a moral fall which might be brought about if he yielded to an immoral impulse. The stenographer's fear of contamination was caused by the fear of repressed desires to yield to an immoral impulse such as the sexual entreaties of her lover. The figure five represented the five fingers of the bookkeeper's hand which were used in a

sex perversion. And so on for other impulses, such as the oversolicitude for the health of a wealthy aunt which disguised the wish for her death.

In most analyses of phobias, psychiatrists find that the origin of the fear is closely coupled with a sense of guilt or shame. That is why Freud and his disciples can find many illustrations of his theory that the phobia masks a repressed sex desire. Sex, to most people, is something terrible and unmentionable rather than a perfectly normal impulse.

An urge to do something considered reprehensible by the individual, with an anticipation of punishment, is especially frequent in the phobia. In many cases, too, the patient exhibits a history of early frustrations, aggressive impulses that were suppressed, and unappreciated fears of punishment. Many individuals whose behavior is restricted by a phobia are lonely and seek the security of being protected by adults.<sup>12</sup>

As soon as the phobia-bound individual understands the origin of his fear and is allowed to express the repressed impulse that it symbolizes, the phobia is likely to disappear. Scolding him will not banish the fear, but uncovering the origin of it may. If the fear persists, the cause has not been found or the process of readjustment is incomplete. Of course, this process of readjustment is one for the attention of the clinical psychologist.

We know that some fears are neither subconscious nor symbolical. The fear of failure in an examination may simply represent the recognition that it is deserved because of failure to do what should be done. Some phobias and manias are more easily and logically thought of in terms of conditioned responses or as associative linkages. It is

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certain that some of the maladjustments of the individual are brought about through simultaneous associations, as in the case of the man who, during a heart attack, collapses in an open section of the city. He may then have an agoraphobia for certain areas.

Parents can do much to prevent abnormal fears. The main form of instruction given to children by some parents seems to be "Shame on you"; "Nobody will like you if you are so naughty", "You know that you are a naughty little boy, don't you?" and "God will punish little girls who tell lies." No wonder the children of oversolicitous parents often grow up to become fearful retiring nobodies while roughnecks of the slums develop into business and professional leaders. Fears do not dog the roughneck's every step. We must remember that the child fears in silence. Shame may be so strong that it is difficult to obtain admission. Cowardice may develop, and all because the father and mother and teacher have held up the bogey of shame. Every unnatural fear has a natural cause, and the attitude of the executive toward his employees and his children should be that of the analyst who sympathetically discovers the origin of the fear and aids the individual in gaining a better adjustment. A knowledge of what fears really mean is the first step in aiding the phobia-bound person

### **Alcoholism**

Approximately three-quarters of a million adults in this country have become alcoholics to such a degree that they have impaired their physical or mental health. These are the chronic alcoholics.

It is generally accepted that there is no alcoholic personality as such. Rather,

numerous individuals cannot manage their lives in sobriety, they continue to resort to alcohol as a means of dealing with their psychological problems, such as feelings of insecurity and inferiority. Many are depressed because they labor under the unconscious fantasy that they were not loved sufficiently by their mother in childhood.<sup>13</sup> The craving for alcohol is more a craving for the habit pattern that relieves tensions than for anticipated sensory enjoyment

Several intensive investigations of chronic alcoholics are now under way. One of these, at the Laboratory of Applied Physiology, Yale University, has found that alcoholics can be studied in terms of the following classifications of excessive drinkers:

1. The neurotic.
2. The psychotic.
3. The feeble-minded
4. Those who gravitate into drink as a means toward solving their problems.

Among 100 excessive drinkers, about 40 are neurotic, 10 are psychotic, and 10 are feeble-minded. The personality patterns may be briefly described as follows

The *neurotic* lacks patience with his world. He needs many props to support him. He will seek conditions under which the conflict between his wishes and reality are endurable. In order to escape from his world he resorts to day-dreaming, but he fully realizes the difference between the real world and his imagined world. He may try, for instance, to obviate the conflict between his two worlds by adopting a job which permits seclusion, by a hobby, or by intoxication. His general conduct may be thought "peculiar" by others, but his overt conduct usually conforms to the standards of the

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

real world. In other words, he is in touch with reality.

The *psychotic*, on the other hand, resolves the conflict between his dream world and the world of reality by retreating entirely into his dream world. He loses contact with the world of reality, and cannot distinguish between it and the dream world, or between right and wrong. For these reasons he is segregated from society.

In the incipient stage of the illness, some psychotics drink heavily to shut out such phenomena as auditory hallucinations. After a few months the psychosis becomes so fully recognizable as to necessitate hospitalization. Observers are apt to conclude that the psychosis was caused by the drinking, whereas actually the drinking was a symptom of the psychosis. Only years of heavy drinking could in itself cause a psychosis.<sup>14</sup>

It has been noted that alcoholism is sometimes the symptom of a mental disorder. If drinking bouts occur periodically, perhaps at intervals of several months, there is a possibility that the patient is drinking during one or the other stages of a manic-depressive psychosis; if the drinking is steady and wild, there is a possibility of early schizophrenia or early general paresis. Other deep-seated maladies are sometimes the real cause of heavy drinking. In almost all such cases the patient needs hospitalization.

With the majority of alcoholics, however, the root of the trouble isn't so deep. It is the patient's inability to adjust himself to life as he finds it. Perhaps he has always been lonely, or dominated by the family, or tortured by fears—that he won't make good, that people don't like him, that he isn't manly. Or he may be a business and social success, yet hate his work and the people he goes around with. For a variety of reasons he may hate himself.<sup>15</sup>

On the whole, about 60 per cent of all inebriates come to their excessive hab-

its through some "ailment," including feeble-mindedness as an ailment. This means that at least 40 per cent cannot attribute their inebriety to disease.

The fourth group of the 100 inebriates who are not in the neurotic, psychotic, or feeble-minded categories are persons who have been drinking large amounts of alcoholic beverages as a form of social relaxation.

In the course of their drinking they have found, however, that intoxication will help them over situations which otherwise would take some effort to adjust to. Some minor misadventure may be a sufficient reason to "let themselves go" and to let intoxication "do the job"; they solve their troubles with drink. As they get "pampered" by intoxication, they may take recourse to it more and more frequently until they become as dependent upon alcohol as the neurotic, compulsive drinker. While they did not start from a disease, they become diseased.

Ultimately, then, all inebriates are diseased persons. But it is important to distinguish those who were brought to inebriety through disease and those whose inebriety brings about the disease. These latter excessive drinkers are usually gregarious persons, good mixers, and easygoing in contrast to the neurotic drinkers who, as a rule, are persons who never found their place among others, who always were lone travelers. When the "normal excessive drinker" becomes an habitual inebriate, he appears to be much like the neurotic drinker. By necessity he too becomes a "lone traveler," for he loses his friends and becomes isolated. Because of that he becomes suspicious, sensitive, and selfish as the neurotic inebriate. But he can be helped. As he has arrived at his dependence through habituation, he can be trained away again from this habit. This can be done successfully if it is recognized that he is not of the neurotic type and that he, therefore, needs to be handled differently.<sup>16</sup>

The man who drinks for social relaxation should analyze his drinking habits as a precaution against becoming an alco-

## *adjustment by negative substitute activities*

hol dependent Dr Abraham Myerson, Boston psychiatrist, suggests seven test questions

- 1 Can you enjoy a party only if there is liquor to release your social instincts?
- 2 Do you long for the time of day when you can drink without hurting your job?
3. Do you consider drink necessary to relaxation and enjoyment of life?
- 4 Do you turn reflexively to alcohol each day to overcome anxiety, disgust, fatigue or frustration?
5. Do you tend to drink to offset difficulties with your wife, your boss, your children or employees?
- 6 Is the goal of your drinking something other than the drink itself?
- 7 Do you *need* this drink?

If the answer to any of the questions is yes, the individual is in danger of becoming an alcohol dependent. The last question epitomizes the questionnaire. When a person feels that he *needs* a drink, he is drinking to escape. He craves the anesthesia which alcohol supplies.<sup>17</sup>

Alcoholics Anonymous, formed in 1934, is a nonprofit organization of former alcoholics who want to help other alcoholics stop drinking. Its purpose: To help the sick alcoholic recover if he wishes to do so. A drinker's honest desire to recover normal health and habits, and his belief in some form of Supreme Power, are the prerequisites for membership.

Members of Alcoholics Anonymous actively help the patient in his fight to regain normal health, and as his condition improves he in turn helps others in their fight. Some 24,000 former habitual drinkers, members of A.A., understand

better than anyone else the problems of other alcoholics and ex-alcoholics, so a fellowship is thereby created which acts as a mainstay when regression threatens. The organization and its methods are

TABLE 11 \*

DISCIPLINE IN CASES OF REPEATED INTOXICATION—  
PRACTICES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

<i>Disciplinary Action</i>	<i>For Salaried Employees</i>	
	COMPANIES	
	Num- ber	Per Cent
Discharge	264	81.5
Send home	1	0.3
Refer to psychiatrist, or discharge	1	0.3
Refer to Alcoholics Anonymous, or discharge	1	0.3
Special handling after review with medical opinion	1	0.3
Discharge if rehabilitation fails	1	0.3
Place on probationary status	1	0.3
Depends on individual case	4	1.2
Fined	1	0.3
No problem	42	13.0
Not shown	7	2.2
Total	324	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office" (Revised) *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948. Data in this survey by the National Industrial Conference Board are based on information supplied to the Board by 2,479 companies with approximately five million employees. Because the whole investigation required so much data on so many different practices, inquiries were divided into six parts, and each part was sent to a different group of cooperating companies. The companies in each group were carefully selected to be representative to the same degree of different-sized companies and different types of industries. The smallest group comprised 360 companies, the largest 474, and the average 413. It is for this reason that "100 per cent" in the National Industrial Conference Board tables from this survey reprinted in this book represents in the neighborhood of 400 companies. Half of the cooperating companies reported on their practices with regard to hourly workers, and half with regard to salaried employees.

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endorsed by many physicians and clergymen<sup>18</sup>

In view of the alcoholic's deep-seated inability to deal effectively with his problems, effective treatment is usually very difficult. The employer, wife, or friend of the alcoholic can seldom hope to overcome the victim's failures in adjustment. Psychiatric treatment is, however, far more likely to be effective than mere legislation. The businessman who finds that an employee or colleague is a chronic alcoholic must usually decide whether he should sever their business relationships or get along with the victim in spite of his annoying derelictions. Some alcoholic employees have qualities which compensate the employer for their recurring deficiencies, others can only be discharged, in the hope that they will find their way to an institution where positive treatment will be given them. Many will continue to drink until their adjustment problems have been removed and they have developed new mental habits.<sup>19</sup>

Some modern business leaders treat their alcoholic employees as sick people and give them the same consideration given to those who suffer from other diseases. Some companies work with Alcoholics Anonymous members, even taking them into their personnel departments.<sup>20</sup>

### **Habit spasms**

Have you ever been in a railway station or some other public place and seen a woman stick out her tongue at intervals of every two minutes? Or have you seen the boy who recurrently pulls up one corner of his mouth until every passer-by notices him and wonders, "What ails

the kid?" Or the girl who rhythmically wrinkles her nose to the extent that she is called "Rabbit"? Have you heard of the man who was taken to the hospital because he would lie in bed, put his heels and the back of his head on the bed, and then give himself a toss up toward the ceiling? Or have you seen cases of chorea or St. Vitus' dance? The term "tic" is usually given to those muscular twitches which involve only a few muscles. Movements that involve a large number of muscles or the whole body are called "choreic movements." Habit spasms are found most frequently in children, but adults of this type come into an employment office, and the employment man is apt to say, "Did you see that fellow with the 'heebie-jeebies'?"

Why do some people act in so peculiar a manner? The origin of some cases of chorea is in the brain-stem, but most of the "tics" in children develop from some simple irritation of the clothing, such as a tight sleeve, tickling of woolen underclothing, or a sore pimple. The child finds that the movement attracts attention to himself and continues to make the movement even after the cause has been removed. It acts as a sort of pacifier. The movement gives relief from the tension that comes with the urge to do an act when it is inhibited. The satisfaction gained is similar to that of the college girl who is anxious to be popular and, finding that the boys are not attracted to her in large numbers, then talks or acts in a loud manner; or an employee in business who has the ambition to be a big executive, but promotion is slow and he relieves the tension by adopting a distinctive mannerism. Recognition must be obtained in some manner, and it is natural for the habit spasm to

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continue after it has gained the ticquer much attention

Does the tic indicate a dangerous adjustment so that the individual should not be hired? The answer is that he is no more dangerous than the individual who compensates in a less spectacular manner by taking up Sunday School teaching. Of course, if the individual attracts the attention of employees or customers to himself rather than to the work that the employees are to do or the goods that the customers should buy, then the ticquer is a nuisance. It is, however, inadvisable for the employment executive to hire the applicant having a tic with the thought that the habit spasms will soon pass away or that he can cure it. These habit movements are usually very resistant to curative treatment.

### ***Sexual anomalies***

The sex customs of modern civilization are the most remarkable illustration of the strength of the cortical control over the instinctive or animal nature of man. Bear in mind that throughout the millions of years of evolution of man's forebears, no males took part in that whole line of descent except those who had some sex impulse. Small wonder then that it is a strong force in the life of man. Freud and his followers have considerable evidence whereon to build their brand of psychology. With so strong a force, we need not wonder that perversions or anomalies take place in the sex lives of a small percentage of the people whom we meet. The occasions when it is necessary for the executive to deal with serious sex problems, such as perversions, are few in number. Many businessmen think that they can recognize a sex pervert when he applies for a job. This is

not true. At least, no evidence has ever been obtained which indicates that it is possible to recognize the homosexual pervert. When someone meets a stranger and classifies him as a sex pervert merely on the basis of appearances, such as the gaze of the eyes, he is just guessing. The stranger may accidentally give him such an impression because of some characteristic of clothing or voice that unconsciously reminds him of a pervert whom he met previously.

In terms of Freud, the tendencies of the child are *polymorphous*, or many-form. The sexual sense has not developed in the young child. Later, as it develops, it tends to center its aim in some special direction, usually toward the opposite sex and normal conduct in sex life. However, the child's sex tendencies may be developed in any direction according to the influences that take place in the educational and adjustment process.

Nature has given man a strong sex impulse, but civilization has fenced in the impulse with dozens of taboos. It is only natural, therefore, that masturbation should be the most common perversion. A passing addiction to it in infancy is considered normal by many psychologists. Contrary to popular interpretation, masturbation is not to be considered as a cause of insanity but as a result or accompaniment of it.

The best modern opinion has been well set forth by Malamud and Palmer whose conclusions we may briefly summarize. The frequency with which masturbation occurs bears no relation to the incidence of mental disorders. There is no evidence that the practice, per se, even when carried into adult life, is a cause of mental disorders, although it may be indirectly of importance because of the patient's attitude toward his act and

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of what he believes are possible sequelae. In this way masturbation may be a precipitating cause of disturbances of an inferiority and withdrawing type.<sup>21</sup>

When Malamud and Palmer found an abnormal mental state coupled with the masturbation habit, they found people who usually differed from the average in other ways too, e.g., by constitutional peculiarities, lack of proper sex knowledge, misinformation regarding masturbation, unsatisfactory environmental situation, and so on. In those cases where masturbation was believed to be of prime etiological importance, psychotherapy was highly satisfactory, indicating "that the disturbances were due to the conflict rather than the effects of the practice in itself."<sup>22</sup>

Pullias<sup>23</sup> made a study of the beliefs of seventy-five young men regarding masturbation and found that 87 per cent had heard of it as having a seriously damaging effect upon those who practice it. Huschka's<sup>24</sup> investigation disclosed that at least 128 of 320 problem children had been dealt with destructively concerning masturbation. Direct physical threats were employed and over half of these children had been threatened with actual genital injury, thus giving rise to what Freudians refer to as castration anxiety. Nearly all studies of masturbation have indicated that it is an important mental hygiene problem which often has serious effects on personality and should be handled by persons who have both intelligence and emotional balance regarding sex practices.

*Sadism* (the *a* pronounced as in *say*) refers to some few individuals who do not express their sexual tendencies in a normal direction but gratify sexual feelings by the infliction or sight of pain.

The pain may be real or it may be simulated, in which case it is symbolic. This anomaly is found among men more often than among women, as we would naturally expect. An example is a famous American millionaire who raises rabbits and then tears them to pieces with his own hands. In any large organization, one is apt to find mild expressions of the sadistic variety in the form of persons who like to pinch others or stick pins into them.

*Masochism* is the opposite of sadism. The individual's sexual feelings are gratified when he suffers pain. The pain may be real or simulated. The latter is symbolic. The masochistic tendency is found among women more often than among men.

*Exhibitionism* is the gratification of sex by the exposure of the body, especially erogenous parts. It is the showing-off tendency in the extreme. Some analysts claim that the desire of some leaders in business and public affairs to be the "whole show" in the presence of others is merely substituting this type of exhibitionism for a more perverted and unacceptable variety of showing off.

*Voyeurism*, a minor mental maladjustment which contrasts with exhibitionism, is the tendency to derive sexual satisfaction from looking at sexual objects and acts. The "Peeping Tom"<sup>25</sup> who is occasionally caught by campus policemen is an extreme case of voyeurism. (The word comes from the French *voir*, to see.)

Less extreme are those people who show unusual interest in case histories from medical books, who insist upon knowing the intimate details of their friends' lives, and who are happy in listening to a particular kind of gossip about movie stars and other famous



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people Some business concerns have "old maids" who are forever curious about what their associates do after working hours These employees can make an office rather unpleasant for other workers

This unusual type of adjustment is used largely by people whose own lives are drab They are more or less unable to make a satisfactory normal social adjustment, and so they devote time to watching and hearing about others whose activities are nearer normal.

*Homosexuality*, when used as signifying a perversion, is the term given to the desire for sexual relations with persons of the same sex. In this connection we must bear in mind that no man is wholly male, nor is any woman wholly female. Sexness is a relative trait. We are mixtures of physical and mental traits. Many women have the general bodily conformation and pilosity which is characteristic of the male, and many men have some typically female traits It is rather to be expected, then, that some individuals

would prefer members of their own sex. An exciting cause of homosexuality is that of isolation of the sexes as in penitentiaries, on shipboard, and in one-sex boarding schools. "Crushes" are likely to develop where the sex impulse has no normal outlets. Coeducational colleges are more in harmony with the mental life of human beings than one-sex schools In the coeducational institutions the two sexes mingle with each other in a normal manner. The family type of social contacts is present. A boy is not some heroic sexless knight in armor to the girl who sees him each day in the classroom and notes his humanness when asked a question by the instructor. Boys and girls will continue to fall in love with each other until human nature changes, and the best preventive of sexual anomalies is to give the child and youth a sane and normal sex environment where parents are not shocked by sexual digressions but are intelligent in redirecting them.

### PROJECTS

1. Study any tendencies you may have toward fantasy or daydreaming Which of the following types seems to be dominant Display fantasy, Saving daydream, Fantasy of grandeur, Homage daydream, Suffering hero daydream? Can you suggest possible causes for the direction the tendency takes?
2. Consider people whom you have known and list any examples of fixed ideas you may have noted Can you discover rational relationships between the fixed ideas and their adjustment background?
3. Make a collection of newspaper clippings concerning persons whose peculiar behavior has gotten them mention in the newspapers. Compare any explanations given in the clippings with hypotheses of your own.
4. Read some recent articles on "Alcoholics Anonymous." Evaluate the benefits and limitations of the methods of this group.
5. Analyze, for his compensatory behavior, an acquaintance of middle age who has never married. To what extent has such activity resulted in satisfactory adjustment?
6. Draw up a list of beneficial and possibly harmful adjustment influences in coeducational and non-coeducational schools Check those which you can substantiate from your own or your friends' experiences
7. The following is taken from a book on gypsy life.  
"Enraged at an insult to his race, Gabor gathered his Romanı friends together and got uproariously drunk Coming home penniless, he was so ashamed that, in or-

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der to rehabilitate himself in his own eyes, he beat his wife." From Irving Brown, *Gipsy Fires in America* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1924, p 207

- a Can you offer an instance of the same type of projective behavior from your own life?
- b Or, from the behavior you have observed in some other person?

- 8 Read several reports of experiments on rat behavior to note some of the ways in which frustration seems to affect animals.

In an experiment made to ascertain the effects of irregular and insufficient feeding in infancy, it was found that rats that had been subjected to infantile feeding frustration in infancy hoarded more than two and one-half times as much as their freely fed litter-mate controls. Hunt concluded that the "results tend to substantiate the

psychoanalytic claim that infantile experience is an effective determinant of adult behavior, and they are interpreted in terms of learning theory."

- 9 To realize how energy may be dammed up, conduct this experiment. Have a person time you for ten trials of thirty seconds each. During each trial make the figure 5 as rapidly as you can in the usual manner of making a 5. Then make the figure 5 in an inverted manner as rapidly as possible for the same number of trials and the same number of seconds to each trial. Then make the 5 right side up as rapidly as you can for about five trials of the usual thirty seconds each. Do not allow more than ten seconds rest between any of the trials. Plot a curve of the number of 5's made in each of the 25 trials. Note the waves of efficiency and the release of the dammed-up energy.

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## 5 Adjustment by functional ailments

PATIENT *"Oh, doctor, I have the most awful pain somewhere in my shoulders"*

DOCTOR *"And when did you first notice the pain, madam?"*

PATIENT *"About two months ago, I think. Yes, it was two months ago. It was just about the time Mrs. Neighbor got her new fur coat, the snob."*

A PSYCHIATRIST REPORTED THE CASE OF a woman who claimed that she had stomach trouble because of a frog in her stomach. "She 'knew' she had swallowed a frog egg while on a picnic. Her physician ridiculed the idea but she was so insistent that he finally agreed to operate for the removal of the frog. Accordingly, he sent her to a hospital to be prepared for the operation and he, at the same time, hired a small boy to catch a frog for him. To give the woman the impression that she had really had an operation, an incision was made in her abdomen, and the doctor showed her the "frog," in a bottle of alcohol, which had presumably been removed from her stomach. The woman was delighted and at once recovered, but only temporarily. Three months after the psuedo-operation, she claimed that the first frog had laid some eggs and that she now had two frogs in her stomach!

This amusing example illustrates the

uselessness of ordinary logical thinking in the consideration of the many ailments which are functional rather than organic.

When a surgeon is prevailed upon to operate for a functional disturbance, the operation does not, as a rule, result in permanent cure. A physician may occasionally give "placebos," pills which have no medicinal value, in order to satisfy a patient temporarily. However, physicians who treat the functionally ill realize that certain patients need an improved adjustment to their problems more than they need pills.

### *How illness often becomes a means of adjustment*

Any form of invalidism is likely to be useful as a means of adjustment to problems. Almost every child learns that he can avoid unpleasant duties such as mowing the lawn, washing dishes, or studying his lessons, by feigning illness.

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Jo is a boy of twelve who has been feeling very much out of the family picture. He is the youngest child. His sister is soon to be married and his brother has just started to work, but Jo is at an age when he is not particularly interesting to any member of the family. He has been doing only fairly well in his school work and he has definitely neglected his arithmetic.

One morning he went down to breakfast and ate rather heartily. He had oatmeal with cream, eggs, bacon, jam, and milk, and while he was eating he recalled that he was going to have an arithmetic test that morning. He had a queer, twitchy feeling of excitement in his stomach at the thought of the arithmetic test. He started walking slowly to school, thinking more about the test, and his stomach felt queerer and the oatmeal weighed very heavily on it. He had a vague feeling, which was hardly a thought, that if his breakfast were to come up he wouldn't have to go to school, and the arithmetic test came to mind again. Suddenly he found it hard to keep the breakfast down.

Shortly after his arrival at school, it did come up. He was sent home by the principal with a clear conscience to have a day in bed. The principal telephoned his mother, who immediately became concerned. She put Jo to bed in the guest room and made a fuss over him such as he had not experienced since he was quite a small boy. His sister came in and showed him her wedding presents, his brother stopped and had a talk with him before going out in the evening, an event which had not occurred for months, and his father spent the evening reading to him.

This upset stomach had a high value: no arithmetic test, and solicitude from all the people from whom he had been wishing attention for some time. The next time Jo was faced with a difficult situation and there was a queer feeling in his stomach, it was no longer necessary to go through all the preliminary steps. Now meals just come up without further consideration on his part.<sup>1</sup>

The child's convenient illness often brings about considerable sympathy and attention. Later the same child meets

problems for which he lacks requisite skills or energies to solve. The poorly adjusted individual cannot admit to himself his own lack of courage to make direct attack upon his problems or duties. That would lower his sense of self-worth. However, the old habits of evasion through ailment take place subconsciously because the pattern for that kind of adjustment has been used in the past. His ego is sustained because he himself is not aware of the true cause of his ailment. He believes that he is ill. In fact he is ill, but the origin of the illness has been forgotten. He repressed the recognition of his inabilities or deficiencies.

We must not confuse *Repression* with *Suppression*. The latter is a conscious process, we use it when we force an idea out of our minds by deliberately attending to something else. A person gets a letter containing bad news on the morning of an important examination, he forces himself to put it aside and go through with the examination. In other words, he suppresses his tendency to grief or anxiety for the time being. If it were *repressed*, he would forget that he had ever had the letter. Such repression does occur, especially in certain neurotic types of personalities, but not out of a clear sky, that is, the matter repressed is connected with earlier conflicts which underwent repression. A young woman stenographer lost her job because she forgot to transcribe an important letter, and when she maintained that she had not taken it she was thought to be lying. The letter was addressed to a man whose name was that of a former sweetheart who had jilted her. The normal adult, apparently, does not make much use of repression; he handles his conflicts, his griefs and disappointments, in other ways.<sup>2</sup>

The executive whose office boy reports on the first day of the baseball season that he is too ill to work but at the same time winks knowingly to the boss, who himself enjoys baseball, has insight into

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the "illness." In contrast to the office boy, the stenographer, an introverted spinster, may have a splitting headache and find it necessary to go home and go to bed. She probably lacks insight into her adjustments because she fails to recognize that her illness is her subconscious method of avoiding a visit from a former classmate who always could capture more boy friends than she could.

Many ailments do have an organic basis, but some are wholly or partially functional. We must bear in mind that a pain is felt through the mechanisms of the brain rather than only at the point of injury. We say that the pain of the psychoneurotic is in his "head." Well, all pains are felt in the head. Surgeons tell us that, when they sever the foot of a soldier, the soldier can still "feel" the ache of his corns or the bedclothes pressing on his "foot." The war veteran who had had both feet cut off and yet predicted the weather from the aches of his corns was not merely "joshing" his hearers. Stimuli passed over certain nerve tracts which formerly conveyed impulses from his corns, and the response in his brain was quite the same as it had been before he had had his feet cut off. A psychological pain, therefore, is just as painful as an organic pain. We do our friends an injustice when we tell them that they only imagine the pain and that, if they wanted to do so, they could forget it. They are not helped by scoldings. Rather, they become worse. But, on the other hand, we should not coddle the patient.

Some pains are conditioned responses, as we can readily see in many children. If father sits down to the table and tells mother that spinach gives him indigestion, the little members of the family

tend to develop the same symptoms when required to eat their spinach. Mothers who suffer from painful menstruation condition their daughters to the same pains when they reach maturity. Epidemics of various sorts have been reported in schools, after one child had a real or a functional ailment that impressed the other children. For this reason, intelligent teachers and parents do not discuss their aches and pains in the presence of children.

Medical students often develop the symptoms of the patients whom they study. When the writer arranges tours through state hospitals for the benefit of his students, he usually finds that one or two students develop enough symptoms to require some form of treatment. In some cases the student must be sent to a psychiatrist for mental treatment before he recovers. Suggestion, no doubt, plays an important part in many of our functional illnesses.

### ***Functional illness enables the individual to evade barriers***

In this discussion, we want to give emphasis to the part that illness plays as a means of escape from unpleasant problems. The classic case of the girl who was engaged to the man she loved and became totally deaf when she realized that he no longer loved her is illustrative of a definite attempt to escape reality through illness. She became deaf on the evening when her sweetheart called with the express purpose of telling her that he no longer loved her and wished to be released from the engagement. Deafness enabled her to evade the problem.

Illness may be an escape from an unpleasant situation even though such an

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adjustment will not be admitted or recognized by the patient. One businessman of unusual honesty borrowed money from his relatives and friends and earnestly expected to be able to pay it back from anticipated profits. Unfortunately, the business did not prosper and the money was lost. The debtor could not face his creditors; nor could he commit suicide because he loved his wife and child. Suddenly he became totally blind and has remained blind for several years. The examining physicians are convinced that the blindness has no organic cause. Strange as it may seem, his blindness is not a barrier to him but is an acceptable mode of adjustment to an otherwise unbearable situation.

Sickness not only keeps fearful men out of battle but also enables new employees to seek to evade failure on the new job, as reported by one executive:

In this connection I might say that it has been a continual source of amazement to me how frequently men stay home during the first few weeks on a new position. One would imagine that nothing short of serious illness would prevent prompt and regular attendance on the job until it was thoroughly mastered and a competent understudy was on hand to keep things properly moving. But such is not the case.<sup>3</sup>

Thousands of employees are uncertain regarding their abilities and, being unable to admit their limitations, they may make an adjustment by becoming sickly. Sickness is often an acceptable excuse for vocational mediocrity or failure. Many executives, too, realize that they cannot achieve outstanding business success, and so their desk drawers are filled with pills and medicine bottles. Sickness, conscious and subconscious in nature, is an acceptable excuse for our inability to achieve

the eminence we desire. People who evade their barriers by means of illness feel that employers, teachers, parents, friends, and relatives have no right to expect the "sick" to accomplish very much when they are "too ill" to work. At the same time, they have the satisfaction of knowing that they do drag through the day's work when others tell them that they really ought to be home in bed!

Most members of our American culture are sympathetic toward persons who are organically sick and toward those who use illness as a means of evading problems. Almost everyone is practically encouraged to use illness as an excuse for failure. This situation should lead us to be suspicious of the real reason for any illness which is not obviously caused by some organic condition. Furthermore, a knowledge of common adjustment patterns which include illness should enable us to choose more intelligently the person with whom we work or live, such as the employee or the mate.

The young man or woman in love as well as the executive should be able to recognize the more common patterns for maladjustment such as neurasthenia. A neurasthenic wife, for example, is the kind of spouse who keeps her mate busy propping up a partner who insists upon being hard to live with. The neurasthenic mate is a true psychological "ball and chain." For the lover, the time to recognize the neurasthenic is before marriage; not after. For the executive, the best time to deal with psychoneurotic employees is before they are hired. Of course, if the prospective neurasthenic mate or employee has compensating qualities, the marriage or employment may be satisfactory, but the one who

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must bear the effects of their maladjustments should be aware of the extra load he will have to carry. The person who knows the *syndrome* (pattern of symptoms) of the more common psychoneurotic ailments has an important advantage in human relations.

### ***The psychoneuroses***

Many experts refuse to classify the ineffective adjustment patterns that are commonly found in the behavior of psychoneurotic personalities. Their objection is that few cases of "perfect" patterns of symptoms are found among clinical patients. Combinations of certain symptoms are common, however, and our discussion will include the use of the more common terms in this division of psychological literature.

The terms *psychoneurosis* and *neurosis* are used interchangeably by many psychologists. In this book the term *psychoneurosis* is used the more often. It does not designate a specific disease. Rather, it indicates a level or degree of severity in maladjustment. It refers to a level between the psychosis, or insanity, and an inappropriate adjustment, such as a simple defense mechanism of little seriousness. Some experts classify the psychoneuroses with organic ailments. Psychoneuroses often do involve many physical symptoms, such as headache, backache, indigestion, constipation, and dysmenorrhea. The extent to which these bodily symptoms are cause or effect or mere accompaniments of maladjustments is unknown. However, we shall describe these symptoms for the benefit of the psychological neophyte so that he can recognize them when he finds himself, his friends, or his employees having

the reactions characteristic of the psychoneurotic.

*Neurasthenia* means literally *asthenia*, or exhaustion, of the nerves. It is often called nervous exhaustion or nervous breakdown. However, it is really not so much an exhaustion of nerve energy as a case of misplaced energy. It is more common among women than among men. The main symptoms in the syndrome are (a) chronic bodily fatigue, (b) irritability (occasionally the patient exhibits pronounced exhalation, but this is soon followed by fatigue and irritability), (c) inability to concentrate attention on any one task, (d) bad temper, (e) moodiness, (f) self-analysis and self-pity and (g) *hypochondria*, or excessive attention to the functioning of the bodily organs, with continued functional pains, is a frequent accompaniment. As soon as the doctor shows the neurasthenic that she cannot have that kind of pain where she has located it, she then claims that the pain has moved to some other part of the body. The more attention the pain receives, the worse it becomes. For this reason it is well to keep medical books in the physician's office and the public library. They should not be in most homes. If the housewife is tempted to buy medical books, let her buy, instead, a book on how to operate a tourist home or how to rear her children.

What are the causes? Some men attribute neurasthenia to heredity, but it is generally considered to be due very largely to an inability to face reality. It is an evasional device. As in most psychoneurotic ailments, the evading individual is likely to be in a state of conflict between his instinctive tendencies and his intelligent strivings. A house-

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wife, for example, has instinctive urges to meet and enjoy the company of handsome men whom she likes, but she also knows that she must obey the rules of conduct of our culture. In her conflicts, physiological imbalances arise in her nervous system. Freud<sup>4</sup> concluded that neurasthenia was nothing more nor less than the expression of suppressed sexual excitement.

Neurasthenia may be accentuated by bad habits such as late hours, sexual excesses, and alcoholism. The endocrine glands may be a factor in the psychoneurosis, but that has not been demonstrated as yet. The strenuous life of the present age is supposed to be responsible in many cases. This is hardly correct. The stress of modern life for many people lies in the fact that they do not have enough important things to do. This applies particularly to the women of the middle and upper income classes. Labor-saving devices have eliminated most of the hard but beneficent labor of the American home. In addition to finding themselves more or less useless, many women have a kind of indefinable, unfulfilled longing to be something or to do something worth while. Many are out of the general scheme of things except as spectators or as they concoct something to do.

A device commonly chosen by an idle woman to escape neurasthenia and to make herself a part of the scheme of things is to "take up a cause." She hears that certain factory workers are underpaid and so starts a home for them; or she finds that some dogs do not have homes, so she starts a home for homeless dogs. Some of these "causes" are quite worthy and legitimate, but they are not a natural part of the lives of these

women. As the term expresses it, "the cause is taken up."

Attaching one's self to a cause is better, however, than seeking relief in a continuous round of social pleasures. When a woman has a so-called nervous breakdown, because she has dashed from one meeting to the next meeting, then to a show, and then to a dance and supper at breakfast time, the breakdown is really caused by mental factors that caused her to dash around in circles. The rushing around to functions is merely the expression of a lack of adjustment to life, and the breakdown is just a nice name for a maladjustment. When effort is merely effort and not a part of a unified plan of living, then the effort becomes fatiguing and unsatisfying. The individual becomes irritable and moody. Life is futile.

What are the remedies? The usual method suggested by physicians is to take a rest cure at home or in a sanatorium. A rest cure of the right kind—a cure that builds up the mind as well as the body—is desirable. Many cures, however, are more harmful than beneficial for neurasthenics. If the patient merely goes to a new environment where she sits down and does nothing, she is not helped to build a new philosophy of life that will revitalize her. Temporarily the rest is helpful if it removes the patient to an environment which does not have some of her old problems, and in so far as the maladjustment may be accentuated by a rundown physical state.

If the attention is directed to the bodily organs or functions, harm is done. Sensations of pain and discomfort are soon established even though the organic state is perfect. Detailed attention to the diet often makes the indigestion worse.



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The physician's questions regarding symptoms are interpreted to mean that the symptoms are present and suggestibility runs wild.

Pains and aches should be minimized by friends and associates, and the patient should be given mental pictures of health and strength rather than pity and sympathy. Make her feel that she is missing fun by her illness. Social contacts should be with those of dynamic, positive personalities. The mental imagery should be of a very happy sort. Autosuggestion is of value if the patient can be trained to apply it with complete belief. If she can do so with conviction, it is well for her to renew her interest in some religion and to acquire a philosophy of her own.

The real problem is that of getting the patient to live outside herself rather than within her own feelings. She should acquire absorbing and satisfying work that fits into some plausible scheme for her own philosophy of life. Work which necessity forces her to do is the main help. Mental re-education is the best route to attain this end of a healthy outlook, but the whole scheme of treatment is more easily applied on paper than to the patient. Most of these patients are not ill enough for scientists to spend much time and effort on them, and so they are neglected and allowed to grow worse. Neurasthenia is exceedingly difficult to relieve for any great length of time, and it is much harder to cure. One lesson that the neurasthenics indicate to the parent is that his son and daughter should be required to work at some steady occupation which is worth while to society and to the individual. From the standpoint of sound mental adjust-

ment, we should have many women going into business or some other kind of work, unless they are, of course, needed in the home. If business will not accept them, then we must expect to have more neurasthenic wives and daughters and to supply institutions and "causes" to take care of them.

It is difficult to secure data to prove that women are more afflicted with neurasthenia than are men, but many physicians judge this to be true. If so, it may be partly caused by the fact that we are more solicitous of girls than of boys. When Johnnie, aged six, comes into the house, crying because of a skinned nose, we tell him, "Be a man and stop crying." When his sister, aged eight, comes into the house crying because of a skinned knee we tell her, "Well now, that is too bad. Let's see that knee. Maybe we can put something on it to make it feel better." We still give women the impression that they are weaker than men and, therefore, that we must defer to them because they are women. Daughters should be required to work just as much as sons. The work may be different, but they should sense the joy of a positive productive life rather than the negative attitude of attention through illness.

*Psychasthenia* is a group term used for tendencies such as obsessions, manias, impulsions, and phobias.<sup>5</sup> In recent years the general term has been almost discontinued, because it is more accurate to treat these tendencies as specific forms of maladjustment. The individual with a mania may have a strong impulse to set fire to his home, to steal money, or to injure someone. Some psychoneurotics wonder whether they are alive and whether they are really themselves.

## *adjustment by functional ailments*

Sometimes the world seems to be closing in about them and crushing them. They know that their fears and impulses are without any real basis, but still they continue to fight them. We are not concerned here with the true or completely psychasthenic patient, but rather with the psychasthenic tendencies that are found among the members of the office, the school, and the home.

Many physicians consider the *anxiety syndrome* the most frequently observed form of the various functional illnesses. Typical symptoms are a constant feeling of tension and apprehension, headache, irritability, insomnia, desire to be alone, mental weariness, and feelings of unreality. Psychosomatic symptoms are dilated pupils, tremor of outstretched hands, increased pulse pressure, flushing, giddiness, perspiration, breathlessness, and feelings of suffocation. No one patient has all symptoms.<sup>6</sup> The presence of many of them, however, is recognized by those trained in psychosomatic medicine as a signal to treat the emotional as well as the organic causes.

In addition to psychoneurotic symptoms such as manias and phobias, we have other milder and more common negative-value tendencies.

Worry is the most common tendency under this heading. In general, we consider worry an unpleasant mental state, and yet, like any other habit that is continued, it may become agreeable in its own way. A worry may hide a symbolic wish, as does the excessive worry regarding the health of a wealthy uncle whose money we hope to inherit, but we never discuss the wish with ourselves. A boy worries about the welfare of his mother when she goes away from home. Inas-

much as she has kept him tied to her apron string, he experiences a sense of relief and may secretly hope that the train will be wrecked in order that he may be completely free. A mother sends her children out to play, and when they do not come home at the usual time, she worries, partly because of the fact that some neighbor's child was lost or killed, but also because she will have a greater thrill when the children do come back. In many cases the worry is a kind of thrill or a preparation for a thrill. It relieves the monotony of housework. Worry may also be a kind of mental random movement which can be made for the solution of a problem when physical attention is impossible.

Temporary worry is not so great a problem as the persistent apprehensive variety of worry regarding one's financial status, health, or studies. In many cases there is just cause for worry on these subjects, but the psychasthenic does nothing about it. If a student is failing in his studies, he should not worry about it but get to work. If a person worries about his health, the answer is to have a thorough physical examination and then, if the worry is unjustified, stop it. But here comes the difficulty. When the chronic worrier is told all about the fact that he has no real reason to worry, he still continues to worry. For this reason, it is well to ask the expert in worry whether he really wants to stop worrying. Even if he answers, "Of course I do," he should have the idea emphasized most strongly that he must really want to stop worrying before anything can be done for him. He must determine to picture in his mind positive, healthful, pleasant images rather than the expected unpleasant

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imagery Furthermore, he must put into effect definite schedules of work and recreation which will help to develop new mental habits in dealing with his problems He must use direct attack.

*Stage fright* is a common negative-value tendency Why should anyone be fearful when he speaks before others? If he has nothing worth saying, he can simply say so and sit down, but, if he has a message of any importance, he ought to be glad to give it to his fellows Of course, a talk in public puts one in a position where the ego is liable to be assailed The speaker knows that some members of the audience may know more about the subject than he does, and he fears their disapproval This can be overcome by the speaker's frank acknowledgment that he is presenting his own experiences or views and that he would like others there to tell him wherein he is wrong This does not mean that the speaker who is called upon for a five-minute report or discussion should then spend a half-hour in making apologies Nor need his talk begin with an apology But his attitude should be that of the student and learner rather than that of the polished expert In fact, very many of our psychological difficulties, particularly our self-conscious feelings and fears, would vanish if we could only get ourselves into the mental state of the true student The true student seeks truth and the facts Whatever his searches may uncover, it will not jeopardize his ego, because his ego is not involved The true scientist is interested in finding the things that fail as well as the things that succeed, because he wants to know all aspects of the problem—not just those that give him prestige.

If the speaker makes up his mind that

speaking in public is an opportunity for him to exchange ideas with his fellows and at the same time an opportunity to learn more than he can give, he is likely to have little trouble in speaking anywhere, unless he has had a serious shock while speaking in public If he has had a decidedly unpleasant experience while speaking in public, then he will have to regain his ease of speaking by gradual steps He should begin on small and sympathetic audiences. He should practice on people who know much less than he does of the subject he talks about He should get away from the idea that he is competing with anyone He is just going to tell what he knows as clearly and as well as he can, and thereby he hopes to learn more himself

*Abulia* or the *abulic obsession* is also a common negative-value tendency This term is applied to the inability to get started on the job that awaits our action. We have a report to prepare or a call to make. We often find ourselves postponing it and procrastinating until we are too embarrassed to do it This is one reason why operating a business according to a definite schedule is better than trusting to the initiative of the employees A large part of the executive's work consists of setting schedules for his associates and then seeing that the schedules are followed. Almost everyone often finds himself unable to do the things that he wants to do but somehow never gets done The answer is to make a schedule for his annoying hang-over tasks The student, for example, should set a definite date when an assignment is to be completed, and at once start a small part of the task He should not plan to complete the whole job or a large part of it at one sitting, but should make the out-

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line, and then he will find that he can continue for a reasonable length of time

Another help is "whenpecking" By this is meant enlisting the cooperation of one's colleagues The businessman can, for example, tell his wife or secretary that he wants to finish a task by a certain date and request her to jog his memory occasionally Some evening when he may have made up his mind to go to a stag party, his wife will say "When are you going to finish that fourth lesson in business management?" He may be more or less offended at the insinuation, but he will know that she is right and probably will get busy on the important task.

When dangerous and irrational negative-value tendencies are persistent, such as the handicapping phobia, compulsion neurosis, impulsions to say indecent words in public, and the desire to injure some person who is loved and admired, then it is well to consult the psychiatrist. These impulsions are symbolic of patterns which have been connected with the adjustment of the individual to some unrecognizable and inadmissible impulse, such as the sex impulse.

*Hysteria* is a word used in many different ways by the psychiatrists, but it is most frequently applied to certain unstable emotional states that come and go without apparent cause. An example is that of a housewife who, while busily engaged in her housework, such as sweeping the kitchen floor, suddenly breaks forth into a fit of intense weeping She may cry bitterly for a few minutes and then pick up her broom and resume her work When she is asked why she cried she says that she did not cry. She is unable to recall the incident be-

cause of her mental dissociation. In many cases the individual also acquires a paralysis of a limb or an area of anesthesia, or has tics and tremors, or may be in a state of mental stupor and have strong delusions

Hysteria is a mental disorder which is characterized not by hysterical behavior such as crying but by mental dissociation One famous case of hysteria had a history of five different personalities<sup>7</sup> Hysteria often includes pronounced disturbances in bodily and mental activity and may result in illnesses such as hysterical blindness, as in the case of the businessman who became blind after he was unable to pay back money borrowed for his failing business, mentioned on page 95<sup>8</sup>

In some cases of hysteria the patient seems to acquire his functional ailment as an accompaniment of an emotional outburst In the ordinary case of invalidism, the patient acquires the chronic ailment more slowly. Invalidism is more common among intelligent persons Hysteria is more common among children and adults of low intelligence than among persons of high intelligence The hysteria patients have a tendency toward simulation and delusions Many of them have falsely accused those whom they love Children have caused their parents to be brought into court, because they claimed that their parents had locked them in the attic or the cellar and had given them no food for days at a time.

The chief suggestion for all of us is the fact that disease may be truly organic, functional, or a combination of the two If it is functional, it is just as serious as if it were organic, but it must be dealt with along psychological lines

About one fourth of all adult patients

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consecutively admitted to Mayo Clinic during the course of a study received a diagnosis solely of some type of neurosis. Most of the neurotic patients were somewhat younger than the other members of their occupational groups, probably be-

manual work are less neurotically inclined than those who do other types of work. The highest incidence of neurosis was found among teachers, most of whom were females. Fifty-four per cent of the teachers examined had some type of func-

TABLE 12

INCIDENCE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF FUNCTIONAL AND ORGANIC DISORDERS REPORTED FOR PATIENTS CONSECUTIVELY ADMITTED TO MAYO CLINIC

Occupation	Patients	Sex	Age, Years		Purely Functional Disease			Functional and Organic Disease			Some Functional Disease (Purely Functional Plus Functional and Organic)	
			Average	Range	Patients	Percentage	Average Age, Years	Patients	Percentage	Average Age, Years	Patients	Percentage
Clergymen	130	male	48	20-80	31	24	45	19	15	48	50	39
Dentists	128	male	45	25-77	31	24	43	7	6	50	38	30
Farmers	145	male	48	21-81	13	9	40	15	10	38	28	19
Housewives	116	female	44	21-74	31	27	40	11	9	44	42	36
Lawyers	166	male	48	23-79	31	19	44	28	17	47	59	36
Nuns	128	female	44	20-75	27	21	40	27	21	46	54	42
Physicians	129	male	47	22-68	13	10	48	9	7	52	22	17
Railroad engineers	100	male	57	33-66	4	4	50	5	5	50	9	9
School teachers	16	male	34	25-59	4	25	41	4	25	40	8	50
	106	female	38	18-63	36	34	39	22	21	43	58	55

cause people tend to become less emotional as they grow older. Figures also revealed a somewhat higher incidence of neurosis among women patients.

The lowest incidence of neurosis was found among railroad engineers, and the next lowest among farmers. Smith and Hightower believe that those who do

tional disease. See Table 12 for comparisons of the incidence of functional disease among nine occupational groups.<sup>9</sup> Of course these findings apply only to the groups admitted to Mayo Clinic and may or may not be representative of other members of the same occupational groups.

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### ***The extent of neurosis in industry***

The most carefully conducted studies to learn the extent of neurosis in industry were made during World War II by the Medical Research Council, Industrial Research Board, London. The sickness absences of some 3,000 workers of thirteen light and medium engineering factories were investigated for six months by a special staff of physicians and social workers. Judgment as to the existence or extent of neurosis was made as objectively as possible. Assessment of neurosis was made only after examination of each worker, after factory records had been consulted, after one and a half hours had been devoted to testing and examining each person, and after special examinations such as x-ray had been given where considered desirable. Neurosis was diagnosed "definite" only when it resulted in one or more days' absence from work, when the patient believed it to be illness, and when it was diagnosed by the medical examiner as being of neurotic origin.\*

The incidence of neurosis was found to be 10 per cent for all the workers, 9.1 per cent of the male and 13.0 per cent of the female workers suffered a disabling neurosis, and an additional 20 per cent consisting of 19.2 per cent of male and 23.0 per cent of female workers suffered minor neurosis during the six-months' period.

The study revealed that one fourth to one third of absences from work for reasons of illness were attributable to neurosis. Neurosis caused the loss of 1.09 per cent of the men's working days and of 2.40 per cent of those of the women.

The extent of the incidence of neurosis was revealed during the six-months' study period by the fact that 28.3 per cent of the men and 36.0 per cent of the women suffered from neurosis, and 9.1 per cent of the men and 13.0 per cent of the women suffered a definite neurosis.

Circumstances associated with less than the usual incidence of neurosis

1. more than average normal domestic responsibilities, with under 75 hours of industrial duty per week,
2. more than average social contacts;
3. work found congenial.

Workers who had considerable domestic responsibility without excessive hours of duty at the factory or elsewhere (under 75 hours a week), experienced less than the average amount of neurosis, the same was true of those with a wide range of human contacts, and of those with a job that they liked. This is understandable since they were satisfying some common human aspirations and needs. Mere freedom from any source of worry appeared by comparison to be of little moment, though the small group with considerable sources of worry, such as those due to separation from close friends or to illness among relatives, had more neurosis than the rest.

Circumstances associated with more than the usual incidence of neurosis.

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\* Neurosis was the term used to describe any illness which was apparently of psychological origin. No cases of mental deficiency or organic nervous disease were included in the survey. A few abnormalities of personality were classified as minor neurosis when they seemed to indicate reduced mental health, but ordinarily they were not classified as neurosis. Only when mental inefficiency could be judged to be an illness or a deviation from the worker's usual mental efficiency was it classified as neurosis.

"Minor neurosis" also included a few cases of psychosomatic illness of doubtful origin, but did not include slight disabilities, such as occasional headaches or insomnia.

"Definite neurosis" was diagnosed when both doctor and patient agreed on the existence of disabling illness, usually causing absence from work.

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1. working over 75 hours of industrial duty per week,
- 2 taking the least adequate diets,
- 3 restricted social contacts, recreation, or leisure interests,
- 4 widowhood or separation, and, among the women, marriage with partial home duties,
- 5 considerable abnormal responsibilities,
- 6 work found boring, or disliked,
- 7 very light or sedentary work,
- 8 work requiring skill inappropriate to the worker's intelligence,
- 9 assembly, bench, inspection or tool-room work,
- 10 work requiring constant attention, especially if giving little scope for initiative or technical responsibility,
- 11 work programmes offering little variety,
- 12 tasks for which the lighting was unsatisfactory

A decrease in social contacts was the circumstance most commonly associated with neurosis. Those whose leisure was usually spent alone, or only with their immediate family, suffered more than average neurosis, whether their contacts were reduced because of solitary interests, restrictions imposed by home duties, or other reasons. To a lesser degree, those with diminished recreation and leisure interests also suffered from a higher incidence of neurosis than the average. Neurosis was more frequent among groups whose domestic circumstances could be regarded as unsatisfactory, for example, those widowed or separated, and married women with partial home duties (i.e. with either housework or the care of children, but not both). This group of married women had poorer health, probably because it included most of those whose homes had been disrupted by the war. On the other hand, the married women with full home duties (both housework and the care of children) had experienced better health than the other married women and as good health as the single women, though they had been more frequently absent from work. Evidently wartime factory hours are unsuitable for married women with full home duties, but with shortened hours such

women may be efficient and healthy factory workers<sup>10</sup>

*Malingering versus neurosis* The executive who supervises large numbers of factory employees sooner or later has the problem of deciding whether an employee who claims compensation is suffering from an organic ailment or is merely malingering. True malingering places a premium on fraud. Both malingering and neurosis may spring from maladjustments of personality, so that differentiation between the two is very difficult.<sup>11</sup>

An analysis of 1,000 consecutive disability insurance claims for psychoneurosis was made five years after disability had commenced. Almost 30 per cent of the cases had been incorrectly diagnosed. The mortality rate for these neurotics also showed that neurotics have a distinctly greater life expectancy than normal persons and that suicide is very rare among them.<sup>12</sup>

The fact that many neurotics, especially hysteria cases, do not have an organic ailment is often indicated by their ability to use muscles or limbs in certain situations but not when they are at work. One telegrapher, for example, could send messages perfectly when he knew that his key was connected to a testing machine, but he developed a cramp as soon as his key was attached to the main line. Many of these occupational neurotics can use their muscles very effectively at play but are unable to use them in work. The expert in diagnosis uses various tests to determine whether the claimant for compensation is malingering or neurotic. Important tests are willingness to take medicine regularly, to undergo surgical operations, to submit

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to repeated examinations, and the content of dreams and conversation<sup>13</sup>

The occupational neurotic is usually very unhappy in his work or hates some part of it. Sometimes he merely associates some personal emotional problem with his work. Neuroses of this kind are more likely to occur when the worker is unable to quit his job because of his geographic isolation, requirements of a long-term contract, or enlistment in the army. An injury, fatigue of certain muscles, or an example of a fellow-worker may suggest the way in which the maladjustment can be made to disappear or how the patient's emotional problems can be corrected through systematic psychological treatment.

### *Allergies*

*Allergy* may be defined as a special sensitivity to a substance that is harmless to most individuals. We all know persons who cannot eat certain foods without distress. Others cannot be in the presence of furry or hairy animals without developing asthma or skin eruptions. About 10 per cent of the people of the United States are allergic to a marked degree and another 40 per cent to a minor extent. Wheat foods, eggs, and milk are the most common causes of food allergies. The victims develop certain itches, aches, sneezes, and wheezes. In one community survey regarding allergies, it was found that 10 per cent of the people had hay fever, 3.6 per cent asthma, 2.9 per cent eczema, 3.7 per cent urticaria, and 3.3 per cent gastrointestinal allergy<sup>14</sup>

Some allergies are undoubtedly of organic origin, but many appear to be psychological. For example, one woman always suffered from asthma when she

went to a certain railroad station. Someone told her that the station dust was of an unusual chemical nature and that she could be cured by having an injection of the dust. Her doctor injected her with a solution of common salt. After that the attacks of asthma ceased<sup>15</sup>

When 50 adult patients with bronchial asthma were taken from an allergy clinic and studied psychiatrically, 37 patients appeared to have an emotional component in their asthmatic attacks, 20 patients reported that the first attack was emotionally precipitated, and 30 patients showed neurotic traits usually of a compulsive nature<sup>16</sup>

Studies of patients having arthritis, colitis, and obesity<sup>17</sup> indicate that many have deep-seated resentments or feelings of guilt. Their resentments are likely to be directed against employers, members of the family, or teachers. When primitive men were aroused to anger against an enemy, they could expend their aroused energies against the enemy. Although civilized men are also aroused to anger, their heightened bodily activities cannot be promptly expressed, so they suffer a prolonged state of anxiety. When a man loses his job, he has the same fears experienced by his cave-man ancestors who needed food, but the stronger heartbeat and extra secretions are now superfluous. The biochemical changes which facilitate adjustive action must be suppressed, but suppression does not remove them. The aroused bodily resources find expression in protective and aggressive reactions of asthma, arthritis, duodenal ulcer, allergies, and hundreds of other apparently unrelated manifestations.<sup>18</sup>

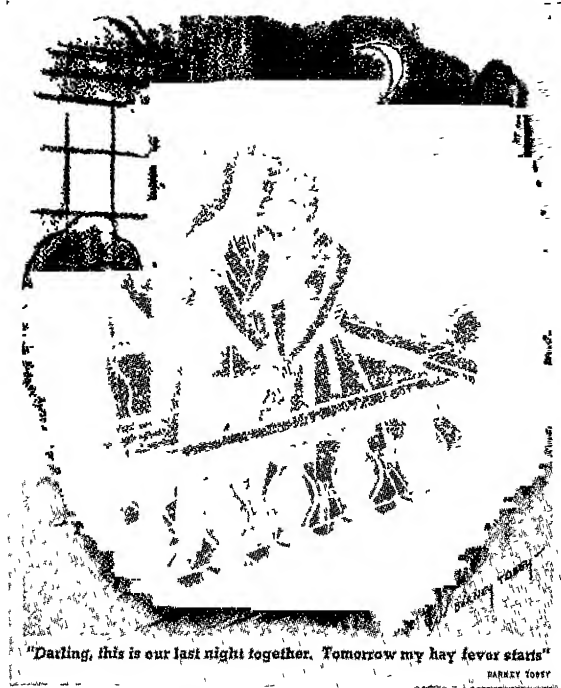
Psychosomatic medicine<sup>19</sup> and related researches are developing new and more effective approaches to the relations be-



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tween emotions and bodily changes. Modern medical practitioners now recognize that the energy of hate and resentment can cause (crippling) ailments, such as high blood pressure, that the constant wavering between desire for success and fear of failure may produce

illness; the third brings structural changes. At present, patients are rarely seen before the second stage has been reached, more often, not before the third stage. To try to learn about an ailment under such circumstances is something like trying to learn about chess by watching only the last moves of a game between two experts, unaware that the



*Courtesy of Crowell-Collier Publishing Co. From Collier's, July 22, 1939*

changes in stomach acids that in turn form stomach ulcers, and that certain skin eruptions may mask a confession of sin. A famous physician, in an article, "Why Medicine Is Not a Science," has stressed the importance of understanding the mental life of the patient. Parts of his article are the following:

There are three states of ill health. The first is a functional impairment or misuse which is often impossible to detect and may not be noticed by the patient or his physician; the second brings definite symptoms of

outcome is frequently decided in the first moves.

A study of the liver alone eventually becomes no study of the liver at all. Nor is this the only trouble with such specialization. It overlooks also the fact that the person as a whole is something different from a collection of viscera; the wholeness gives some extra, if indefinable, quality to the individual organs. Today we pay for our knowledge of the parts in ignorance of the whole.

In ancient Greece the doctor was primarily a philosopher and secondarily a physician. He was first a student of nature, and secondly a student of nature perverted by disease.

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Despite the great technical advances of our day, the future of medicine may well depend upon the training of physicians who will be once more humanists and biologists, as well as chemists and physicists. . . 20

To give these persons whose physiology of anxiety incapacitates them a label such as "psychoneurotic" or to accuse them of overworking their imagination does not help them. They merely drift from one doctor or faith healer to another. What each really needs is a reorganization of adjustment habits to know the true nature of his emotional problems, and to know how to develop new mental habits. For some, this may require the skills of the clinical psychologist. For other and milder cases, the friend or employer may be able to say to the psychoneurotic: "The problem that is really bothering you, young man, is the fact that you fear that the girl friend will tire of waiting for you and marry some other man. Face the issue. Talk it over with her. If you can't agree upon a practicable program of action, let her marry someone else and you do likewise. In the meantime, bear in mind that I'll give you my fellowship because I, too, once had the same problem."

An individual may make adjustments to his barriers quite differently from another because of differences in the weakness of certain organs, behavior habits, or constitution. As a result of frustration, one person may, for example, develop physiological imbalance which results in more colds. Another may have his repressed rages bring about physiological changes which result in high blood pressure or in doing more work. However, all persons need a recognition of the close relation between adjustment and health. For certain persons, poor

health often means poor habits of thinking and of conduct. Almost any person who wants to feel faint can do so by saying to himself, "I am fainting. I want to faint." The neurotic achieves the same kind of end by subconscious wishes regarding his breathing, digestion, or circulation. An allergy, as well as other kinds of ailments, may simply be an evasion of some problem which he does not face consciously.

### *Remedies for invalidism*

What should be done for those unfortunate psychoneurotics and others who try to make an adjustment to reality by the avenue of illness? Scolding will not help them, it only increases their problems. They need clinical analysis rather than censure.

A helpful suggestion is not the advice, "Use your will," but instead, "Understand the cause of your trouble," and, "What is the real purpose of your behavior?" If the physician makes exhaustive tests and can find no just cause for the illness, then he should ask the patient to analyze himself or to have himself analyzed for problems which he is evading. He should try to induce the patient to face the barrier which he dislikes to admit to himself. He must be convinced that the defect or the inability to accomplish his present aims should be used to achieve another end that is equally acceptable. The main remedy is the trite statement that the cause must be removed. To do this may require considerable assistance on the part of the psychiatrist or the clinical psychologist. Furthermore, in cases of serious maladjustment, the patient who is very intelligent and has read a number of books on abnormal psychology cannot analyze

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himself and make his readjustment alone. However, his special knowledge should make him more intelligently cooperative in developing better habits of adjustment.

Children are often told that they are "nervous" and should not study or work. This is a serious mistake. It is far better to allow them to learn the joys of strenuous work and play. If they are not reminded of illness, but are encouraged to face life by direct attack habits, they will seldom develop the maladjustments which fond mothers call "nervousness."

Adults, too, are often told that they are "nervous" and should study or work less. This advice is usually a mistake. Work does not cause nervous breakdowns. Nervous breakdowns are the result of poor mental habits when adjustment problems, especially conflicts, appear. In the so-called mental breakdowns, the nature and the amount of work that the worker does is largely irrelevant, the emotional reaction of the worker toward the work is all-important. If the worker's adjustment habits have enabled him to gain satisfactions from the work, the amounts and hours of work are incidental.

If the adjustment history has been essentially positive, the individual can recover quickly from strains of work or even "combat fatigue." Of World War II veterans whose afflictions had been diagnosed as "psychoneurosis," those who had combat experiences had more severe psychoneuroses than the noncombatants. But the combatants had more likelihood of improving after service than the non-combatants.<sup>21</sup>

Significant influences in some breakdowns in civilian life are precipitating

factors, such as the boss's domineering manner toward the employee, the teacher's negligence of the pupil, the public's condemnation of a person, the husband's niggardliness, or the wife's nagging. When the poorly adjusted person is confronted by such barriers, his ongoing activities are blocked and a "breakdown" results. Such a person is not benefited by reminders of illness. He needs encouragement in performing his daily tasks and in becoming socially integrated.

Everyone should feel that he belongs in the social groups of his environment, but the maladjusted person has special need for being welcome in his groups. His associates should be friendly rather than critical toward him. Otherwise he will tend to withdraw into himself more than ever and will have more acute "pains." The attitude of the associates of the adult invalid should be one of encouraging him to carry on his work more intelligently rather than expressing mere sentimentality, condolence, or pampering.

As in practically all other maladjustments, the patient should be given work to do that requires complete attention. Of course, we should not ask others to work in order that they may be as wealthy or as important as someone else. Rather because, through work that is adapted to one's capacities, one can achieve the adjustment that comes from doing well work within these abilities. If work is reasonably satisfying, it may be carried on at all hours and for any number of years so long as the body is given a normal amount of exercise and care. If the well-adjusted individual works very hard, he simply gets tired and takes a rest. The well-adjusted individual uses direct attack in dealing with his illnesses, especially those

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of a functional nature. An unusual example of direct attack regarding a functional illness may be found in the way one organically sick man dealt with his ailment.

In 1920 Dr. A. L. Muirhead, a professor of pharmacology in one of the leading medical schools, found himself stricken with Addison's disease. Realizing that his affliction would end in death in a short time and being not only a physician but also an expert in the science of drugs, he determined to devote the remainder of his life to finding a cure. Instead of sitting back waiting for death in the Mayo Clinic, which he entered, he did all in his power to stave death off, chopped

and dried adrenal gland substance which he put into capsules and took by mouth, and by rectum took preparations of the adrenal gland containing large quantities of adrenalin. In a short time he made a remarkable recovery, and for a while was apparently cured—the first instance in history of any such improvement in a sufferer from Addison's disease. The rejoicing, however, was premature, for Dr. Muirhead had not really been cured and had a relapse into his former condition. Although treatment was again instituted and although it did help a little, it did not prevent his death from this disease. But for several years the Muirhead treatment was the best that medicine could offer.<sup>22</sup>

### PROJECTS

- 1 Smith and Hightower studied the incidence of neurosis among consecutively admitted patients to the Mayo Clinic. They also studied neurosis among the Jewish male and female patients. A part of their summary follows:

"We studied the group of Jews because, as has been said, some persons believe that Jewish patients are particularly emotional and neurotic. We were somewhat surprised at the results we obtained. Yet when the percentages which represent purely functional disease, or functional and organic disease, are compared, it is seen that the incidence of neurosis in this group is no higher than that in the controls."
- a. Interview some of your friends concerning the question of incidence of neurosis among Jews and non-Jews. Get your friends' opinions and discuss possible reasons for the assumption that Jews are particularly neurotic.
- b. Examine any published library articles on the same question to find whether other investigators agree with the Smith and Hightower findings.
- 2 Examine available textbooks that deal with public speaking and note how stage fright is treated. Which methods seem to you to be the most helpful?
- 3 List some of the "worthy causes" of your community which are likely to appeal to neurasthenics.
- 4 Recall some of your own abulic tendencies, such as those in writing to friends, checking your finances, seeing your dentist, and so on. Outline a definite procedure in each case whereby the necessary action may be taken at the proper time.
- 5 Women of today do not faint as much as women of a generation or two ago. What possible reasons can you suggest for this change of behavior?
- 6 Make a list of some of the things you have worried about during the past year or two. Check and analyze those cases in which your apprehension was a distinct handicap to the solution of the problem. Did worrying contribute to the solution in other cases?
- 7 Consider an acquaintance who says that certain common foods make him ill. What physical and psychological factors might be involved? Set up a procedure by which

## *adjustment by functional ailments*

- you might test objectively which factors were predominant
- 8 Construct a hypothetical case in which the subject reacts through sick headaches or other form of invalidism Have several friends suggest possible treatment and compare these suggestions with your own ideas

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## 6 Predisposing influences in adjustment

*The distance runner is no sum of leg muscles, oxygen utilization, and "nerve," nor is the musician the sum of tone enjoyment, rhythm perception, and manual dexterity. Human traits, moreover, are responses not to outer stimulation alone, they are simultaneously responses to inner stimulation, which in turn depends upon an uninterrupted inner flow of energies, permitting an energy distribution that is unique for each organism.<sup>1</sup>*

ANYONE WHO STUDIES A HUMAN BEING and the dynamics in the development of his behavior patterns wants to know about the predisposing influences in his life. As stated in Chapter 2, the environment is important from the standpoint of *acceptance, antagonism, and indifference* in adjustment. Every individual has many predisposing influences in the course of his adjustment history. Students of anthropology and sociology are especially aware of the cultural influences and differences.

### ***Cultural and sociological factors***

Man is a social being. Every child's ideas of what is right or wrong, what is to be done or not to be done, what is to be imitated or to be avoided are influenced by his cultural environment. The language, customs and group ideas surround-

ing the child are significant factors in his growth.

Anthropologists have studied numerous cultures of primitive peoples and ethnic groups. Important differences and similarities to our own culture have been found. In some primitive groups, for example, each child is reared to distrust other members of the group. In others, the child is reared to give and expect cooperation and kindness. Similarly, discipline systems, sex taboos, rituals, folk tales, and attitudes toward objects vary from culture to culture. While celibacy, self-torture, and voluntary fasting are socially desirable in some groups, in others they are considered undesirable. The things the individual values, fears, seeks or is ashamed of are conditioned by the family constellation and the group to which the family belongs.

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

Despite similarities among members of the same group, wide individual differences are also found. Factors such as the sex of the child, the occupational status of the parents, education, and wealth may affect different children of the same culture in different manners. Changing conditions within the culture, such as war, plague, famine or economic depression may also modify the pattern of life for the individual of a given culture. Examples of these varieties of cultural influence can be observed from the study of first and second generations of foreign-born citizens of our own country. Certainly, many a child of foreign-born parents has had distinctive adjustment problems in the course of his emotional development in the United States. Sometimes the factors that enter into and modify reaction patterns can be appreciated more clearly by means of a study of anthropological and nationality influences. Such studies have their place in the training for greater insight into human personality. The psychologist would like to know about them whenever he deals with the problem personality or the person who has a problem.

In most cases, however, the analyst or counselor is more interested in knowing how the individual reacted to the factors in his early and later environment. The family constellation and how the child reacted to it, the adjustments made at the time and retained (or discarded), are usually of greater significance than a mere knowledge of the culture or of the family as such.

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\* Jeannette G. Friend and Ernest A. Haggard, "Work Adjustment in Relation to Family Background," *Applied Psychology Monographs*, No. 16, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif., 1948, pp. 137-138.

Since the concept of work adjustment centered on the striking of a balance between the satisfactions which the individual was seeking from his work and the satisfactions which the job provided, the primary aim was to separate the groups on the basis of the individual's own feeling of self-respect about

### ***The early life history and work adjustment***

Effects of a person's early life history and personality characteristics on his work adjustment were studied by the Family Society of Greater Boston between 1934 and 1943. This period covered the years of general unemployment as well as those during which the unemployment problem was mitigated. The people who were studied went to the society's offices for help in planning their work. Each one was counseled, some as few as six, and some as many as fifteen, times. All were seen over a period of from four to nine years. Through these years, background material was accumulated from the client himself and from other sources. A case history was written. Batteries of tests were administered. With this fund of information, the society explored the dynamics of the client's work adjustment.

After all the material collected by these methods had been studied, each client was rated on personality characteristics, including personal identifying facts, early life, current family life, early work history, response to counseling, general and specific work reactions, and general work adjustment and improvement.

On the basis of their composite ratings on these characteristics, some of the clients were selected as having made the best work adjustment and some as having made the poorest. Table 13 shows the characteristics that most clearly differentiated the two groups.

Summarizing the study, Friend and Haggard \* state.

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

We can see how tightly knit family relationships as a child carry over into good work morale as well as harmonious relations with fellow-workers, and how these relationships generate the worker's feeling that he has a place in the group as he did in his family. We can see how the worker "catches" from a good exemplar, from the leader in the home, a belief in himself and in his ability to cope with his work. These relationships and values are the keystones of a good work adjustment. On the other hand, a deep feeling of rejection as a child tends to result in a sense of worthlessness with regard to jobs. *For people, it seems, are able to endure the actual hardships of illness or poverty, the pressures from the outside, more easily than the inner emotional pressures—rejection and acute intrafamily antagonisms and self-doubt.*

*people clearly take their childhoods with them to their jobs, as they do their current family situations, their personality patterns and their ways of reacting to counseling. One of the tightest links in our findings draws together the person's work and his personal adjustment.*

Similarly, the special values or demands which the worker makes of the job are often a later chapter of his experiences as a child. How much he prizes and accentuates special appreciation as a reward varies inversely with the degree of unity in his early family group and seems to be a means through which the individual strives to secure for himself a place with, and status in, the current work group. *The worker appears to compromise with life by going after the identical and specific satisfaction in work denied him years before.*

### **Persistent affect fixations**

Of special significance in the study of later adjustment is the child's *persistent*

*affect fixations.* This condition of mental development is one in which the individual remains attached to feelings which were characteristic of or dominant in an earlier phase of development. Everyone has some of these persistent infantile tendencies that color or form patterns of behavior in adulthood. The pattern of influence varies in degree and kind from person to person.

To understand an adult fully we must know how he felt as a child. We must know how he reacted emotionally to his childhood situations and the extent to which the childhood habits of adjustment persist. If we can appreciate how childhood emotional reactions color the later adult behavior, we may gain a clue from the unique adult behavior to the nature of the earlier childhood reactions. If our hypotheses about the adult and his childhood adjustments prove to be correct, we are in a position that enables us to evaluate and help direct his behavior more intelligently.

The child reacts to his environment in ways that affect his well-being in satisfying forms. Habitual or characteristic methods of attention-getting or problem-solving therefore develop, and as they prove to be effective in getting what he wants, they gradually become unconscious methods of meeting and interpreting many situations and obstacles. They become more deeply ingrained with time, and they also may become so adaptive that their original source and form frequently become obscured.

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his work in terms of his particular qualifications and ambitions, be he executive or laborer. Basic to this concept are three cornerstone criterion items: the individual's over-all adjustment, the amount of satisfaction derived from his job, and his general capacity to use his job qualifications. Five more items which were judged to be indications of the caliber of the individual's occupational adjustment were added, giving a total of eight criterion items. The Highs or Best Adjusted were selected from those consistently rating "good" on the eight items, the Lows or Poorest Adjusted from those consistently rating "poor."



# *predisposing influences in adjustment*

TABLE 13\*

SOME OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BEST AND POOREST WORK ADJUSTMENT GROUPS

<i>Best Adjusted</i>	<i>Poorest Adjusted</i>
Greater mutual affection in home	Less mutual affection in home.
Early and current families closely knit and strongly unified Greater familial loyalty	Disorganization and lack of "togetherness" in family
Less ambivalence toward current family and early homes	Greater ambivalence toward current family and early homes
Less resentment at family dependence or domination	Greater resentment at family dependence or domination
Greater capacity to counteract any early unfavorable family experiences.	Less capacity to counteract any early unfavorable family experiences
Learned from parents a healthier way of dealing with life's problems	Learned from parents a poorer way of dealing with life's problems
Less antagonism toward parents	Greater antagonism toward parents
Less sibling rivalry	Greater sibling rivalry
Greater affection for father	Less affection for father
More satisfying school experience either social, athletic, or scholastic	Less satisfying school experience
Less sense of rejection.	Greater sense of rejection resulting in feeling of worthlessness
Good sense of "give and take "	Poor sense of "give and take " Overly impulsive
Better frustration-tolerance	Poorer frustration-tolerance
More self-reliant (make own decisions, reluctant to accept financial aid, etc )	Less self-reliant.
Greater satisfaction from first jobs.	Less satisfaction from first jobs
Greater insight into job needs or problems Do more constructive and affirmative thinking about jobs	Less insight into job needs or problems Not apt to do constructive and affirmative thinking about jobs.
React objectively and positively to job counseling.	Tend not to benefit from job counseling
Lesser tendency toward self-sabotage	Stronger tendency to defeat themselves (as by drinking, quarreling, illness, marrying wrong person, etc.)
More optimistic and self-confident about jobs	Not optimistic or self-confident about jobs
Tend to blame themselves or business conditions for joblessness	Tend to blame other people for joblessness. Tend to try to escape through drinking, etc
Changing jobs usually means progress	Changing jobs does not mean progress More apt to switch from one kind of work to another
Little delinquency or accident-proneness	Delinquency or accident-proneness apt to be present
Like competition in work, promotion on merit, group belongingness, responsibility, work geared to abilities	Do not like competition in work, etc
Like opportunity for new experience and to learn new skills.	Do not like to change work habits or learn new skills

\* Adapted from Jeannette G Friend and Ernest A Haggard, "Work Adjustment in Relation to Family Background," *Applied Psychology Monographs*, No. 16, Stanford University Press, Stanford Calif, 1948.

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

The reaction tendencies which these persistent affect fixations create in the child's personality help to mold his life style. They help to determine how others will judge him. These opinions are also important in the person's own evaluation of himself. They often influence the choice of his vocation. They steer him toward certain types of avocations, sometimes of the lone or seclusive type in which it is not necessary for him to adapt to or mix with others, and sometimes into group activities through which he may be able to express himself through dominance or through identification with the group.

If we ascertain the goals that a person sought as a child, we can expect to discover the goals he is seeking as an adult. If we know the problems that he tried to solve or the difficulties under which he lived while a child, we often can understand his present behavior. His adult character and personality are likely to be influenced by the goals which he tried to attain in childhood. The dynamics in his adult behavior are, in some cases, his interpretations of his childhood memories and his goals, conscious and unconscious.

If a person has retained persistent affect fixations that are not socially acceptable, he can change them at any time that he develops sufficient insight and determination to do so. Childhood misconceptions about life often can be corrected and better methods of dealing with life can be learned. But someone, usually a wise counselor, must be able to recognize from adult behavior the possible significance of cues to behavior patterns having a childhood origin. The ability to recognize cues in the adult's conduct and to see how they relate to childhood origins

is one of the most important factors in psychological analysis.

If, for example, we meet an adult who obviously lacks self-confidence, has difficulty in coming into a social group and difficulty in leaving it, seldom completes sentences that he starts and repeats questions asked him, we wonder how his present emotional insecurity happened to develop. We have a right to wonder whether his present behavior stems from emotional insecurity in childhood. Were his parents incompatible? Was the status of his early home in danger of divorce or in danger of economic failure? If in danger of lack of income, is he presently motivated to deny himself normal comforts in order to save more money than he needs? Or is wealth so hopeless in attainment for him that money means little to him now?

If it is necessary for us to supervise him, to counsel him, or to live intimately with him, our relationship will be more intelligent and effective for both of us if we know how he defined himself as a child. If his convictions about himself were deeply emotionalized, his childhood self-evaluations are significant today. Table 14 presents a helpful list of common affect fixations of childhood, adjustments in childhood, and later methods of adjustment.

Anyone who will memorize the typical childhood affect fixations (Column A of Table 14), adjustments in childhood (Column B), and adult adjustments (Column C) will have a helpful list of cues toward understanding the person with a problem. Certain precautions are necessary, however. The child who had affect fixation number 2 may in adulthood make adjustment number 5. We cannot conclude that any one affect fix-

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

tion or barrier *always* results in a corresponding adjustment tendency. We can recognize causal connections only when we have learned many pertinent facts about the individual and then see how

From the standpoint of understanding the adult's personality, particularly his drives and his qualitative strengths and weaknesses, the persistent affect fixations are especially important. A good example

TABLE 14

TYPICAL AFFECT FIXATIONS OF CHILDHOOD AND LATER ADJUSTMENT METHODS

A	B	C
As a child, did you feel that you were	Which method of adjustment did you use?	In adulthood, which method of adjustment do you now use?
1 Small, helpless, of poor health, or defective in body?	1 Sickliness "Nervousness" to prove need for special consideration	1 Sickliness "Nervousness" Pains that your family physician seems unable to cure
2 The center of attention—a kind of toy or animated doll? Did games with others revolve mostly around you?	2 Unruliness in order to gain the limelight, sarcasm, bitter word-battles to deal with domineering parents	2 Argumentativeness Word-battles Comedian knacks or witticisms to gain attention
3 Disciplined severely, often punished for what you considered minor misdeeds? Suppressed?	3 Model behavior in order to deal with domineering parents, or hoping for affection by being a paragon of virtue Self-righteousness	3 Seek perfection for yourself Self-righteousness Consider yourself better than other people
4 Rejected Extra "human freight," unwanted, and given little affection?	4 Keeping to yourself to avoid failure Seclusiveness in games and comradeships Shut-in personality	4 Seclusiveness You avoid games and social affairs Have very few friends Or, you seek acceptance by others, want to be one of the group you admire.
5. Denied your rights, to be seen rather than heard, forced to be quiet and courteous? Domineered? Discriminated against?	5 Belligerence Spoiling the fun of others to avoid games where you might fail	5 Radical tendencies Cynicism You believe you could remodel the world
6 Laughed at, frequently ridiculed?	6 Fear lest you might be ridiculed Not taking school or work seriously	6 Laugh off your obligations Change interests without any real reason for the change
7 Emotionally insecure because parents were incompatible, or food and shelter were uncertain or appeared to be uncertain?	7 Felt hysterical when parents argued or when sustenance was in doubt.	7. Lack self-confidence or are strongly motivated to get and save money.

the facts arrange themselves into a meaningful pattern. This fact makes necessary a wide knowledge of affect fixations and typical forms of adjustments. The lack of fixed or standard adjustments to specific barriers means that every individual must be comprehensively analyzed in order to be understood. Clinical psychology is a very complex study.

with comments is the following, written by a psychiatrist.

Everyone's personality and behavior are colored and affected in a large degree by the childhood emotional constellations, but the *more* these interfere with adult behavior, the *more rigidly* they determine behavior, the *more* "neurotic" is the individual. Again it is a quantitative matter.

A simple example is a certain career

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

woman, no longer young Her father had been away a great deal while she was a child, and while at home he was partly very indulgent toward her but also partly irritable and neglectful She reacted with longings for him but also with a deep resentment against him This became a fixed pattern in her relations with men She repeated it in her marriage and in position after position She longed to be a favorite of the head of the firm but would never admit this She would start off doing very well and making an excellent impression But gradually her hostility to her employer would become so open and intense that it would only be a matter of time before some incident would precipitate her departure

In one firm she became good friends with one of the junior members He left later to go into business for himself and asked her to go with him She was by this time openly hostile to the boss and gladly accepted the offer Things went well for a time, but then the old pattern reasserted itself So long as this man was a junior partner, himself somewhat hostile and rebellious against their boss, she got on with him famously, for she unconsciously identified with him, as a child hostile to his father, like herself But when this same man had his own firm and was in the father position himself, then she could no longer identify with him as a rebellious child, and she developed toward him the hostility she was destined by her inner reactions to have toward all men whom, for one reason or another, she looked to as fathers

Such a tendency unconsciously to put certain men into a category is a failure to discriminate them from the original object, in this case the girl's own father Often in this case, the men were in reality totally different personalities from her father, and they were usually amazed at her reactions to them But, because of her emotional pattern she saw them as a class and not as they really were She must revenge herself on all men in superior positions for her father's treatment of her, instead of being angry only at him and treating other men as different individuals. This reaction against her father became a set pattern, carried with her years later after her

father was long dead and she herself was a grandmother.

The constellation of desires and impulses always seeks and always finds ways in life of choosing individuals and situations in its efforts to be gratified It is this complex of desires pressing for satisfaction which seems, more than anything else, to account for the persistence and the accuracy with which everyone repeats in adult life the emotional patterns of his childhood And it is these patterns which cause one to fit other people into classes and categories formed by these desires Perhaps mother was kind and sister a bitter rival—hence, an exaggerated tendency to look for love from older women and to fear and compete with women of one's own age To put it another way, the person becomes "conditioned" to hating, loving, competing, and so on, in relation to certain individuals in childhood and then fails to discriminate between them and others but reacts to whole classes or categories of persons of his own making

Some people do not emphasize whole categories of people so much as they select a few actual persons in life with whom to repeat their family relationships

If a child has good relationships with most members of his family, then he has enough such models for later life so that he will probably get along well with people But if most or all his childhood relationships are bad, then he lacks the models for good relationships and will almost certainly have serious difficulties with people in later life Probably no one can live long without at least one good emotional relationship without developing serious neurotic symptoms of some kind

We have focused upon the effects of external influences such as deprivation, spoiling, cruelty and domination in forming the patterns In some cases, internal factors are also of importance, as when the development is impaired not so much by these environmental emotional influences as by long illnesses, severe shocks or congenital deficiencies, be these physical, intellectual or emotional The end result always depends upon an interaction of the congenital and the environmental factors<sup>2</sup>

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

Of course, everyone has many predisposing influences in his growth—early environmental conditions, his culture, race, sex, bodily physique, health, muscular structure, glandular functioning, and intelligence. Only two of these factors, intelligence and endocrine glands, can be treated here.

### **Intelligence**

Anyone who examines an individual's adjustments to life's problems is bound to note that his intelligence shows some direct relationships. People of higher intelligence can handle problems which are beyond the capacities of those of lower intelligence.

Intelligence has been defined in numerous ways. One recommended definition is, "The degree of availability of one's experiences for the solution of immediate problems and the anticipation of future ones."<sup>3</sup>

Many past studies indicate that, in most individuals, intelligence is not greatly affected by education. For most children, the *intelligence quotient* tends to remain

$$IQ = \frac{\text{Mental Age} \times 100}{\text{Chronological Age}}$$

about the same as the child matures. A child who has an IQ of 120 at eight years of age will tend to have the same IQ of 120 at fifteen years of age. This fact has

caused some investigators to believe that intelligence is fixed by inheritance.\*

We must bear in mind, however, that almost all tests measure results and not origins of capacities. This means that changes *may* take place in the intellectual and other capacities of many individuals. Many psychologists believe that the IQ is not fixed. According to their view, an individual may go through adjustment experiences which result in a raising or lowering of his intellectual capacity. In the case of some children, favorable educational influences tend to raise the IQ. The child who is encouraged to think independently, to use his intellectual curiosity, to have his ability challenged, and to gain satisfaction from his intellectual endeavors may have an increase in his intelligence quotient.<sup>4</sup> The amount of the increase and the exact conditions under which it does occur is still largely a problem for future research.

In the clinical areas of child guidance, many cases of "pseudo-feeble-mindedness" have been reported. The child is really intelligent, but acts as though he were feeble-minded. He is afraid to undertake any activity, even play. The problem to which he is adjusting by a paralyzing fear may be a dislike of school because of the presence of other boys who "beat him up" and otherwise intimidate him.<sup>5</sup>

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\* Certain investigators who believe that intelligence is inherited often dismiss the low-intelligence person whom they have tried to aid but could not with the remark "He was gypped by the genes." The mechanisms of genes and chromosomes are blamed for the level of mental ability. However, if intelligence is wholly inherited, we still have much to learn about influences and factors in inheritance.

"Stoddard has cleverly observed that, while California state institutions over the past thirty years have sterilized 13,000 insane and feeble-minded persons, the follow-up, sixteen years later, of Terman's gifted children reveals that about 40 per cent of the parents of gifted children report mental abnormality among their near relatives. As Stoddard observed, 'Very likely a genius is himself safe in California, but it seems reasonable to say his near relatives had better watch out.' " See *Addresses and Discussions Presenting the 39th Yearbook, NSSE*, "Intelligence: Its Nature and Nurture," 1940, p. 49. Last paragraph quoted from John T. Wahlquist, "Is the IQ Controversy Philosophical?" *School and Society*, November 30, 1940.

## *predisposing influences in adjustment*

In the field of education, intelligence tests have been useful in estimating the learning capacities of pupils. For example, idiots (IQ under 25), imbeciles (IQ, 25 to 49), and morons (IQ, 50 to 69) have been so limited in their learning abilities that special long-term instruction is necessary to teach them the simplest habits. Idiots cannot learn to dress themselves or to say more than a few simple words. Imbeciles can learn to talk to a limited extent and even do simple manual labor under close supervision, but they cannot learn the value of money. Morons can learn to read and write and perform routine factory tasks, but they cannot be expected to go beyond the fifth grade in school.

Differences in levels of intelligence are often summarized as indicated in the following table.

TABLE 15

	IQ	Percentage Population
Feeble-minded		
Idiot	below 25, M A 2 years or under	1
Imbecile	25- 49, M A 2-7 years	
Moron	50- 69, M A 7-11 years	
Borderline	70- 79	5
Dull	80- 89	14
Average	90-109	60
Superior	110-119	14
Very superior	120-140	6
Genius	above 140	

Morons have normal impulses but they cannot foresee consequences of their own acts and so often get into trouble with the law. They buy goods on credit but forget to pay for them. Among the girls, the percentage of illegitimate motherhood is very high. Many of the boys are likely to become professional toughs or petty thieves, or transients. One study of 504 transients indicated that feeble-mindedness was an important back-

ground factor in transiency. The transient group studied contained twelve times as many mental defectives as the population, relative to their numbers in both groups.<sup>6</sup>

The records of gifted children have shown that, contrary to popular opinion, they do not become insane or die young. They do have some emotional problems, but they tend to achieve happier and more successful lives than their less gifted brothers. Of the 1,400 gifted children selected as being the brightest among 250,000 Californians by Dr. Lewis M. Terman in 1922, one half of the boys have entered the professions and a fourth are in semi-professional occupations or business.<sup>7</sup>

College students in general are of superior intelligence. However, when the scores on the American Council Psycho-

logical Examination were converted into equivalent IQ's by Arthur E. Traxler, using the recommended procedure, wide differences between colleges were found. The quartile and median IQ's at 323 colleges varied greatly, as shown by the table that follows.<sup>8</sup> For admission to college, there is no unqualified answer to the question as to what intelligence quotient is necessary. The IQ needed depends upon the college considered.

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OTIS EQUATED IQ'S CORRESPONDING TO MEDIANS AND QUARTILES OR PERCENTILES OF TOTAL SCORES IN THE HIGHEST AND THE LOWEST OF 323 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES ADMINISTERING THE 1937 EDITION OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Q<sub>1</sub> or P R 25</i>	<i>Md</i>	<i>Q<sub>3</sub> or P R 75</i>
Number 1	118	123	126
Number 323	87	94	102

Usually, we do not use the term IQ for adults. When children near the age of sixteen, it is difficult to compute the relation between mental development and chronological age. For adults, we prefer to specify the Percentile Rank (P R),\* that is, the percentage of the population or group that ranks lower than the person tested. If a test shows that an applicant has a P R of 75, it means that 75 per cent of the population (or group) rank lower in the test than the applicant and 25 per cent rank higher. Similarly, if an applicant has a P R of 50 on a test, he is higher in the trait tested than 50 per cent of the population and lower than 50 per cent, hence, he is average for that trait.

Obviously, intelligence has a direct bearing on the individual's possibilities of succeeding in a vocation, most particularly the professional level of occupation. In regard to adjustment, the relationship is not so clear-cut. The psychoneurotic adjustment group, for example, compares favorably in intelligence with the general population.<sup>9</sup>

One extensive investigation was undertaken of Canadian soldiers to ascertain the frequency of emotional instability of the mentally retarded and nonretarded

at different intelligence levels. The clinical findings in the examination of over 30,000 men revealed definitely a higher incidence of emotional instability in men diagnosed as mentally retarded than in those diagnosed as nonretarded. It was noted that as the intelligence scores advanced, the frequency of instability tended to diminish. The evidence suggested that the rate of incidence of psychoneuroses and other emotional disturbance declines as the degree of intelligence advances, although this relation becomes much less evident in the upper ranges of intelligence.<sup>10</sup>

A review of the findings concerning the relation between intelligence and personality inventories for members of the military services of the United States, World War II, revealed little evidence to support the idea of a common intelligence-factor in personality inventory scores and adaptability to military life. There was some evidence, however, to indicate that the relation between adjustment and intelligence is stronger in the lower reaches of intelligence than in the levels above.<sup>11</sup>

In a study of college freshmen in which the "Problem Check-List" by Ross

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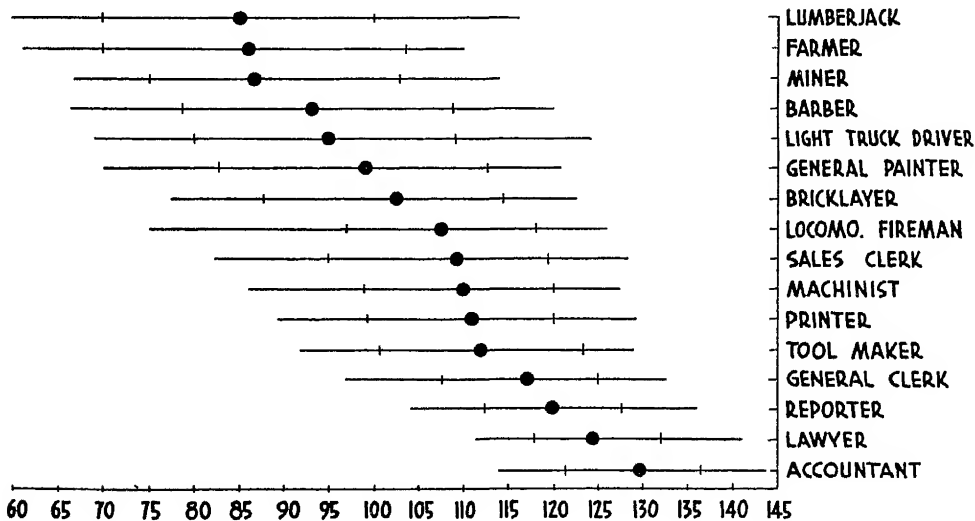
\* The term *centile* is also used by many authors. Whenever we use either *percentile* or *centile*, we should recognize the specific group to which the term applies. For example, a given college student's intelligence test score may place him below the 20th centile on a specific test administered to college students only. When the same or another intelligence test is administered to members of the general population, the same student may fall above the 70th centile for that group. On the other hand, centiles are a convenient device for showing a person's score on different kinds of tests such as intelligence, dominance, musical aptitude, and so on. Many psychographs or mental profiles are constructed on the basis of the centile concept.

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L. Mooney was used, a very low negative relationship was found between the number of problems checked and both grades and intelligence test scores, indicating a slight tendency for poorer students to have more problems "Correlations with grades show a tendency for those who make the low grades to have more problems in adjusting to college work" <sup>12</sup>

### *The endocrine glands*

The human bodily and mental activities are interdependent and operate in a way that is similar to the interrelated activities of modern business. The glandular, circulatory, and nervous systems are similar to the transportation and communication systems of a vast country.



LEGEND The large dot near the center of the line indicates the median score, the upright bars the 25th and 75th percentiles, and the ends of the line the 10th and 90th percentile—Gross scores of sixteen sample occupational groups on the Army General Classification Test. Note that the intelligence test scores of the highest scoring persons of the semi-skilled and skilled occupations overlap the scores of the lowest scoring members of the professions. The members of any one occupation differ widely in their intelligence test scores. There is, however, considerable evidence for occupational hierarchies of intelligence. The highest classes are usually found to be the professional, next the managerial group, then skilled trade, semi-skilled, and finally unskilled—From N Stewart, "A G C T Scores of Army Personnel Grouped by Occupation," *Occupations*, October 1947

Certainly, we can conclude that neither high intelligence nor low intelligence guarantees either good or poor adjustment. The person of high intelligence has the advantage of capacity for greater insight into his problems and ways of dealing with them. How he uses his capacity depends on other factors, such as his childhood influences.

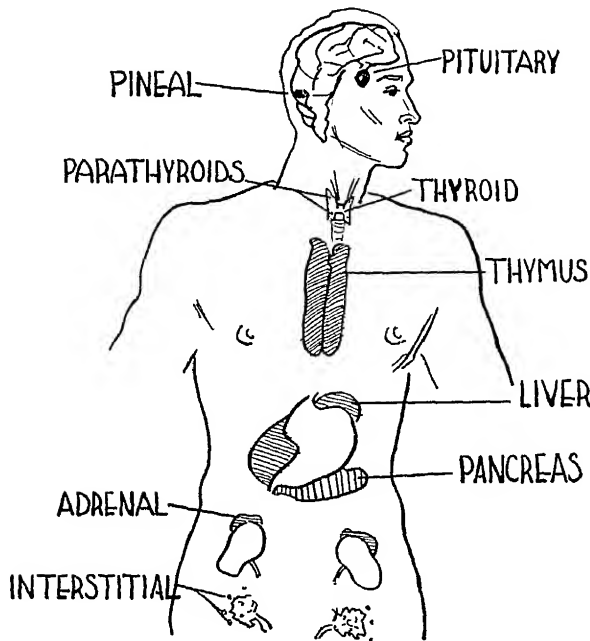
Trains, trolleys, buses, automobiles, trucks, bicycles, telephones, and so on, are carrying messages and conveying materials to needy parts of the body. The living body acts as an integrated whole. Just as business would suffer if any part of the transportation system were to break down, so the individual is seriously affected if the bodily equilibrium is dis-



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turbed The chemical balance and the maintenance of the human organism are carried on through the blood and such parts as the *duct glands*—salivary, gastric, sweat, and sex glands, and the liver, pancreas, lachrymals, and kidneys The mental balance, or the way in which the different adjustive factors are kept co-operating in a normal or sane manner, is

in human behavior The ductless glands are also called the *endocrine glands* and the *glands of internal secretion*. These glands do not have ducts or channels for their secretions, but some glands with ducts as well as organs like the spleen and liver have endocrine functions In typical endocrines the manufactured products are taken up directly by the



SKETCH TO INDICATE the general locations of principal endocrine glands One of these glands does not usually appear in an adult as large, relatively, as shown here Can you tell, from the text, which one?

partially a result of the functioning of the chemical agencies of the body. The maintenance of proper acid-alkaline balance, supplies of the different vitamins, certain amounts of iodine, calcium, and so on, are essential to the physiological and psychological equilibrium.

The functioning of the nervous system is greatly affected by the *ductless glands*, which are now being studied, and which give evidence of pronounced importance

blood and lymph streams as they pass through the gland structures The manufactured products are usually called *hormones* The derivative meaning of the word "hormone" is "to set in motion" \* In a general way, this term illustrates their function, for they seem to act as controls for all other parts of the body. They accelerate or inhibit the vital organs and vital activities and have an important influence on mental life All these

\* Some endocrines have inhibitory effects and are called *chalone*, others have a regulatory function and are called *autocord*, but *hormone* is the commonly accepted term for the endocrine products

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glands are organized into a complicated interlocking system, and the action of one modifies, and is modified by, others. To understand why people behave as they do, it is necessary for us to have an acquaintance with the functions of these glands. The main endocrines are

- 1 The thyroid
- 2 The parathyroids.
3. The thymus
- 4 The pineal body.
- 5 The pituitary.
- 6 The adrenals
- 7 The gonads

*The thyroid gland* In a certain valley in Switzerland, a large part of the population were found to be cretins because of serious deficiencies of thyroid secretion beginning at birth or in infancy. *Cretins* are decidedly stunted in height and have protruding abdomens. The skin is dry, scaly, and wrinkled. The hair is dry, coarse, and brittle. The tongue is thick. The head is short and broad. The facial expression is apathetic. The memory is weak, the thinking is slow, and intelligence is limited.

Almost every large colony for the feeble-minded has numerous cretins.

A generation ago cretinism was regarded as incurable, but scientists have found that if the child is fed pellets of thyroid gland extract from sheep, or the synthetic product, it is possible for him to approach normal physical and mental development. The feeding, however, must be continued in adulthood to maintain the improved mental state. About 60 per cent of the thyroid secretion is iodine.

The thyroid gland consists of two masses of cells, one on each side of the windpipe and close to the larynx. It weighs less than an ounce, consists very

largely of blood vessels, and is one of the first organs to appear in the growth of the human embryo, being structurally recognizable in the third week of life. The hormones of the thyroid act as a catalyst—a substance that accelerates chemical change without being chemically changed itself. Its function is important in the process of metabolism or the transformation of food into energy. If the thyroid is deficient in action, the body is soon clogged with waste products from kidneys, skin, and lungs. The activity of the thyroid can be indicated by the *basal metabolic rate*, which is found by measuring the amount of carbon dioxide in the air expired by an individual and comparing the finding with norms for the weight, height, and age of the person in question.

In cases of marked underfunctioning of the thyroid in childhood, *cretinism* results. If hypothyroidism occurs in the adult, the syndrome called *myxedema* develops. The main difference between the two is the age at which they are suffered. Both types of patients have puffed facial features and are overweight and mentally sluggish, but those with myxedema usually are not feeble-minded.

The gland increases in size in order to increase the supply of thyroxin, the swelling that results from this cause is a colloid goiter. Goiters range in size from a small swelling to large pendulous masses. The largest colloid goiter that the writer has ever seen was that of a woman who had given birth to twenty-two children. In this case the gland probably increased in size in order to supply the necessary amount of secretion for the embryos and the mother.

In hypothyroidism the individual is slow, dull, indifferent, and clumsy. In the

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interior of the United States, where there is little iodine in air or water, some of the municipalities supply iodine in the water system to prevent goiters among children. The number of cases of goiter is much smaller near the seacoasts, where there is more iodine in the air and where people eat more sea foods. The best preventive of goiter in children is the taking of iodine by the pregnant mother, under the direction of a physician

If the pregnant mother suffers from a serious lack of thyroid secretion, her baby is likely to be a misshapen creature of low vitality. If the baby's thyroid equipment is sufficiently defective, he will never attain normal growth or development unless the condition is corrected. In some cases of mental retardation of school children or the definitely feeble-minded, the administration of thyroid has wrought dramatic changes in body and mind, but it has not been effective in every case which has been diagnosed as myxedema.

Some parents think that they can prevent goiter by the use of iodized salt in the cooking of foods. This method is questionable because some members of the family may already have too much iodine in their systems and they may develop *exophthalmic* goiters. Iodine should be administered to those individuals who need it, under the direction of a competent physician.

Marked *hyperthyroidism* or overdevelopment may give rise to exophthalmic goiter. Signs of this condition are protrusion of the eyeballs,\* rapid heartbeat, high blood pressure, and a speeding-up of the whole organism. The skin is flushed and the temperature is above normal.

The individual is high-strung, excitable, irritable, and unable to relax or to sleep. Fear, anger, and hysterical joy are easily aroused, but the patient resents being thwarted or contradicted. The individual is thin regardless of the amount of food that he eats. The bodily reserves of energy are readily exhausted. In extreme cases the individual is filled with fear and apprehension. He may have hallucinations of hearing and vision. The voices usually say disagreeable things. When the patient reaches this stage the prognosis is bad. He usually dies.

Hyperthyroidism seems to be accentuated by mental stress. Cases have been reported of individuals who were too irritable to get along with their associates. An endocrinologist removed a part of the patient's thyroid gland or cut off some of its blood supply. The operation usually resulted in a more calm and normal emotional temperament and enabled the workman to perform his job efficiently. Of course, any degree of over- or under-functioning may exist. Perhaps some cases of "general poor health" and neurasthenia are accentuated by sluggishness from thyroid deficiency.

*The parathyroids.* These glands are four in number, about the size of peas, and located on the thyroids, although they have nothing to do with the thyroids. They seem to control the lime supply and calcium metabolism. For this reason they are important in maintaining the acid-base equilibrium and in healing bone fractures. It is certain that the lime supply is important, not only for the normal condition of blood and bones but also for the nervous system. When the para-

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\* Some studies indicate that exophthalmic goiter in which the eyeballs protrude is caused primarily by a pituitary hormone which causes the thyroid to swell and oversecrete, with a direct effect on the eyes.

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thyroids are removed, the effect is *tetany*, a disorder marked by muscular tremors, cramps, and convulsions. The organism is exceedingly excitable. Underfunctioning of these glands causes marked muscle spasms. In some cases, when persons suf-

have given emphasis to the study of the endocrines.

*The thymus* This gland ("neck sweetbread" to the butcher) is located on the windpipe and is called the "gland of childhood," because it influences the

ILLUSTRATION OF BENEFICIAL EFFECTS of thyroxin treatment. The photograph at the left shows a child at the time thyroxin treatment was begun, at the right is the same child one year later. Increase in height was six inches—Reproduced by permission from E. C. Kendall, *The Harvey Lectures, 1919-20*, Figure 17, p. 46.



fer from pronounced nervousness, insomnia, and tremors, the parathyroids are defective or diseased. When they are removed or diseased, the patient is likely to have seizures of rage and maniacal excitement. Scientists have now produced a synthetic secretion that aids the functioning of the parathyroids, although its use is still limited to the few specialists who

early physical and mental development. It is relatively large in infancy and largest at puberty, after which it probably atrophies. Its action is believed to hold in check the development of the sex glands and those physical characteristics that go with the development of sex, such as hair on the body. It is probably very important in giantism and in those ab-

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normal children who are sexually adult at five years of age. It is related to the gonads in function. It is so closely related to the lymphatic system that some scientists question whether it should be called an endocrine gland.

*The pineal body.* This gland is a cone-shaped organ that weighs only two grains and lies in the medial plane and at the base of the brain. The pineal body has a glandular structure during childhood, reaching its maximum size at about seven years of age, after which it deteriorates in structure. No specific hormone has been isolated. It is believed to be important in influencing the rate of bodily growth and the development of the nervous system and sex organs.

*The pituitary bodies.* The pituitary gland (also called hypophysis) consists of four sections: the anterior lobe, middle lobe, the *pars tuberalis*, and the posterior lobe. It is often called the "master gland" because of its influence on the action of other glands. The whole structure is about the size of a large pea and is located in a small pocket in the bony floor of the cranium, at the base of the brain in the center of the head. It is probably the best-protected functional unit of the body. This gland is structurally connected with the brain but does not take part in brain action. Until recently it was supposed to be vestigial. Removal causes death within three days. It is believed to produce eight or more different hormones, the best known of which is *somatropin*, the growth hormone. A deficiency of somatropin from early infancy produces the midget, who differs markedly from the cretin dwarf. Midgets are likely to be of average intelligence and to have well-proportioned but miniature bodies.

The anterior lobe has an important relationship to the nutritive condition of the body during growth, particularly the growth of the skeleton. If overactive in childhood, it causes *gigantism*, which is seen in the giants of the circus. These individuals suffer a loss of sexual vigor and desire. If the overactivity takes place after childhood, the bones of the limbs and those of height do not become greater in length, but the facial characteristics change to those of the *acromegalic*. The nose and chin are prominent, the head is broad, the features are rugged, and the face has a gorilla-like appearance. The individual is mentally alert, and, as a result of his keen wit, has been pictured as the court jester. In the case of Frohlich's syndrome, one or more pituitary lobes are involved. Obesity and sexual infantilism are evident and exemplified in the familiar fat boy who has a girdle of fat about the hips, baby-like bodily proportions, well-developed breasts, underdeveloped sex organs, and a "peaches-and-cream" complexion.

The posterior lobe secretes a hormone that affects the tonus of the smooth muscles and the blood vessels. The heart-beat is decreased, the blood pressure is increased, and the contractions of the intestines and uterus are increased as a result. That is why pituitrin is used for the uterine muscles during childbirth.

An extract, *pitressin*, from the posterior part of the pituitary is sometimes used as an aid in anesthesia. It helps to relax abdominal walls for surgical operations, to maintain blood pressure and to prevent unpleasant after-effects from the anesthetic.

One of the hormones of the pituitary gland, *prolactin*, controls the secretion of milk. When animals who are not parents

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have been administered a few doses of prolactin, their behavior changes toward mothering the young of their own species or even unrelated species. They build nests and eagerly adopt any available "babies." Mother love is partially a matter of hormone chemistry, and the folk phrase "the milk of human kindness" may have developed as a vague recognition of the functions of prolactin. These findings regarding the pituitary should not, however, lead us to conclude that mother love is only a matter of prolactin. Other chemical factors are important, such as the amount of manganese and vitamin B<sub>1</sub> in the diet. Furthermore, subtle psychological influences as well as chemical factors must be reckoned with for any ultimate understanding of mother love.

When the pituitary gland does not function normally, sex-hormone balance is upset. A normal woman's sex-hormone supply includes 30 to 50 per cent of the male secretion, and 12 to 20 per cent of a man's supply consists of female sex-hormones. These percentages are maintained by the pituitary, which regulates the amount of sex-controlling substances that enter the blood stream. Certain imbalances in the sex-hormone percentages<sup>13</sup> may cause an abnormal interest in persons of the same sex, but this is not the only reason for such abnormal attractions. Psychological factors are the causes in some cases.

In hyperpituitarism the individual is active, irritable, and suspicious of others. In hypopituitarism he is slow and ambitionless.

*The adrenals.* Adrenals (suprarenals) are located on top of the kidneys, but have nothing to do with the kidneys in function. They are called the "glands of

war" because they are active in times of emotional stress, such as in fighting and fear. They are made up of two distinct parts—an outer layer called the *adrenal cortex*, and an inner core, the *adrenal medulla*. Each part has separate functions.

The adrenal cortex is called the "organ of masculinity" because if it is deficient in a man, he tends to be effeminate, with the gestures, voice, and mode of walking of a woman. If it is hyperactive in a woman, she has masculine traits—hair on the lips and a deep voice. *Virilism* as seen in the bearded lady of the circus is the result of the overfunctioning of this gland.

The secretion of the outside portion of the adrenal glands, "cortin," is essential to life. In experimental animals, removal of the cortex causes death promptly. Pronounced deficiency in the secretion of cortin is the cause of *Addison's disease*, a condition of low blood pressure with death eventually resulting because of circulatory failure. It is possible that mild deficiencies of cortin may contribute toward the fatigability and depression of psychoneurotics.

The secretion of the medulla is "adrenin" or "epinephrin." It can be made synthetically. Common trade names for it are "Suprarenalin" and "Adrenalin." When the medulla pours its secretion into the blood stream, the individual is prepared for combat. The digestive processes stop, the sweat glands open for action, the blood vessels are prepared for a larger flow of blood, the liver discharges a large amount of reserve blood and releases sugar for bodily combustion, the respiratory process is hastened, and the blood clots more readily. All these and other results have been studied by

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scientists in their researches on the emotions of fear and anger. When the individual is thus stimulated, he can run faster and hit harder. That is why we are more likely to defer to the man whose anger is aroused than to the one who is in a quiescent state.

*The gonads.* The gonads (testicles and *interstitial cells* of male and ovaries and *corpus luteum* of female) are called sex glands, but this does not mean that they produce only the spermatozoa and the ova which take part in the process of fertilization. They are also important in the development of the secondary sex characteristics which distinguish male and female—differences in distribution of hair on the body, the coarseness of the beard, the mammary glands, and voice, height, and weight.

Some of the first known experimental work in the field of endocrinology was made by husbandmen who castrated domestic animals. We have all noted differences between the fiery stallion and his more placid brother the workhorse, between the pugnacious bull and the gentle ox, between the normal man and the eunuch, all of whose differences are influenced by the presence or absence of the sex glands.

Important changes in personality may occur when these glands remain in the body but do not function well. The woman who suffers from ovarian insufficiency is apt to lose the graciousness and charm which characterize the well-balanced feminine personality. The hypogonad character is egoistic, resentful of the world, full of self-pity, and very critical of others.

The gonads and sex glands have been given a great deal of publicity in the Sunday newspaper supplements because

some scientists have performed experiments on the changing of the sex of birds by transplanting testes and ovaries from one sex to the other. Where this has been done in the laboratory, the results have been remarkable in that the fowl took the secondary sex characteristics of the sex to which the transplanted organ belonged. This does not suggest, however, that the sex of human beings can be controlled before or after birth. Nor can the fountain of youth be found by way of the gland route. As previously stated, the whole human being is an integrated mechanism, and it is not possible to have a new or rejuvenated machine by replacing one old part with a new part.

The endocrine glands of the body operate as a vast and complex system. They act as an integrated unit in conjunction with the blood stream and nerves. We can realize how their secretions may be carried to all parts of the body to unlock the organ for which the hormones have been adjusted when we recall the fact that the blood makes a complete trip around the body in the short period of from twenty to thirty seconds. This means that the blood stream makes about three thousand round trips in the course of each day. The hormones are thus carried to the specific organs which they stimulate or inhibit and thus maintain the equilibrium of body and mind. Small wonder, then, that disturbances of the endocrine system modify human behavior and tend to make us physically or mentally unbalanced. In the hospitals where certain forms of endocrine abnormality are treated, the specialists administer secretions of several glands rather than the secretion of only one gland.

Everyone, of course, has heard of *insu-*

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*lin*, the pancreatic hormone which regulates the sugar metabolism. Its deficiency causes the formerly hopeless disease, *diabetes mellitus*. The endocrine function of the pancreas is performed by the *islands of Langerhans* imbedded in it. Failure on the part of this gland has definite psychological effects, typically starting with depression and continuing to confusion.

Various types of subnormality and abnormality may be classified on the basis of the endocrines, but it is of little help to us to classify normal persons according to a glandular classification. Normal persons do not vary enough to enable us to be certain of our cataloging. However, we can make rough general classifications, such as hyperthyroid and hypothyroid, hyperpituitary and hypopituitary, overactivity or underactivity of the cortex of the adrenals. At any rate, we should know the physical bases of the mental balance in order that we may appreciate the valuable results from current study of the endocrines by scientists.

Children with unusual glandular conditions are apt to develop characteristic adjustment mechanisms, as in the case of boys who have certain pituitary deficiencies, they become fat, weak, and sissy. Such boys are likely to be persecuted by their fellows, thus bringing about defense mechanisms. The endocrines certainly are important predisposing influences in many adjustments, especially those involving the energy supply, sexual behavior, and general well-being of the

individual. We can be safe in saying that individuals who have very marked endocrine imbalances rarely are well adjusted or happy.<sup>14</sup>

Undoubtedly the endocrines occupy a place of importance in determining the mental soundness and personality of the individual, but their exact importance is still unknown. Glandular disorders are found in a few (less than 5 per cent) of seriously maladjusted persons, but some investigators believe that the emotional strains of mental disease throw the endocrine system out of balance. Our findings regarding cause and effect in the relations between endocrines and mental disease or mental deficiency are still very uncertain.

However, anyone who has studied the effects of adrenin on physiological activities can understand why modern civilized man develops tensions, irritations, fatigue, and neurotic symptoms. In modern life, the individual is often angry or fearful as a result of frustrations at the hands of "enemies," such as the domineering spouse or executive. The thwarting by persons or situations beyond the individual's control arouses the "victim" toward fight or flight. But modern man cannot run away from nor strike down his enemies, even though his body is mobilized for such action. The resultant excess energies are bottled up, and severe physiological imbalances often result. These, in turn, contribute to psychological imbalances or maladjustments.

### PROJECTS

1. Now that you have become acquainted with adjustment and some of its predisposing influences, make a list of important predisposing influences in your own development of which you are aware. Include factors such as health, physique,

early childhood conditionings, and work experiences. Discuss the list with a parent or friend who knows you intimately. To what extent do you agree and disagree on the factors mentioned? Are you sufficiently objective and mature in your thinking



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- about yourself to discuss your characteristics without emotional disturbances on your part? Are you aware of any topics that are too painful for you to discuss?
- 2 Find examples, from newspapers or periodicals, of persons who have developed abnormal physiques because of glandular imbalance. Clip articles that have photographs and bring them to class for the benefit of other students and for class discussion. Note which glands are considered responsible in each case. How have any of the persons utilized their peculiarities vocationally?
  - 3 Compare the physical and the mental or emotional results of glandular abnormality in several types of cases. Does there seem to be a relationship between these two aspects, if so, how are they interrelated?
  4. Read some of the recent literature on the stability of the IQ mentioned in the footnote on page 118. Prepare a list of all the possible factors which might result in the raising or lowering of an individual's IQ.
  - 5 Make a study of the neural organization of behavior. Refer to standard elementary texts such as John F. Dashiell's *Fundamentals of General Psychology* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1937, Chapter X). Pay special attention to psychologists' theories regarding relation between mind and body. Do psychologists think of mind and body as separate entities that influence each other, or as aspects of the same organism?

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## 7 Methods of treating the maladjusted

*To bring on the triumph of intellect over mechanism, of responsible morality over irresponsible force, is our mission. If we think things cannot be different from what they are, we but add so much to the dead inertia of the world, which keeps them as they are, while if we will not succumb we may be part of the very forces that will help to make things different.<sup>1</sup>*

THE TREATMENT OF THE SERIOUSLY maladjusted or insane requires years of special training in universities, hospitals, and clinics. This work is done by psychiatrists, that is, physicians who have specialized in the investigation and treatment of mental disorders. Obviously, only experts should treat psychotics, those persons who have a pathological mental condition which tends to constitute a disease-entity. In this chapter, therefore, we shall differentiate between the serious and the minor maladjustments.

### TREATMENT OF THE MAJOR OR SERIOUS MALADJUSTMENTS

The theories and methods that psychiatrists and clinical psychologists use are too complex for us to attempt a comprehensive discussion of them in this book. However, we as educated laymen can try to appreciate the importance of their

work and to cooperate intelligently with them.

First, we should recognize our responsibility toward acquaintances who are suffering from serious mental ailments. One of the great lessons we have learned from our studies of the mentally ill is the need for realizing that a mentally sick person should be treated with the same consideration that we accord the physically ill. When a friend has a broken leg or has a fever, we take him to a hospital, sympathize with him, send him flowers, and visit him. Similarly, when a friend is sent to a hospital for mental treatment, we should treat him, not as a "nut," but as a person who is sick, for that is what he is. We should not attach a social stigma to the person who has been in an institution for the insane any more than to a person who has been in a general hospital for an organic illness. In many cases

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the former mental patient is not handicapped, but to some people he is stigmatized. The stigma is based on unintelligent popular misconceptions regarding the possible permanence of insanity. Many small employers still refuse to hire a former mental patient.

*Second*, employers should recognize that there are many kinds of mental disturbances and that each varies in the degree to which it incapacitates for work. The employer or personnel man should be acquainted with the five psychological terms for broad mental classification: the mental defective, the epileptic, the psychotic, the psychopathic personality, and the psychoneurotic.

The *mental defective* lacks some mental qualities or abilities which are present in the normal individual. The synonym for most mental defectives of the kind who visit employment offices is "feeble-minded." These differ in their degree of mental limitation, and their intelligence can be measured by means of intelligence tests. Many of these people can and do learn to perform routine and repetitive jobs in industry.

The *epileptics* or, more correctly, those who are subject to convulsive states, can be employed in many cases. Some have convulsions only in their sleep. Others have them only at infrequent intervals. Many experience a preliminary signal before an attack, and some control their ailment by means of medicine. If each person who is subject to "fits" is considered in terms of the variety of his disorder and its control, certain types of employment which he can perform without danger will be found.

Some *psychotics* can be employed, at least during certain stages of the psychosis. In the case of the manic-depressive

(having pronounced swings of elation and depression), the patient may have a disorder for one period of time only, or he may have it in recurrent cycles. There may be several years between attacks when the individual is normal and employable. Some psychotics are overactive during the early stage of an attack and work very industriously. Complete recovery from an attack is the rule rather than the exception.

Patients who are hospitalized for *schizophrenia* (literally, "splitting of the mind," formerly called *dementia praecox*) are incapable of work during the early stages of the disorder. After treatment, however, many can be discharged from hospitals and can work in a protected environment. About 30 per cent recover spontaneously or as the result of the newer methods of treatment, such as shock therapy.

Those who grow old and develop *senile psychosis* have defects of memory and judgment. If such old employees are allowed to work slowly at tasks that do not require new mental habits, they may fill certain jobs very well.

The *psychopathic personalities* include the pathological liars, swindlers, eccentrics, vagrants, sexual deviants, and certain types of criminals. They are deficient in moral values. Few are hospitalized and most are difficult to cure because they do not cooperate during therapy. Most have bad work records and get into conflict with the law. For most types of factory and office work they are useless, but many of them are members of our great army of transient and migratory labor.

The *psychoneurotics* are found everywhere. They are always in touch with reality and are not insane. Some have harmless obsessions, phobias, or forms of

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hysteria. Some are hypochondriacs who complain of functional ills and pains. They are often absent from work, complain about the employer, are easily fatigued, are irritable and have a bad effect on the morale of other workers. Many are merely childish, or make other evasive adjustments to their personal problems. Every large group of employees has some of these neurotics, and many are needed, in spite of their maladjustments, because of the good work they do in their specialties.<sup>2</sup>

Some persons, merely because they were known to be getting mental treatment, have lost their jobs and their friends. "So-and-so is going to a psychiatrist—he must be nuts" is still too common a verdict of employers and others. Much health education is needed to correct unfair attitudes toward the mentally ill.

*Third*, we should appreciate the chances for recovery or improvement of patients who enter a state hospital for the mentally ill. In the state of Ohio, for example, of 3,350 first admissions during 1943, the condition, by percentages, as of June 20, 1945, was as follows:

Returned home	50 %
Discharged	34 8
On trial visits	15 2
Still in hospital	26 4
Deaths	22 2
Transfers	0 8
Escapes	0 6

Of these patients, 12.9 per cent were over 70 years of age at time of admission. Of the 22.2 per cent who died, 65 per cent were patients over 60 years of age. Of course, recovery rates vary, depending upon the age of the patient, the kind of mental disorder, and the treatment. Certainly the chances of recovery for many

young and middle-aged people are excellent. Some investigators believe that "40 per cent of mental disease could be prevented if we utilized to a maximum degree the knowledge of certain disorders already at hand."<sup>3</sup>

*Fourth*, executives, parents, teachers, and personnel men should learn enough about the symptoms of mental disorders to know when it is advisable to refer employees, children, pupils, and acquaintances to experts for diagnosis. Psychiatrists and clinical psychologists are trained friends who may help increase our happiness. They are not mere classifiers of mental ailments and custodians of asylums; they are counselors to whom we may go for occasional check-ups of our mental habits just as we may go to the family physician for an annual check-up of our bodily condition.

*Fifth*, we should learn some of the basic principles used in the treatment of the mentally ill so that we can cooperate intelligently with the psychotherapist. For example, some patients who voluntarily consult a psychiatrist report that they are not getting any help from the treatments. These statements are often made because the patient's treatment has progressed to the point where he must either live on a new basis or else continue to "enjoy" his old inadequate mental habits. At such times of doubt we should encourage the patient to continue the treatments until he learns to live more satisfyingly in terms of the new mental regimen.

*Sixth*, the investigations made by the specialists in mental disease have removed the fear of the direct inheritance of mental ills. Mental ills are not inherited like the color of eyes. Paradoxically, however, mental ills do run in

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families. Studies of sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, parents, and grandparents of patients in mental hospitals have revealed no evidence of any exact theory of inheritance. There is no clear-cut case of Mendelian inheritance.<sup>4</sup> A mentally diseased parent cannot hand on this trait as he can hand on the color of his eyes.<sup>5</sup>

Mental disease does occur among the relatives of mental patients and among some racial groups<sup>6</sup> more often than it occurs in the general population. It is possible that a predisposition toward mental breakdown is inherited, but we are not certain because the parents of the mentally diseased also bequeath to the children a particular sort of family circle in which to grow up. Mental habits have a close relationship with mental disease or health, and this fact offers us much hope in the intelligent control of our mental well-being. We can do a great deal toward the development of sound mental habits in ourselves, regardless of who or what our parents were. The maladjusted person is not a poor helpless patient fatalistically sacrificed to his heredity or his environment. More powerful than the germ plasm or the parental pattern are courage and the desire to develop the adaptability necessary to deal adequately with one's barriers.

*Seventh*, we should appreciate the relation between bodily and mental health. A thorough physical examination should precede any psychotherapy, and the examination should be made by a physician who specializes in diagnosis rather than by an ordinary practitioner who is satisfied with taking the blood pressure and counting the pulse. An ailment such as arthritis is often treated as organic only. Yet family worry, grief, and other forms of emotional stress bear more than a

chance relationship to the onset and flare-up of the chronic joint disease, rheumatoid arthritis, as indicated by a recent study of this ailment.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, hallucinations may be erroneously treated as purely psychological, yet voices heard by the mentally ill may have a basis in ear infections. Almost one out of every five patients examined at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital was found to have a toxic type of deafness.<sup>8</sup> Certain patients who were free from toxic deafness also suffered from auditory hallucinations but described them differently. This study indicated that an examination of the physical condition is so important in understanding many mental conditions that the diagnoses should be made with the utmost care.

Physicians and psychiatrists are giving many different kinds of treatments to the body, particularly the nervous system, as an aid in curing patients who were considered hopelessly insane. Some of these more recently developed treatments include electric shocks passed directly through the brain. Similar shock treatments are given by means of insulin<sup>9</sup> and metrazol.

*Electric shock* is a method of psychotherapy often used on patients who are not responding well to the usual treatment. It is particularly valuable in weakening those psychological defenses that keep the patient from facing his conflicts, thus facilitating treatment by other therapeutic methods.<sup>10</sup> Electric shock seems to improve feeling tone and jar the patient out of his apathy and inertia. Rigidity of personality structure is decreased and the immediate release of hostility, especially in rigid personality and depressive cases, is striking. A more

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outgoing attitude is adopted which improves the patient's chances of benefiting from psychotherapy.<sup>11</sup>

Of 242 patients seen over a one-year period and treated with electric shock in a psychiatrist's office, only 21 per cent did not improve. The cause for lack of improvement in almost half of these cases was attributed to premature discontinuance of treatment. Sixty-three per cent of the 242 patients had affective disorders, 31.5 per cent had schizophrenia, and about 4 per cent had a neurosis. Of those whose conditions were improved by shock therapy, only fifteen patients (6 per cent) required subsequent hospitalization, and thirteen of these were considered unimproved. These data indicate that if electric shock is given in private treatments, the number of patients who will be committed to mental hospitals may be reduced.<sup>12</sup>

No one knows what really happens as a result of these shock treatments. Perhaps some of the old nerve current pathways and synaptic junctions in the sick brains are so modified by the shock treatment that old neural patterns are lost. Metabolic activity is changed. Chemical and physiological activities are modified, but perhaps only future research will explain the reasons why shock and fever treatments are beneficial to some mental patients.

*Lobotomy*, the severing of the prefrontal lobes from the rest of the brain, has been done in about 4,000 "incurable" cases in attempts to improve certain psychotics, particularly those who suffer from painful fears and anxieties. It appears to be of varied or doubtful benefit.<sup>13</sup>

*Narco-analysis* is a form of therapy during which the patient talks about or

acts out the painful experiences which have caused an acute neurosis, anxiety state, or hysteria. It was used with good results during World War II for alleviating conditions caused by distressing combat experiences. The procedure is to administer to the patient a barbiturate drug which induces narcosis. While the patient is in this drug-induced sleep, the therapist encourages him to talk about or act out his traumatic experiences, thereby bringing his repressed fears and anxieties to consciousness where they can be understood. With understanding comes release from the maladjustment expressed by the symptoms.

Many methods of treatment other than surgical, electrical, and chemical are used. The therapeutic theater is an example. Here patients are encouraged to go on a stage and blow off steam through impromptu drama<sup>14</sup> while psychiatrists listen and offer guidance. The psychodrama has been used in the treatment of marriage problems and for truancy on the part of maladjusted school boys.<sup>15</sup>

Many methods are used in modern psychotherapy. The philosophy underlying most forms of psychotherapy is that the sufferer must be treated as a personality and not merely as the bearer of a diagnosable disease.

*Group therapy* is an example of a method that helps the patient become better integrated through a special social group of fellow sufferers. The great number of acute psychopathological cases and the comparatively small number of therapists was the immediate cause for the adoption of group therapy on a large scale during World War II. In group therapy a number of psychoneurotic patients, usually not more than thirty, participate in group discussions of their

difficulties, and thereby learn ways of adjustment more effective and satisfying than those they have adopted as manifested by their neurotic symptoms. Prior to being admitted to a group, each person is interviewed by a psychotherapist who ascertains the nature of each patient's troubles and familiarizes himself with the case. Usually this same therapist is present at the group discussions, held several times a week. He acts as discussion leader, urging patients to talk about their difficulties to the group, calling on them for comments on, reactions to, or interpretations of the troubles of the other members of the group, and encouraging progress reports. In the permissive atmosphere that prevails, patients discover that their difficulties are not unique, that other people have similar ones. As they learn more about the other persons in the group they develop a feeling of fellowship with them, and an identification with the group is built up. This identification furnishes the neurotic with a stabilizing influence and a support with which he can help himself. The situation simulates a small social community where he can find reassurance and self-understanding, and thus adjust himself more adequately to the environment of his everyday life.<sup>16</sup>

The method of therapy most desirable in many cases can be decided upon by determining whether the maladjustment is a simple bad mental habit or of a deep-seated type. If it is of the latter variety, the patient is likely to resist assistance or be incapable of gaining insight and release without systematic professional counsel. Analytical rather than superficial procedures are essential. When strong feelings of guilt are predominant, a Freudian type of approach may be

necessary. If feelings of inferiority are predominant, an Adlerian type of approach is likely to be effective.<sup>17</sup> But whatever approach is used by the therapist, the patient must be given a mental reeducation that enables him to live without old tensions and to participate in normal social relations.

*Religion* is believed by many people to have therapeutic value. The pastor can help those suffering from guilt through the healing effects of confession and forgiveness, those suffering from sorrow through mitigating their grief, those suffering from fear and anxiety through increasing their faith, those suffering from hostility through spreading the spirit of love. Mental health attitudes engendered or increased through religious experience include the sense of personal worth, trust in the ultimate victory of good over evil, membership in a communal fellowship, the support of invisible yet constant companionship, confession, and forgiveness, the urging and guiding of youth along approved paths, the aspiration and dedication of worship, and the discipline or way of life.<sup>18</sup>

So many different kinds of treatment are used that the layman is apt to wonder why chemical, physical, and psychological approaches are at times used for patients who have the same or similar disorders.

If one asks how could psychological medicine possibly cure an organic condition, the answer is obvious. It could not possibly cure an organic condition. If at the same time one asks, "How could chemicals possibly cure an organic condition," the answer must be the same. It could not possibly. We then perceive that the questions have arisen out of a misconception of the mechanism by which cures are achieved. Processes which go on in the body are of necessity some expression of

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metabolism The chemicals which we take when we feel diseased could hardly be said to repair the damaged condition of the organism Rather their sole purpose is so to change conditions in the organism as to bring about those functional conditions which will enable the organism more readily to cure itself The organism must always cure itself through its metabolic activities It will be seen from this analysis that the effects of chemical medicines are purely functional Viewed from this angle, the situation is somewhat clearer and the question is now as to whether or not the psychological medicine can be of value in bringing about the conditions which will enable the organism to cure itself <sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately, the bringing about of conditions which will enable the organism to cure itself is often very difficult in psychopathic cases. However, one helpful point of view for the student is that many psychopathic persons develop their mental disorders because they are confronted by problems for which they have no satisfactory answers. Many are in states of conflict

### **Conflicts**

A humorist described a tardy man and woman standing on a pier watching an ocean liner disappear down the bay The disappointed woman turned on her husband and said "Don't just stand there—*do something!*" Obviously, the poor husband could do nothing about it, but the wife's senseless demand for action illustrates how conflicts are likely to arise when no action is possible.

Many experiments have shown the possible effects of conflicts on mental well-being. Pavlov was one of the first experimenters to prove that abnormalities of behavior can be produced in an animal when the animal has been trained to

solve a problem by means of a specific act, and the conditions are changed so that the learned solution is no longer appropriate. Pavlov trained a dog by the conditioned-reflex method to discriminate between two visual patterns; the presentation of a circle of light was always followed by food, while the appearance of an ellipse whose axes had a ratio of 2:1 was not rewarded The circle soon became a conditioned stimulus to salivation but the appearance of the ellipse inhibited salivation.

In the experiment, the conditions for the dog were changed. The ellipse was gradually changed to approach a circle and the dog continued to make perfect discriminations until the ratio of the axes had become 8:9, after which imperfect discriminations were made. Then the dog's behavior suddenly changed. He was unable to differentiate between the circle and the ellipse and became negative to all stimuli. As the training was continued, the formerly docile dog constantly struggled and howled. The dog had a "nervous breakdown." The confusion of the positive and negative stimuli was too much for him. The conflict could not be solved by any of his learned responses.<sup>20</sup>

Liddell,<sup>21</sup> Anderson, and other investigators have done considerable similar work with sheep N. R. F. Maier<sup>22</sup> and his associates have studied experimentally produced neurotic behavior in the rat. Pigs, guinea pigs, and cats<sup>23</sup> have been used in similar experiments on the effects of frustration.

In Dr. Maier's experiments with rats, the rats were taught by reward and punishment to distinguish between two cards Then, instead of being permitted a choice between a "reward" and a "pun-



ishment" card, an animal was shown only the "punishment" card while a blast of air was forcing him to jump. At the sight of the "punishment" card, the rat might resist action for as long as 15 minutes before he would jump. The rat was in a state of conflict. He did not have a suitable mode of response for the problem situation. Neurotic symptoms resulted in many rats. The "psychopathic" animal would tear out of the apparatus, run in circles on the floor, show intense tics, and then have varying degrees of coma. Maier found that an irritant which furnishes no release builds up tensions which the organism cannot handle, and these may resolve themselves in catastrophic reactions.<sup>24</sup>

As a result of his experiments, Dr. Maier believes that a cure for frustrated neurotic human patients is to find a way for the person to act. Dr. Maier's cure for neurotic rats is to encourage them to find something to do even though it fails to solve the conflict that confronts them. He calls this "abortive behavior." To cure them, he taught them to make just a half-way jump toward solving their dilemma. Possible human applications<sup>25</sup> of this principle might be

A girl urged by her parents to marry might dislike both of two available suitors. Forced to marry, she would break down. If she engages herself to one but is cold to him, so that they drift apart, she is saved. A substitute activity, such as a career of nursing, would serve the same purpose.

Pregnancy and the conflicts arising from sin contribute greatly to neurotic behavior by leaving no avenue for behavior and yet requiring that something be done. . . .

On the other hand, going to the electric chair, while it may produce tensions, does not produce neurosis because the individual knows just what he must do.<sup>26</sup>

These experiments with animals and the judgments of many specialists in mental disorders indicate that neurosis is often due to the fact that the individual patient is confronted by the conflicting character of difficulties imposed upon him, difficulties for which he has no direct attack or suitable substitute responses. The neurosis is a haven in his flight from reality. It is an escape from the facing of unpleasant facts, mostly in the form of impulsive attitudes that are irreconcilable to him. In the case of the adult, some of the irreconcilable attitudes probably originated in childhood and are now in conflict with current drives. Inner peace can be developed when the individual finds an acceptable mode of action or makes a final choice in favor of one drive.<sup>27</sup> In some cases, willingness to accept an inevitable situation which the individual previously resented may resolve the conflict within him.

The experiments with animals have suggested some valuable concepts for the treatment of psychopaths. However, the most interesting and frequently used concepts in the use of psychological approaches to the treatment of psychopaths may be obtained from a review of the principles and methods of psychoanalysis.

### *What is psychoanalysis?*

Sigmund Freud of Vienna was the originator of the technical method of psychoanalysis. He published his first investigations in 1895. Freud studied many cases of nervous disorders and was convinced that the main causes lay in repressed wishes or desires. The repressed desire or impulse was, he believed, of a sexual nature and had been repressed by the forces of education and social con-

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ventions When the wish is repressed it remains alive and active in unconscious form. The theory, to many people, appears to be weird, while to others it holds a strong attraction for its interesting interpretations. Perhaps we should spend a moment reviewing the experiences which gave Freud his method of treating psychopathological maladies.

Before 1890, psychologists had already considered mental abnormalities. Hypnotism was known, and it was noted that, when patients were treated in certain ways, they developed multiple personalities. That is, they regarded themselves and acted as though they were different persons at different times. Sometimes one personality could not remember the other personality of the same individual. In other cases the various "personalities" might be more or less conscious of each other. This was then interpreted as indicating that nervous diseases were the result of a splitting-off of consciousness. One portion of the associations of the mental life broke off and formed a new or smaller "mind" of its own. Compulsions and obsessions were explained in this way, and the physicians of that time used hypnotism to reintegrate the dismembered personality or mind. In the hypnosis, the physician tried to bring the split-off part of the mind back to the main body of the personality. Freud was a physician and treated his patients in this manner.

In the early years of his experimenting, Freud noted that some patients remembered things when they were hypnotized that they could not recall when in the normal state of consciousness. Then, when these forgotten facts of a painful nature were presented to the patient in his normal state he showed very strong

emotions. He seemed to respond to these unpleasant and forgotten facts in the same manner as though he were actually experiencing the painful situation that had been buried in the unconscious. In some cases the painful experience had occurred many years before and the patient had been unable to recall it. When, however, the painful experience was brought to the full attention of the patient and he reacted to the recalled situation with the same emotional responses that he should have had when the situation occurred years before, the patient became well. The conclusion was naturally reached that the abnormal mental states of the neurotics were caused by the fact that the neurotic had not made a complete and satisfying emotional response to some of his unpleasant impulses and experiences. The bringing-about of a belated emotional response in order to clear up a neurosis was called the "method of catharsis" and the new or belated emotional response was called the "abreaction."

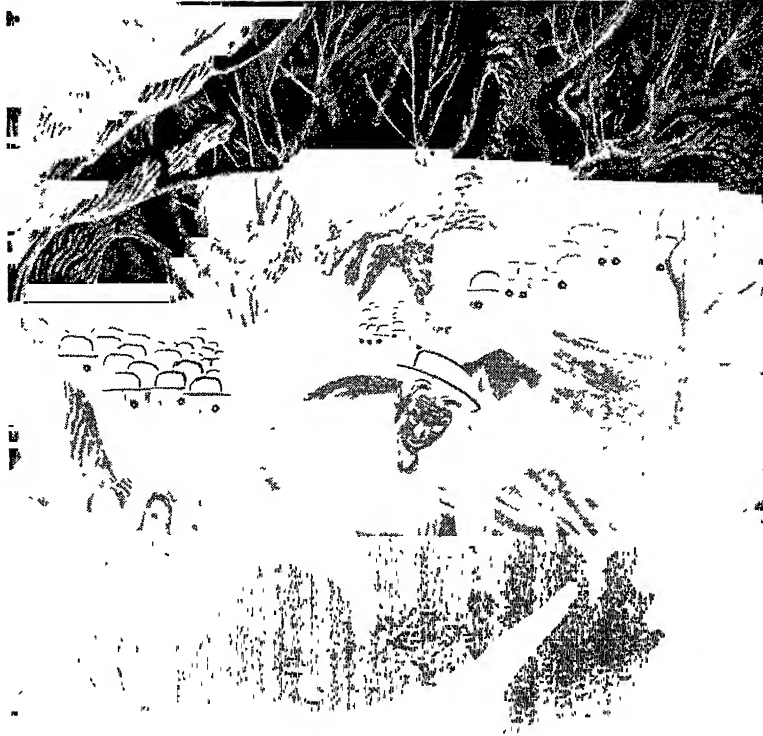
Freud found that some of his patients could not be hypnotized, but he also discovered that the patients could themselves recall their forgotten experiences when they were encouraged to talk freely and at random. In these experiments, Freud found that the dreams of his patients were often related to the unpleasant things that they were trying to recall or uncover. He made studies of thousands of dreams and learned that the dream is symbolic of some repressed or hidden wish, that it may relate to infantile experiences, and that the repressed wish is one which, ordinarily, we do not admit that we would even entertain. In some dreams, certain symbolisms occurred again and again, such as snakes,

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knives, seeds, mountains, and wild animals. Freud interpreted these symbolisms to represent repressed desires that we refuse to recognize or carry through emotionally, and so they are stored in the unconscious and are allowed to come forth only in the dream life of the patient or in some abnormal manner during his waking hours. Most of these desires were believed to be of a sexual nature, because sex is the one strong im-

pulse that cannot be expressed freely in our civilization.<sup>28</sup>

The psychoanalyst considers the sex symbolisms as merely convenient means of reaching more certain conclusions, and he uses them in much the same manner that the mathematician uses the symbol  $x$  in algebra. The true psychoanalyst does not use these sex symbols as definite proof of the nature of the repression until he has further evidence from the



### **Did you ever have a dream like this?**

**M**OST PEOPLE have had the dream of finding money scattered around, and picking it up hurriedly for fear some one would come along and take it away.

This dream according to many psychologists betrays a subconscious anxiety about the future, a fear of becoming suddenly poor. Is it

any wonder that the dream is so common?

But no rich fears need haunt the man whose life and property are insured wisely and well. For he knows that both his own and his family's futures are provided for by the simplest and safest means of protection known today.

You can achieve the same security by con-

sulting a trained experienced Travelers representative. Moral Insure in Two Travelers. All forms of insurance.

The Travelers Insurance Company, The Travelers Indemnity Company, The Travelers Fire Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut.

ONE EXAMPLE OF ANALYSIS of the unconscious as used in advertising.

past experiences of the patient. The faddist who dabbles in psychoanalysis is apt to jump to erroneous conclusions when he knows some of the sex symbols but does not appreciate that the symbolisms<sup>29</sup> are merely working hypotheses until a verifiable conclusion is reached. The psychoanalyst does not think of the sex impulse in quite the same way that the layman does. The former uses it in the genetic sense. Furthermore, the modern psychoanalyst does not sexualize all behavior. Rather, he more often points out to certain patients how preoccupation with sex interferes with a more mature relationship with people and work.

The "censor" (better, censorship) refers to the assumed group of influences which require the individual to repress his normal impulses. These influences are the social standards of our times, the reproofs given in childhood, and the many repressive influences of modern life. The reason why the individual patient's dreams express the repressed impulses more readily than the acts of his waking life is that these repressive forces are not parts of his conscious or intellectual life. When we are asleep, the conscious controls are weaker, the censorship is relaxed, and the impulses come into the dream consciousness in symbolic form.

***Psychoanalysis is a special method of psychological observation***

All scientists find it necessary to set up special concepts or formulas to explain the phenomena of their fields of study. Chemists have set up "atomic theories" to help them explain facts discovered by experiment. Astronomers, biologists,

mathematicians, and others have deliberately set up theoretical constructs to give order to their data. Psychotherapists have found it helpful to follow the same procedure as indicated in the theoretical construct based on the "unconscious." *Psychoanalysis is a method of psychological observation in which dream analysis, free association, and study of transference of early attitudes toward the analyst are used to uncover the unconscious*<sup>30</sup> It uses a unique set of theoretical constructs to give order to its data and to apply effective methods of psychotherapy.

Its theoretical constructs are a great deal more abstruse and difficult to understand than the barrier-adjustment concept used in this text. One explanation for the use of a more abstruse set of concepts by the psychoanalysts is that the seriously maladjusted patient's behavior often requires a more involved system of thinking than is needed to explain the behavior of a normal or only slightly maladjusted person.

As previously stated, dream analysis is used. In addition to the study of the dream life of the patient, the psychoanalyst also uses "free association." In this method the psychoanalyst has the patient come to his office and makes him physically comfortable in an easy chair or on a couch. All possible distracting influences are removed. Perhaps monotonous noise is provided. The patient closes his eyes, and the psychoanalyst may ask him to think of some part of his personal history which the analyst wishes to investigate, and tells him to think aloud and to say everything that comes to his mind, no matter how trivial, how irrelevant, or how unpleasant it may seem to him. The object is to discover the repressed experi-

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ence or submerged complex that had not been allowed full emotional expression when it occurred in the experience of the patient. The patient is asked to report his dreams and to express his thoughts freely. In this way the analyst tries to un-

ravel the network of experiences that caused the disturbance.

The analyst may also use word associations. To do this he prepares a list of words that may have some relationship to the patient's history and asks the pa-

### COMMON PSYCHOANALYTICAL TERMS

The psychology student often meets terms used more often by psychoanalysts than by psychologists. For his information, definitions of the more common psychoanalytical terms are presented. If the reader wishes fully to understand these and related terms, he should read complete descriptions and cases that involve the use of the terms. Terms defined here are defined in the psychoanalytic sense rather than in the psychological sense. Often there is a great difference between the two.

*catharsis* the expression of disturbing emotional experiences, particularly through relating them to a psychoanalyst, mental life is thereby purged of acute unpleasantness.

*conscious* that part of mental life of which the individual is aware.

*dynamisms* unconscious mechanisms by which the ego, charged with libido, deals with its three adversaries, the id, superego, and external world, through dynamisms the ego allows the id outlets and substitute satisfactions.

*ego* the self, largely conscious but partly unconscious, mediates between id and external world in an attempt to satisfy both.

*free association* an unrestricted and undirected association of thoughts and feelings that come to a patient's mind, gives psychoanalyst insight into dynamics of the patient's behavior and etiology of his disturbance.

*id* deepest part of the mind, the unconscious, unmoral basis of mental life, aims at satisfaction of instinctive drives and motivations, ruled by "pleasure principle."

*libido* sexual desire or energy that is attached to the ego or to outside objects or persons.

*psychoanalysis* the psychological system originated by Freud, based on the theory that all behavior results from repressed material in the unconscious, also, the therapy based on this system.

*resistance* during psychoanalysis a manifestation of client's desire to hold on to his old behavior and thought patterns because they satisfy a need, shown by refusal to accept analyst's interpretations.

*subconscious* that part of mental life that is neither conscious nor unconscious, and of which the individual may be dimly aware.

*superego* conscience; the moral aspect of personality, criticizes the ego when it permits impulses from the id to gain expression.

*transference* displacement of an emotion (love or hate) from an infantile love-object to another person (the psychoanalyst during psychoanalysis).

*unconscious* that part of mental life characterized by certain dynamic processes which cannot be brought to consciousness by effort of the will or by voluntary act of memory; the id rules it.

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tient to give the first word that comes to mind when the words are spoken. The analyst records with a stop-watch the time required for each response to the stimulus word. After the list has been completed the patient is taken through the list again and differences in responses are noted. When a stimulus word touches upon the repressed experiences or complexes, certain disturbances are noted, such as the peculiarity of the kind of re-

action, the increased length of time for the reaction, and the failure to repeat the former reaction. White<sup>31</sup> reported the associations of a patient who had made several attempts to commit suicide.

<i>Stimulus Word</i>	<i>Reaction</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Reproduction</i>
To harm	Self	6.6	Anyone
Stork	Large	4.4	Large
False	True	1.8	Not true

The average reaction time was about 1.6 seconds. In the above examples can

"HUSH! FATHER MUSTN'T BE DISTURBED," and similar highly emotionalized admonitions to the small child may permanently influence the child regarding parental authority. Fortunately, some children are not permanently conditioned by such situations—they react by negative adaptation. (Courtesy of General Foods Corporation)



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be noted the lengthened time of reaction, inability to recall the reaction on repetition, and the irradiation of the disturbance to the next two reactions as shown by the lengthened time of the reaction. This patient had a brother who was arrested and brought into court, and she gave bond for him. She made the following responses: *Prison—cell—4.2* seconds, *bond—pay—4.2* seconds, and *judge—to be judged—4* seconds.

The analyst seeks constantly to discover the tension-causing influences in the patient's life history and to guide the patient into and through the process of catharsis. He does more than encourage the patient to talk freely. He enables the patient to become aware of and to view in clearer perspective the significant phases of past experiences, especially those that gave him feelings of shame or painful unpleasantness. The patient understands more clearly the origins of his own attitudes and the fact that his reactions were, all factors considered, natural for him. In the course of the patient's self-revelation, the emotions that were inhibited at the time of the painful or shameful experience are allowed expression and he gains marked release from old tensions.

In addition to the method of catharsis, the analyst may use *transference*. This is an attempt to relieve the emotional tension by having the patient project upon the analyst all the emotional tensions that are uncovered in the analysis. Emotionally, the analyst takes the place of parent, lover, or enemy. It is apparent that transference requires a great deal of skill on the part of the analyst and many specialists neglect to use it intelligently.

If psychoanalysis had never made but one contribution to our thinking, it would have

been fully justified for what it has had to offer regarding the mechanism and nature of the process it designates as transference. One of the reasons I have in mind for advocating a further study of hypnotic phenomena is that here is an opportunity for the experimental study of this process. My own feeling is that the transference is the most powerful tool which the physician has at his service for therapeutic purposes, and when we consider that in the vast majority of cases he has not the slightest idea of the existence of this process of which he himself is a part I have perhaps said enough to indicate the importance of its adequate understanding. All forms of therapy, no matter what—surgical, drug, dietary advice—all of them have then component, great or small, of psychotherapy, and the power and efficacy of psychotherapy are bound up in the mechanism of the transference. In addition to this the transference, because it represents a great force, is capable, when used ignorantly, of doing much damage. Under these circumstances it becomes of the utmost importance for the physician to acquaint himself with its meanings, significances, mechanisms, in order that he may make this force available at maximum efficiency for the welfare of his patient.<sup>32</sup>

To psychoanalyze a patient requires much time. Months and even years may be required to unearth the painful experiences and enable the patient to express the unpleasant emotions that were repressed years before. The personality of the psychoanalyst plays a very important part in the method. He offers not sympathy but understanding. The patient needs to realize that here is one person in the whole world who is able and willing to understand him. The psychoneurotic may have felt that he has been misunderstood and that he must hide his guilt and burden from his best friends. As proof of the fact that we are unwilling to express ourselves and tell all our emotional experiences, ask a group of persons to tell all the dreams

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that they can recall. Few indeed are the husbands who are willing to tell their wives all their dreams or the thoughts that have entered their minds. If maladjusted people could only realize that each and every impulse or idea that enters consciousness has a normal and natural cause, it would be easier for the mentally afflicted to deal with their own emotionally repressed impulses.

In the various studies of the maladjusted, it has been found that some have tried to overcome their unpleasant experiences and impulses by means of defense mechanisms. The boy who takes pride in being the worst roughneck of the neighborhood may be acting the part of the rowdy in order to make himself feel that he is virile. To tell him that he must be more gentle does not remove the cause of the rowdiness. The girl who takes refuge in invalidism to gain attention may not be helped by punishment or advice to make up her mind to get well. The analyst tries to get at the cause of the maladjustment and then to enable the patient to *sublimate* the energies, that is, to direct them into substitute activities that are satisfying and socially acceptable. We can see examples of sublimation in daily life in the case of the man who loses his wife and then takes up golf and plays it strenuously, or the student who fails in his studies and then becomes a collector of stamps. It is probable that many of our strongest drives are attempts to sublimate energy and achieve a sense of worthwhileness because of failure to do so in some other activity.

### *Criticisms of psychoanalysis*

Freud and his colleagues will go down in psychological history as pioneers and

contributors in a field which needed them in their time. They opened new trails in the exploration of the human mind. Many of Freud's trails led to new discoveries of great value. Some, too, led into dead-end canyons or to insurmountable cliffs. Many of his earlier teachings have been modified by members of related schools of therapy, and they are now adding new contributions by their willingness to discard or correct some of the earlier concepts in his method.

1 A modification of the Freudian principles concerns the concept of the unconscious. Some critics claim that we are not motivated by suppressed wishes, but rather by a series of adjustments to our situations. These adjustments are not made by a part of the mind, but by the entire individual. The organism as a whole responds to the stimulus. By trial and accidental success we find that one kind of response results in failure and dissatisfaction whereas another response brings about success and satisfaction. The successful response is stamped into our neurological mechanisms and, therefore, is readily repeated. Repressed desires or suppressed wishes are not entities which have energy by themselves. They have no existence by themselves any more than my fingers have hidden peckings on a typewriter. It is only when I am stimulated as an integrated unit that my fingers peck on a typewriter. Therefore, it is often claimed, the "unconscious mind" is not subject to proof or observation but rather is an explanation of phenomena that can be interpreted more adequately by objective means.

2 Repressions, though inactive, may affect behavior, and so they cannot be ignored or belittled. Conflicts do take place between impulses. A girl may re-



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act in a psychoneurotic manner because her love for a man may be in conflict with the wishes of her father who forbids her to see the man. A phobia may even arise, because of a desire which has been stimulated and not allowed expression, recognition, or admission. However, critics claim that normal stimuli may become associated through action of the nervous system rather than through a subconscious mind, with abnormal responses as in the case described by Bagby:

A man suffered from a phobia of being grasped from behind, the disturbance appearing early in childhood and persisting to his fifty-fifth year. When walking on the street he was under a compulsion to look back over his shoulder at intervals to see if he was closely followed. In social gatherings he arranged to have his chair against the wall. It was impossible for him to enter crowded places or to attend the theater. In his fifty-fifth year he returned to the town in which he had spent his childhood. After inspecting his old home, he went to the corner grocery and found that his old boyhood friend was still behind the counter. He introduced himself and they began to reminisce. Finally the grocer said this, "I want to tell you something that occurred when you were a boy. You used to go by this store on errands, and when you passed you often took a handful of peanuts from the stand in front. One day I saw you coming and hid behind a barrel. Just as you put your hand in the pile of peanuts, I jumped out and grabbed you from behind. You screamed and fell fainting on the sidewalk." The episode was remembered and the phobia, after a period of readjustment, disappeared.<sup>33</sup>

3. Dreams are not always wish-fulfillments. A dream of falling may be stimulated by a sagging bed spring rather than by the fear of a moral fall; or a dream of being choked may be brought about by the tightness of the bed covers. Mostly,

dreams are the mere automatic and chance play of the cerebral associational mechanisms. One neural pathway happens to arouse another pathway and incongruous combinations of ideas result. Certainly many dreams are not related to the sex impulse. The child and the adult must suppress many impulses, such as those of self-assertion and gluttony. It is unfair to attribute all asocial impulses to sex energies which are not allowed expressions by our form of civilization.

It is true that the body is full of energy—energy which must be expressed in some form. The outlets for these energies may be socially acceptable or extremely harmful. One of the happiest men I ever met was a murderer who had shot and killed two of his enemies, and wounded two others. But he was an ignorant butcher who made his living killing cattle, cutting up meat, and grinding it for his customers. The court sent him to a hospital for the criminally insane.

4. The energy of the human organism may be thought of in many different ways. It may be called the *elan vital* or the *libido*, or we may accept it, as suggested by Jung, as a striving after larger experience. Adler considered this striving as an attempt to achieve safety and power. Or we may designate energy with reference to its objectives and call it tendencies or impulses. It certainly may be analyzed without sex as a basis.

5. Conflicts between various impulses do give rise to behavior which may be thought of as resulting in a *complex*. However, the complex should not be considered bad in all cases. Lee Wilson Dodd has written a book<sup>34</sup> wherein he shows that the complex is not a stain but an advantage, not a leaden drag but a golden spur. The lame foot of Byron

stimulated him to become a master horseman, a good shot, and the best swimmer in England. The assurance thus gained enabled him to become a great lover, poet, and patriot

The complex is a Freudian term, but the inferiority concept comes from Adler. Whether a handicap produces a sense of inferiority and induces a complex, or results in a heroic resolve to achieve despite it, seems to depend largely upon the type of nervous constitution and earlier adjustment habits of the individual who has the handicap

### **Contributions of psychoanalysis**

1 Psychoanalysis has given us a method of treatment of the insane which has been of material help, even though the persons who use it sometimes do not believe all its published principles. In fact, some psychologists say that the bases of psychoanalysis are not true, but that it works. Since psychoanalysis has come into more or less common use in state hospitals, the percentage of cures, all factors considered, has probably increased. Whether these cures have been the result of psychoanalytical methods, chemical treatments, or both is still open to debate

2. Psychoanalysis has given us some valuable points of view. It has shown the importance of the emotions, the strength of childhood influences, and the ways in which we deal with our problems or evade them. It has shown us the dominating influence of the attitudes people have acquired about themselves, about others, and about their surroundings. Their adjustment habits have a great deal to do with their abilities, perhaps even their intelligence, or at least the ways in which intellectual capacity is ex-

pressed. We now have some evidence to show that psychoanalysis has even made substantial changes in the intelligence quotients of certain individuals<sup>35</sup>

3. For the businessman, psychoanalysis has a pointed suggestion in dealing with problem employees—namely, the importance of the art of listening. The executive of the old order took a keen delight in dominating his men. He knew how to put the “fear of God” into his workers. The new executive, like the psychoanalyst, tries to find out why the employee acts as he does. He wants to know what the peculiar behavior of a problem employee means, that is, what are the individual’s problems and his adjustments? Certainly, the studies of problem children have shown that the so-called problem child can be helped very much more easily if we think of him in terms of problem habits. Furthermore, the problem habits are likely to be the child’s adjustments to “problem parents.” In the business world, when an executive insists upon remaining hardboiled rather than analytical and skillful in dealing with his employees, he must expect to have problem employees because he is a “problem executive.”

The lazy employee, the embezzler, the liar, and other employees who have problem habits are examples of poor adjustments. Some of these can be improved by the specialists in mental disorders. The executive, too, should sit at the specialist’s feet and learn to use intelligent methods in dealing with the problem employees in his organization.

4. Regardless of its theoretical defects, psychoanalysis has given us a point of view which enables us better to evaluate the statements of the successful businessman who grants interviews for articles of

## *methods of treating the maladjusted*

the "How to Succeed" variety. The captain of industry tells the youth of the land how he worked hard or used strategy to win in the big city. He thinks that he did it as an effort of will. As a matter of fact, he is likely to be quite unaware of the many influences in his own life. So far as ability to analyze the forces that have produced him is concerned, the big man in any field might better attribute his success to a lame foot, bad digestion, corpulent abdomen, disappointment in love, or a poor scholastic record than to his own unaided self.

### DEALING WITH MINOR MALADJUSTMENTS

Everyone finds it necessary to deal with problem personalities, but we can deal with them more easily if we think of each problem person as a person with a problem. The maladjustments which we see in others or in ourselves often mean that poor techniques or habits are being used.

In our ordinary associations with an employee or other acquaintance, we collect many facts about him. These facts become useful in understanding him when we have a system such as the adjustment concept for our thinking.

Usually we begin our thinking about a problem person with his childhood. We want to learn how he felt as a child. We want to learn how he reacted to the childhood situations and whether the childhood habits of adjustment still persist. We can, by direct and indirect questioning or by talking with his friends, learn about his childhood barriers and adjustments.

To understand someone's problem personality, we can begin our collection of facts with his childhood situations and think from them toward his present

habits. The difficulty of doing this is often so great that we should think of our knowledge of the person as a hypothesis for dealing with him rather than as a certain conclusion. However, at this point we have a *working hypothesis* and can use it experimentally. Furthermore, we must always use some assumptions in dealing with problem people in practical situations. The point is that our assumptions should be not mere random guesses but the results of intelligent thinking.

The person who wishes to learn the mode of thinking used by clinical psychologists may start to do so on a simpler level, through the adjustment concept. The facts about a person's psychological development often arrange themselves in patternful relationships. Headings such as those of Table 16 are likely to occur in the thinking of the counselor.

The psychological findings about a human being cannot be satisfactorily arranged in terms of some algebraic formula, but the facts can be thought of in patternful relationships, as suggested by the Seven-Phase Outline of Table 16. Such an arrangement of information about a problem person enables us to appreciate wherein he is a person with a problem and how his psychological background influences some of his conduct.

We should try to learn enough psychology to be able to see the significant adjustments which occur in the lives of those around us. Of course, if we have a professional responsibility for the mental health of others, we should read many books on psychology and attend clinics in order to become alert to the subtle influences in the lives of our maladjusted associates as well as in our own mental development. To attain such a working

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TABLE 16

SEVEN-PHASE OUTLINE FOR STUDY OF PERSONS  
WITH ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

- 1 *The Barrier* The problem or problems, ostensible or actual See Table 9, pages 46-47, for a list of barriers
- 2 *Predisposing Influences* long term factors such as endocrine glands, bodily health, cultural environment, or personalities in the home (See pages 111-119 and 260-295 ) These may be known or have to be assumed
- 3 *Precipitating Influences* relatively recent factors such as a failure, insult, or loss (See page 39 ) These may be known or have to be assumed
- 4 *Direct Attack Adjustments* which the individual should have made, or might make in the future (See Table 10—I )
- 5 *Positive Substitute Activities* These vary with the problem, the individual, the total situation, and so on These adjustments tend to strengthen the personality for future problems but not usually for the problem involved in the adjustment under consideration (See Table 10—II )
- 6 *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments* These also vary with the situation but they tend to weaken the personality for dealing with the immediate and with future problems (See Table 10, sections III and IV )
- 7 *How Others Can Help Him* Analyzing the adjustments of others has little value unless the analysis enables us to contribute to the positive adjustments and personality well-being of the person analyzed Suggestions depend upon many factors, but especially upon the relation of the analyst to the person analyzed

knowledge of psychology, the reading of biographies is helpful Every person, famous, infamous, or ordinary, has some tendencies and purposes that have grown out of his own unique adjustments to his barriers rather than from intellectual reactions only to his environment Every novel, for example, is both a narrative about imaginary characters and, to some degree, a treatise on its author's psycho-

logical experiences We can never really appreciate a writer's novel, a philosopher's philosophy, a businessman's managerial systems, a politician's political program,\* or a parent's methods of child training until we know enough about the individual's personal history to see how his present convictions are tied up with his psychological background

Facilitating the mental well-being of others means that the executive, parent, teacher, or counselor shall enable the individual to deal effectively and satisfyingly with the frustrating problems before him Mental health is not a matter of intelligence, education or income, but rather a reaction to the world and ourselves in terms of our feelings and the ways in which we learn to deal with life's problems Appropriate adjustments can be taught to most people. Efficiency in adjustment depends very greatly on the ability of an individual to continue varying his responses until success is achieved. The mentally ill person is one who has lost this ability<sup>36</sup> Intelligent supervisors and counselors often show persons with adjustment problems how to vary their responses

The main need of many people is ordinary friendly counsel and reassurance Even animal experiments show the value of that When dogs are purposely made neurotic by experiment, the presence of a human being or a friendly dog in a room reassures the nervous animal so that he does not always have a neu-

\* Some clinical psychologists believe that Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton differed in their ideas about government partially because of their different adjustment influences. Jefferson wanted a weak central government with a maximum of rights for the state and the individual Jefferson had a dominant father who had oppressed him and so he believed in freedom for the individual and the state Hamilton, on the other hand, wanted a strong central government with a minimum of rights for the individual and the state Hamilton himself felt keenly his own fatherlessness Many biographies and autobiographies point out similar relationships between early adjustments and later convictions A good example of a book in this field is L. Pierce Clark, *Lincoln, A Psycho-Biography* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933.

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rotic attack. Similarly, people need assurance that what they are doing, they are doing well. They can often be given sympathetic intelligent friendship in learning suitable modes of action.

Practically, then, helping the minor maladjusted person means helping him to learn to feel that his supervisors or counselors and associates like him and will encourage him while he learns effective habits which will displace the hand-capping habits that we call evasion and retreat. The study of case problems, limited though such study must be, may be helpful to the student.

If students will present for discussion adjustment problems that they have observed or experienced, they can make vital applications of important psychological principles. The following problems are examples of the kind that students have presented for class discussion.

1. Rose Horn feels sorry for Mr. Ray, her employer. As his secretary, she cannot help being aware that he is under a terrific strain at home. He often comes to the office in a bad humor and is impatient and sharp with Rose, but he is always sorry for it afterwards and is very uncomfortable in her presence. Rose would like to help him if she could, but because of his extreme embarrassment in her presence, she is afraid that she would lose her job if she showed her sympathy. What should she do?

2. Donald Center is working during the summer vacation in a toy factory employing twenty people in all. Jack Horton, son of the owner, works with Donald. Jack is insolent to everyone and does not hesitate to countermand the supervisor's orders whenever he desires. He makes himself generally most

disagreeable, the more so because Mr. Horton always upholds Jack in any disagreement that arises. What can Donald do?

3. Jerry Tompkins is a graduate of a good engineering school and now works for one of the Ford agencies in the Middle West. He is the only college man in the organization and has made fine progress in two years. In his opinion, he now knows the job well enough to be able to work on his own initiative, but his manager insists on giving him detailed instructions for each day, treating him as though he had not yet proved his ability. What can Tompkins do?

4. Alice Jaynes is private secretary to Mr. Smiley, a self-made, headstrong, and uneducated man, who has a very limited vocabulary and uses poor and ungrammatical English. In dictating to Alice, he invariably makes serious mistakes, which irritate her and, more important, worry her, since she does not know how to handle the situation. She feels that she should not send out such letters, yet she is afraid to correct Mr. Smiley.

5. Frank White works for an old-fashioned employer who is making very little money. Frank himself is progressive and is anxious to improve the business by a dozen different methods that seem self-evident to him, but when he suggests any changes, his employer invariably refuses to consider them on the ground that they are too risky. Frank is not in a position to go into business for himself and fears that he will be worse off if he changes his job. He is, however, restless and dissatisfied. How can he make his employer more sympathetic with his ambitions?

The reader may gain some practice in the study of adjustments through reading and discussing the six case problems of the next pages. Discussion should lead to additional suggestions which may be written into the *other* spaces of the cases partially analyzed for the reader.

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*Employee refuses to accept an offer for advancement* Mr Denison is one of your best and most intelligent workers. You find that you must promote a man to the position of foreman over thirty of Denison's fellow-workers, and Denison seems to be the logical man for the position. When you explain the work to Denison and offer him the foremanship, he says that he is not interested in becoming a foreman. He claims that he would be unable to direct the work of former associates because they know him too well. You, however, are convinced that he really would like to have the promotion.

### 1 *The Barrier*

- a Ostensibly, his lack of self-confidence
- b Actually, a fear of ridicule (Assumed on analyst's part)
- c *Other assumption*

### 2 *Predisposing Influences*

- a Has he developed a rut for himself in his present job?
- b Has he failed in some previous position of leadership?
- c *Other*

### 3 *Precipitating Influences*

- a Has his wife recently discouraged him about his ability?
- b Did any of his associates talk about his possible promotion?
- c *Other*

### 4 *Direct Attack Adjustments*

- a Take the job and try to develop self-confidence
- b Mingle more often with superiors
- c *Other*

### 5 *Positive Substitute Activities*

- a Throw energy into lodge activities to gain satisfaction
- b Put energy into the present job, doing it exceptionally well
- c *Other*

### 6 *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments:*

- a Find satisfaction in solitude
- b *Other*

### 7 *How Others Can Help Him.*

- a Have him supervise only a few cooperative employees until confidence has been gained.
- b. *Other.*

*The impractical dreamer.* George is young and ambitious. He has been out of school for one year but has been unable to settle down to the routine position which he holds with a business firm. He is forever conceiving impracticable get-rich-quick schemes that would, he imagines, give him easy money quickly. His ideas are so impracticable, however, that he is missing opportunities to lay a foundation for his future in the firm where he is now employed.

### 1 *The Barrier*

- a Tendency to take short-cuts to an imagined success
- b Does not realize what success really is
- c *Other assumption*

### 2 *Predisposing Influences*

- a Is he still in the adolescent age of day-dreams?
- b Does he feel insecure because his father and mother are incompatible?
- c *Other*

### 3 *Precipitating Influences*

- a Does he find his present work very boring?
- b Does he see better-educated workers pass him in advancement?
- c *Other*

### 4 *Direct Attack Adjustments*

- a Develop the possibilities in his own job
- b Enjoy small successes rather than dream of spectacular success
- c *Other*

### 5 *Positive Substitute Activities*

- a Associate with inferiors whom he can impress
- b Develop a hobby of an unusual kind
- c *Other*

### 6 *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments*

- a Adopt an air of superiority and tell others how clever he is
- b Picture himself in a comfortable "heaven."
- c *Other*

### 7 *How Others Can Help Him.*

- a Explain to him the "romances" and "adventures" of his present job
- b. *Other.*

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*Sex repressions* Richard is a young man who works in a large office and is troubled with sordid thoughts, especially about girls. He comes from a small town and has never been away from home before. The apparent freedom in social relations between the young men and women in his office keeps him emotionally upset because he is too self-conscious to make satisfying acquaintances of the girls. He therefore thinks of girls in a strange, abnormal way.

### 1 *The Barrier*

- a Ostensibly, an unhealthy mental attitude
- b Actually, lack of normal associations
- c *Other assumption*

### 2 *Predisposing Influences*

- a Was he ridiculed in childhood for associating with girls?
- b. Was he too closely supervised or pampered when young?
- c *Other*

### 3 *Precipitating Influences.*

- a Has he been talking with maladjusted men about lewd aspects of sex?
- b Is he still really living in the country?
- c *Other.*

### 4 *Direct Attack Adjustments*

- a Associate with normal and well-balanced girls
- b. Join a club and learn to dance
- c *Other*

### 5 *Positive Substitute Activities*

- a Become intensely interested in his work and avoid women
- b Get a job in his home town
- c *Other*

### 6 *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments*

- a Criticize the freedom in social relationships
- b Gain satisfaction through daydreaming
- c *Other:*

### 7 *How Others Can Help Him*

- a Invite him to attend a mixed social affair.
- b. *Other*

*Symbolic activity* Mr. Amulet is a middle-aged man of higher than average intelligence who suddenly realizes that he has become superstitious. He finds himself doing things for good luck or to ward off evil omens—superstitious acts which he would have scorned a few years ago. He tells himself that he must stop these foolish tendencies, but he claims that he cannot.

### 1 *The Barrier*

- a Ostensibly, a desire to avoid injury
- b Actually, an unadmitted fear of harm because of some act of which he is ashamed
- c *Other assumption.*

### 2 *Predisposing Influences*

- a Many emotional experiences have given him a sense of guilt
- b Have friends impressed him with the efficacy of their pet charms?
- c *Other*

### 3 *Precipitating Influences*

- a. Does he believe he escaped an accident because he obeyed a "premonition"?
- b Has he recently committed an immoral act that has caused him to fear disgrace?
- c *Other.*

### 4 *Direct Attack Adjustments*

- a Study superstitions and how they may be ways to compensate for unadmitted mistakes
- b Visit a psychiatrist
- c *Other.*

### 5 *Positive Substitute Activities*

- a. Take part in religious activities as a means to adjustment
- b *Other.*

### 6. *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments*

- a. Immerse himself in the mystical
- b. Become intoxicated in order to forget his superstitions.
- c *Other.*

### 7 *How Others Can Help Him:*

- a Explain to him how one of your fears symbolized feeling of guilt.
- b *Other:*

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*The self-conscious employee* Perkins is thirty years old and is a mechanic in a garage. He is sensitive and becomes easily confused when the foreman, Graves, comes into the room where he is working. Graves knows that Perkins is a good worker, but when Graves stops to watch Perkins, the latter becomes flustered and cannot work efficiently.

### 1 *The Barrier*

- a Habit of dealing with people by thinking of himself
- b *Other assumption*

### 2 *Predisposing Influences*

- a Was he reared by parents who criticized forwardness?
- b Was he disciplined severely and made to think of himself as unwanted?
- c *Other*

### 3 *Precipitating Influences*

- a Has Graves ridiculed him about his work?
- b Was he recently ignored when he tried to be friendly?
- c *Other*

### 4 *Direct Attack Adjustments*

- a Become active in an organization to develop his self-confidence
- b Entertain the boss socially
- c *Other*

### 5. *Positive Substitute Activities*

- a Find another job
- b. Boss his physical inferiors, such as children
- c *Other*:

### 6. *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments*

- a Criticize boss and firm
- b Daydream and picture himself a hero
- c *Other*

### 7. *How Others Can Help Him*

- a. Praise him for his "little" social successes
- b. *Other*:

*Behavior varies with the situation* Miss Palmer is considered a competent "complaint clerk" in the public utility office where she works. She is a pleasant and convincing talker. In the homes of her friends, however, she cannot carry on a conversation. She seems to have no opinion on any subject. When she is asked why she isn't more sociable, she says she just doesn't know what to say or talk about.

### 1 *The Barrier*

- a Early conditioning or a complex arising from an inferior social position
- b *Other assumption*

### 2 *Predisposing Influences:*

- a As a child, was she allowed to take part in family conversations?
- b Were her parents socially inferior in the community?
- c *Other*

### 3 *Precipitating Influences.*

- a Do her friends tell her that she is a wallflower?
- b Has a confidence been betrayed by one of her "friends"?
- c *Other*

### 4 *Dnrect Attack Adjustments*

- a. Tell her friends how she feels and ask them to help her gain confidence
- b Take an interest in other people and talk to them about themselves
- c *Other*

### 5 *Positive Substitute Activities*

- a Lead a group of younger girls who will respect her.
- b Express herself in activities that do not require conversation
- c *Other*

### 6. *Evasive or Retreat Adjustments*

- a Talk about and criticize the girls whom she knows
- b. Adopt an air of silent superiority.
- c *Other.*

### 7. *How Others Can Help Her*

- a. Do not give her advice—just show by your manner that you like her as she is
- b. *Other:*



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### PROJECTS

1. Make a collection of your friends' automatic writings, often called "doodles" Compare their doodles with published statements of the symbolic significance of doodles Suggested references are Russell M. Arundel, *Everybody's Pixillated* (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1937), and Winifred V. Richmond, *Personality—Its Development and Hygiene* (Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), pp 26 and 156
2. Study the behavior of a child or an adult who is considered to be dishonest or unreliable Does this trait appear in all his behavior or only in certain kinds of situations?
3. Some businessmen have a "check-book complex" What experiences may cause them to evaluate abnormally many personal acts and plans in terms of cost and profit rather than in terms of happiness?
4. The assistant head of a department was asked to give a talk on an academic subject over the radio He gave it without consulting the department head When the latter learned that he had been denied this opportunity for publicity, he discharged his assistant Analyze the possible reasons for discharging the assistant
5. Analyze your behavior for evidence of inhibitions that are annoying and irrational Can you think of experiences that caused them? Mention some things that your "censor" does not allow you to do
6. Interview several persons regarding their attitudes toward persons who have or are now being treated by a psychiatrist Do not try to educate them—just try to elicit their real opinions How do your interviewees' attitudes differ in regard to the patient who is extremely depressed and has withdrawn from reality in comparison with, say, the sex offender such as the exhibitionist?

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## 8 The counseling interview

*Many persons assume that the guidance of human relationships can never become a science. They imagine that it can never be more than an art. Now, however, recent investigations by psychologists have shown that the scientific knowledge in this area can be enlarged. It is no longer necessary to assume that the facilitating of personality growth, as in the interview, must remain a wholly subjective field. It has been found possible to investigate experimentally the effectiveness of different counseling techniques. We have moved, to some extent, from the realm of opinion into the realm of science.*

THE EXTENT TO WHICH ABILITY IN INTERVIEWING is needed in our modern civilization is indicated by the numbers of workers in the professions and businesses who do interviewing. It is estimated that there are about 2,300,000 persons occupying executive and supervisory positions in business and industry who spend from 50 to 90 per cent of their time in conferring with others. In addition to these, we have about 1,000,000 teachers and other school people, 300,000 nurses, 180,000 physicians, 170,000 lawyers, and 140,000 clergymen who discuss personal problems with counselees as a part of their daily work.<sup>1</sup>

### **Types of interviews**

Many interviews are simple in nature and do not involve any special psychological insight or skill. Others are com-

plex and require a high level of professional training. When interviews are classified in relation to the kind of individual problem involved, they are likely to fall into the four varieties *information, judgment, skill, and adjustment*. For example, some persons, who come to the counselor may need or seek a knowledge of facts. Such interviews are relatively simple to conduct. Other persons have all the facts they need but have difficulty in making a satisfactory judgment or decision about the facts. An example would be an employee who asks the personnel man whether it would be advisable for him to buy a home.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases, the interviewee has the essential facts and has reached a decision but feels that he lacks skill in putting the decision into effect. An example would be the employee who knows that

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he merits an increase in pay and has decided to ask for it but lacks skill in presenting his request. Again, many supervisors, although they know how they should treat employees, lack skill in dealing with them effectively. Role-playing, as explained in Chapter 20, may be helpful to them.

Adjustment problems are of course rather deep-seated in the personality structure and require considerable insight on the part of the interviewer. Counselors who deal with the more common adjustment problems such as those exemplified in vocational guidance, marriage counseling, discipline of the errant employee in industry, merit rating review of the employee, and other interviews that involve an understanding of the dynamics of behavior know that a knowledge of the fundamental principles in interviewing is essential.

One of the interviewer's major needs is a basic conceptual pattern of thinking that gives meaning to his observations and judgments concerning the counsellee's behavior. The specific conceptual pattern recommended, that of adjustment, has been discussed in preceding chapters. In this chapter, we shall review some of the common types of human relations problems found in the world of work in order to emphasize certain helpful principles, especially for the counselor of employees.

### ***Some counseling should be done indirectly without an interview***

First of all, we must repeat that any act, as an act, has little significance. The *meaning* of the act in relation to the life and adjustment history of the "actor" is the important factor. If we can visualize the individual in his adjustment perspec-

tive we can often—but not always—improve our techniques in dealing with him or learn to accept him as he is. The several stages in the handling of problem personalities may be illustrated in the case of the typical supervisor who has a difficult employee.

Mr. Norton, a foreman, directly supervises John Teeter. Mr. Norton is a healthy, hard-working leader and tries to please his employees. John, an employee, is irritable and appears to be impossible to please when he is in his "moods," as other employees call his periods of unusual irritability. Mr. Norton is certain that John is an exceptionally good worker but he realizes that the other employees have difficulties with him. The employees believe that John's wife is very domineering and that John is trying to make himself feel better by "taking his poison out of himself and putting it on the hides" of his fellow employees. What can Mr. Norton, the foreman, do?

Theoretically, at least, attempted correction by systematic analysis is the best solution to any problem in dealing with our fellows. In some cases, however, it may be a very impractical course of action. Obviously Mr. Norton cannot go to Mr. Teeter and say: "John, we have decided that you mistreat us at times because you have marital troubles. We have therefore arranged for you and your wife to visit a psychiatrist regularly, and he will attempt to find the cause of your irritability in order that you may treat us decently!" John is not a psychotic. At worst he may be a psychoneurotic. His supervisor must decide whether he will attempt to help John make a better adjustment to his problem, or whether his disturbing conduct shall be ignored.

In John Teeter's case, Mr. Norton should not initiate an interview with him in order to discuss his home problems

Rather, he might try to obtain more information regarding John's history, and then observe the ways in which he deals with his problems. He might recognize that John is very lonely and is without adequate ego-support. This knowledge and point of view might enable him to be friendly toward John, not in order to gain his favor, but in order to assist him in attaining feelings of self-worth in the work situation. If John's growth in the work situation strengthens his personality so that he feels able to deal with non-work problems, he may be able to adjust more adequately to the home situation.

Mr. Norton might project himself into John's situation, the psychological process of *empathy* rather than *sympathy*. Such a method of procedure on the part of the supervisor would be better than for him to assume that he is a psychotherapist who can change an employee's adjustment pattern in one or two interviews.

Of course, when an employee's complaints and irritability are caused by tensions that are brought about by his resistance to some change or condition in the work situation, he should have an interview, or, at least, a chance to air his troubles in a permissive, non-threatening situation. Reducing his emotional tension may enable him to face the situation and adjust to it.

Psychological analysis of employees gives the supervisor insight into the behavior of employees who are irritable, who insist upon following red tape, who butt in, or who find fault only. Insight, good sportsmanship, and skill in handling troublesome men differentiates the supervisory leader from the supervisory boss. Of course, many supervisors and personnel men are too busy to use systematic, constructive effort to help the em-

ployee make better adjustments. The troublesome person is merely avoided. Many of our daily problems in human relations are dealt with in this manner.

An ordinary supervisor may avoid contacts with employees whom he does not like, or he may simply compel them to yield to his wishes. His power to discharge often enables him to deal with many disliked employees or unpleasant situations by compulsion rather than by skill. The method of compulsion by means of repeated threats of discharge is an old but declining method of supervision.

In some cases, negative adaptation through classification according to responsibility is necessary. Obviously, some peculiar people are not readjustable or improvable. They must be accepted. Sometimes the only feasible method of treatment is that of avoidance. Many such persons are not dangerous enough to be institutionalized, nor are they sufficiently sick to be treated by a physician, a psychiatrist, or a clinical psychologist. People who must deal with "cussed personalities" learn to tolerate them by classifying them as "patients" who are not responsible for their acts.

For example, if Mr. Norton were a member of a class in clinical psychology and were to visit a state hospital for the mentally ill, he would be likely to have a manic patient hurl epithets at him. The patient might curse him, call him wild names, and even spit at him. Yet Mr. Norton would not feel insulted, because he would know that the patient was irresponsible. He would call the patient insane, pity him, hope that he might be cured. A person who has some adequate knowledge of the dynamics of human behavior will make similar allowances for

## *the counseling interview*

those maladjusted persons with whom he comes in contact.

We all have to learn to get along with irritable superiors, associates, friends, and relatives. Sometimes we do it by classifying them as not responsible for their conduct. Many married people react in this manner to mates who suffer from functional disorders. College students learn to react in the same way toward the unreasonable mother who is having difficulty in passing through the climacteric period. However, frequently repeated periods of irritability condition some persons against their loved ones to such an extent that an objective reaction is impossible. In some cases temporary separation may be necessary. Negative adaptation is the most natural and the easiest adjustment to the problem personality, although an insight-meaning adjustment is better. However, the insight-meaning approach to changes in human behavior is possible only in so far as one's reactions are controlled by the cortex of his brain, that is, in so far as intellect, rather than conditionings or strong emotions, governs the behavior. If the correction of behavior requires reconditioning of a mental habit, the learning of a new mental habit, the analysis and redirection of subconscious influences, or the control of strong emotions, the assistance of the specialist in psychopathology is essential.

Fortunately, most everyday problems in human relations can be solved by the persons involved. Relatively few supervisors or employees need the services of the clinical psychologist. However, the trained personnel counselor should be able to assist and positively develop many persons who are sources of irritation in an organization for years before they grow to the point of needing to be institu-

tionalized or die. It is important for us to realize that any psychological insight and skill acquired by executives, supervisors, and personnel men will be valuable in dealing with the employees who need counseling.

### *When the interviewee initiates the interview*

The principles of the counseling interview vary somewhat with the type of interview and the extent to which the counselee seeks and needs the interview. In the personnel offices of industry, counseling interviews are of two broad classes: those conducted at the initiative of the counselee and those conducted at the initiative of the counselor. The former type is exemplified by the employee who comes to the personnel man and says that he would like to be transferred to another job, to arrange for a loan, to discuss a health problem, to ask the personnel man's advice in regard to chances for a promotion, or some other personal matter of direct or indirect importance to the employer. The latter type of interview, the counselor-initiated variety in industry, is exemplified by a disciplinary problem, as in the case of the employee who has violated a safety rule, the annual review of the employee's merit ratings, or an interview with a labor union steward concerning a union member's conduct. In this discussion, we shall treat chiefly the counselee-initiated type of interview, because it often calls for a knowledge of psychological dynamics. The counselee seeks help and, to some extent, is usually anxious to cooperate in the solution of his problem.

Although there are two principal methods of counseling, *directive* and *nondirective*, a vast number of adaptations of

these methods can be made at the discretion of the counselor. It is his responsibility to employ as much or as little direction as he believes will be beneficial to a particular client. Even though some counselors use mainly one method of counseling, they adapt their technique to each situation. Neither method nor technique is peculiar to any one type of problem. Both main types are used today in business organizations,<sup>3</sup> psychological clinics, marriage clinics, and in vocational guidance.

*Directive counseling* is the older method. It assumes the counselor to be wise and understanding enough to control the interview from the time the client presents himself. The counselor takes the initiative throughout, asks leading questions, interprets the interviewee's answers and reactions to him, and offers advice or actual instructions for the solution of the problem.

*Nondirective counseling as in psychotherapy*, on the other hand, is interviewee- or client-centered. In psychotherapy, the therapist is not authoritarian in any respect. His function is not to interpret the interviewee's problem to him or to offer advice for the solution of the problem, but to create an atmosphere in which the client may talk through his difficulties and thereby get sufficient insight into his problems so that he may solve them for himself. To this end, good rapport and a permissive atmosphere are essential. Because the client has done the work of ascertaining the cause of his difficulties and has decided upon his own solution, it is claimed that he is far more likely to carry his self-chosen behavior through to a successful conclusion than under the older method.

The goal of nondirective counseling

differs from that of directive in that it aims toward the greater independence and integration of the individual rather than hopes that such qualities will accrue if the counselor assists in solving the problem. The personality development of the individual and not the problem is the focus. The aim is not to solve one particular problem, but to assist the individual to *grow*, so that he can cope with the current problem and with later problems in a better-integrated fashion.<sup>4</sup>

One outstanding characteristic of the nondirective interview is the manner in which the counselor responds to feeling. He accepts without surprise or disapproval anything that the client tells him and replies noncommittally to the feeling behind the words in order to encourage the client to explore his problem more deeply. Often the reply is limited to "M-hm," or "Yes." Often it is simply a rewording of the idea which the client has expressed. Ideally this effects a crystallization of that specific facet of the problem in the client's mind, and after clarification of the various phases, self-understanding is ultimately attained.

"Effective counseling consists of a definitely structured, permissive relationship which allows the client to gain an understanding of himself to a degree which enables him to take positive steps in the light of his new orientation." The interview technique developed by Rogers and his students for bringing about such relationships, is most often described as "nondirective" for the reason that authoritarian and persuasive approaches have been discarded, and because no satisfactory positive designation has yet been found to express in a word what the counselor does and what the client experiences. In using the term, therefore, it is important to recognize its descriptive limitations and to emphasize that this counseling procedure implies more than passive listen-

## *the counseling interview*

ing and mere "not directing," Rogers defines the therapist's function as "not to pass judgment, but to clarify and objectify the client's basic attitudes." In order to do this, the counselor must work toward the skills involved in understanding what the client has tried to express, in verbal restatement or "recognition" of feeling in terms which the client can and will accept; and in control of the counselor's own impulse toward suggestion and premature interpretation. Even more fundamental is acceptance by the counselor of the client's right to self-determination, and belief in his capacity for constructive choice on the basis of insight rather than guidance.<sup>5</sup>

The wide acceptance by psychologists of nondirective interviewing, particularly in psychotherapy, as developed by Carl R. Rogers, is indicated by many books and articles published about the technique and its underlying principles. One recent issue of the *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, for example, is largely devoted to it. Some of the findings from the significant researches of a project of "parallel studies" are reported in the issue.

The ultimate aim of these "parallel studies" is to contribute toward the establishment of psychotherapy on a scientific basis. The investigators at the Counseling Center of the University of Chicago have sought to achieve this goal by formulating specific concepts of personality dynamics so that these concepts may be recognized and measured as to the degree of their presence as revealed in the interviews. Some of these concepts, for example, are self-regarding attitudes, acceptance of and respect for self, understanding and insight, maturity of behavior, and defensiveness. An individual is rated at each interview on all of these five aspects of his personality. Thus personality changes in the series of interviews are more scientifically detected and measured,

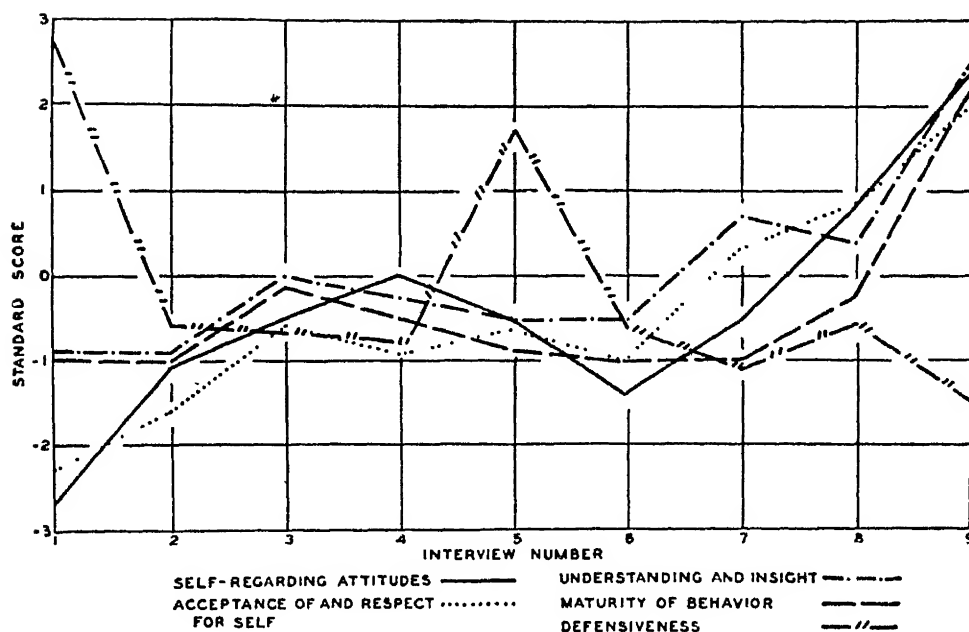
exact comparisons of the individual's reactions are made possible. Therapists, by employing the findings of these studies, will be able to control and evaluate more closely the progress of the individual through the psychotherapeutic process of counseling. Most important, the nature of successful psychotherapy can be more specifically and exactly defined.<sup>6</sup>

A diagram of five objective measures applied to one successful counseling case is shown in the figure on page 161. The diagram shows that, at the beginning of therapy, defensiveness was great and acceptance of and respect for self was low, and that, at the end of the therapeutic sessions, acceptance of and respect for self had increased and defensiveness had diminished. Apparently as acceptance of and respect for self increases, there is less need for defensive behavior patterns.<sup>7</sup>

The researchers have quantified many aspects of the counseling interview never before analyzed in statistical terms. One study by Elizabeth T. Sheerer, for example, dealt with certain relations between the individual's concept of himself and his feeling toward others. Miss Sheerer found that when the individual's statements about himself were rated on a five-point scale, the average for the first interview was 2.2. The statements about other people rated 2.6. In the last interview the statement on self rated 3.9 while those statements reflecting on others had gone up to 3.8.

It was found to be possible to improve acceptance of and respect for the self by psychological treatment. There was also a closer relation between regard for self and regard for others after the finish of the treatment period.

Some of the implications of Miss Sheerer's findings were stated as follows:



FIVE OBJECTIVE MEASURES applied to one successful counseling case. Note particularly how the curve for defensiveness declined as the curves for self-regarding attitudes and for acceptance of and respect for self improved.—From Nathaniel J. Raskin, "An Objective Approach to the Study of Psychotherapy," *American Scientist*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (July 1949), pp. 410-413.

The findings of this study appear to have implications that are at once commonplace and startling. The central conclusion is that one's attitudes toward others are related, to a decidedly significant degree, to the attitudes one holds towards one's self. In one sense, this is common knowledge. If we are to take it seriously, however, it might mean that change in attitudes of acceptance toward others can come about basically only through change in attitudes toward self. If we apply this to some of the problems of social psychology, it might mean that increased acceptance of minority groups, foreigners, and the like, could best be achieved by some type of group therapy which would tend to alter the individual's acceptance of and respect for himself. It might mean that in situations of industrial tension, or professional friction, the most effective means of approach would be through dealing with the attitudes of the person toward himself, rather than devoting our energies to the ex-

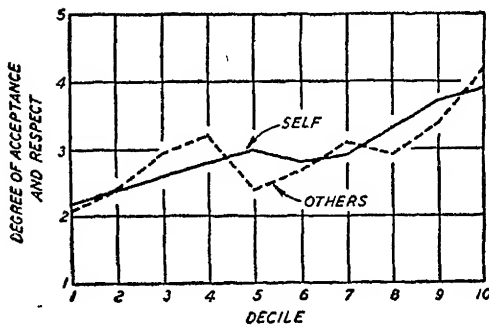
pressions of, and descriptions of, the external "causes" of the tension.

In any event the two central facts which emerge from this study promise to have considerable significance for social psychology as well as for our understanding of personality. That the individual's evaluation of himself and his worth as a person, can be significantly altered by the therapeutic process initiated by client-centered therapy is one of these facts, the other is that the individual's evaluation of others—the degree of acceptance and respect he feels for them—is significantly related to his attitude toward himself.<sup>8</sup>

Successful nondirective therapy demands that the client have intelligence above the borderline level, and that he be dissatisfied with his current adjustment.<sup>9</sup> Intelligence is necessary for the development of insight, a prerequisite to a



## the counseling interview



THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN the mean ratings on the "self" scale and on the "others" scale for ten cases combined—From Elizabeth T Sheerer, "The Relationship Between Acceptance of Self and Acceptance of Others," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, American Psychological Association, Inc, Vol 13, No 3 (June 1949), pp 174-175 Copyright, 1949, by the American Psychological Association, Inc

better adjustment, and a certain amount of distress is necessary to impel the client to work earnestly for a better adjustment. Neurotic persons who have adjusted to their symptoms are poor prospects for improvements; and psychotics, because they are out of touch with reality, cannot be treated by this method. Most executives do not have the time or the training to use nondirective techniques, but many would benefit from a study of them.

Typical of sound nondirective counseling is the following excerpt from an ac-

tual case phonographically recorded and quoted in Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*.

S263 I find myself reacting quite strongly to the war situation I have this very definite feeling—that if I were to be involved, that is, inducted into the army—

C263 M-hm.

S264 I feel it would not only be catastrophic to me in my present condition, but even if I were to have a cure in the meanwhile—my healthy ideals have always been that of—well, an abhorrence of regimentation, and I feel a love of individual initiative and private enterprise—that sort of thing, which seems to make a war situation very much intolerable to me I had thought I would not be called (gives his reasons), but now I think I might be called, so it's had a very disturbing effect on me

C264 You feel that would be just more than you could take

S265 Even if I were up to my psychological ideal, I would find that such a life would be absolutely against my grain—the way I've been raised—the ideals that I've been taught to hold to, and the individual way of life that I have always pursued myself (Pause) So I'm reacting very much to that situation

C265 M-hm You've found it quite upsetting to you? <sup>10</sup>

TABLE 17\*

### PERIODIC PERSONNEL REVIEWS—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Hourly Workers COMPANIES		For Salaried Employees COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Conduct periodic personnel reviews	93	23.3	117	36.1
Do not conduct periodic personnel reviews	307	76.7	207	63.9
Total	400	100.0	324	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office" (Revised), *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc Copyright 1948

## *the counseling interview*

TABLE 18\*

PERSONNEL COUNSELORS FOR HOURLY EMPLOYEES  
—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	Companies	
	Num-ber	Per Cent
Have personnel counselors for men	25	6 9
Have personnel counselors for women	11	3 1
Have personnel counselors for both men and women	54	15 0
Have no personnel counselors	256	71 1
Not shown	14	3 9
Total	360	100 0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office" (Revised), *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc Copyright 1948

### ***An example of counseling by an executive who thinks in terms of adjustment***

The personnel man or executive who has the adjustment point of view regarding the problem employee thinks of him as an employee with a problem. The psychologically sensitive executive does not usually lecture employees on their adjustments. He does not, as a rule, use any psychological jargon in dealing with them. He is likely to use a directive rather than the time-consuming nondirective technique. Occasionally, however, the trained executive may explain the adjustment idea to an exceptionally intelligent employee, such as a dissatisfied college graduate who needs counseling. Some of the principles set forth in preceding chapters are illustrated in the example shown on pages 164-168, typical of the college-educated employee who has a problem in adjustment and is being counseled by a trained personnel man.

A procedure such as this can be used successfully only by a high-grade executive who can explain mental habits and

adjustments in an intelligent and sincere manner. He must be able to phrase his analyses in ways that the employee will understand and respect.

One important objective to be kept in mind by the executive is that his attempts to motivate the employee must be economically as well as psychologically sound. This means that the executive's function is not that of apologizing for the economic system, whatever it is, but to give the employee a sense of participation in the evolving economic scheme. Toward this end, the executive may point out unsolved problems of industry which the dissatisfied intelligent employee can help solve by his own direct attack adjustments involved in his own job.

### ***The counselor-initiated interview***

*The disciplinary interview.* The executive who has just cause for severely criticizing a subordinate often uses the old-fashioned method of threatening to discharge the man. However, the threat of discharge is not nearly so severe as some of the dramatic methods that are used by executives who have the knack of disciplining men. These experts in chastising men use dramatic situations, such as calling the errant employee into the boss's office and having him sit in the executive's chair. Then the executive plays the part of the employee who is to be disciplined. He makes a full confession, wherein he presents all the facts in the offense and asks the acting chief to make a decision and recommend the justified punishment or discipline. Such methods are forceful, but they do not strengthen the personality as in the counseling interview.

The counseling interview is often used

John Milton graduated from college two years ago. After commencement he worked at several odd jobs for a year and then took a job as operator of a semi-automatic machine in the Burr Gear Company. He is the only college man in his department, most of the other men are illiterate. His production has been erratic, some months slightly above average, other months considerably below. He is paid on a piece-rate basis. He apparently dislikes his work, since he is absent frequently and seems to criticize the company and the industry in the presence of his fellow employees. The foreman has recommended him for discharge but suggests that one of the higher executives talk to him in order to have him realize where he stands. Fortunately, the employee initiates an interview by stating that he is disappointed with his job and the chances for advancement. The following conversation takes place. (Early stages in the interview to establish rapport have been omitted from this report.)

*Principles of Interviewing Stated and  
Illustrated in the Executive's Thinking*

*The Conversation*

"I'll have to get at the trouble from  
his point of view."

*Personnel Executive* "You say you are dissatisfied with your job. Perhaps we should have had a chat before this but we didn't, and now is your chance to open up and tell what you think of your work here. Let's be frank about it, we can make more headway than if either of us holds back his grievances. Besides, I want to assure you that you can be frank with me."

"He doesn't open up."

*John Milton* "I don't think there is any need to be frank. I do my work and that seems to be all that is expected of me."

*P E* "Your attendance and your production records show that you do not enjoy your work. Perhaps you expected something different when you finished college. What did you expect?"

"Most of these foreigners in that department are good physical specimens. Only a giant could do more work than they do."

*J M* "In college, I was told that the world is waiting for hard-working, educated fellows, but I haven't found it so. I guess I was full of a lot of false enthusiasm. I'm working among a lot of dumb Bohunks who are stronger than I am. They work all day and don't mind it. When I work as fast as they do, I have to drag myself home at night. I used to think that if I got an education and worked hard I'd be promoted, but I haven't seen any promotion even when I did try for it. So far as I can

"The old story—college man expects a promotion just because he's a college man. He hasn't grasped the competitive nature of life."

*Principles of Interviewing Stated and Illustrated in the Executive's Thinking*

*The Conversation*

"I'll have to build up his ego before I can help him "

"Let him get rid of all the poison in his system "

"The perennial alibi—drag Perhaps that is a good starting point for us to get together "

"Ignore the 'barbs' that are not important "

"Ask him some questions to which he answers yes "

see, a college education doesn't mean a thing on that kind of work "

*P E* "Thanks, Milton I'm glad you are frank I'm beginning to see your point of view If only everyone would be as honest as you are, we could avoid a lot of unhappiness College, or something, has made you more willing to state facts as you see them Now that you have told me about some of the difficulty, tell me more How about your relations with the foreman? Has he treated you squarely?"

*J M* "Oh, yes, he's okay I feel sorry for him He's been here for fifteen or sixteen years, and he's still a foreman. He doesn't seem to have any drag either "

*P E* "No, he doesn't have any drag and he doesn't want any Neither do you You wouldn't feel so proud of yourself if you gained a better job through unfair influence as you would if you won it on ability, would you?"

*J M* "No, I wouldn't, but even that might be better than competing with the physical giants in my department "

*P E* "Only as an escape from an unbearable situation Now let's see whether we can get straightened out on the value of your college training. You spent four years in college and you enjoyed it while you were there, or didn't you?"

*J M* "I enjoyed it very much "

*P E* "Did you learn some things you didn't know before?"

*J M.* "Sure, lots of them. In the classroom and outside "

*P E* "Think of your freshman year. Did you have some difficulty in getting adjusted to college? Was it different from high school?"

*J M.* "Sure It took me several months to like it."

*Principles of Interviewing Stated and  
Illustrated in the Executive's Thinking*

"We have to get together on one point even though it is a minor one."

"Here's the crucial stage I'll have to illustrate this so clearly that he will want to feel himself a part of the concern"

"Ignore the fact that he tried to upset the morale of his fellow workers because he won't do that if I can enable him to express himself through his job."  
"His objection is evidence of interest."

*The Conversation*

P E "Would you agree that the step from college to industry is more difficult than the step from high school to college?"

J M "You bet Much harder for anyone"

P E . "It was for me, too. It took me a long time to realize that I had three choices. I could work *for* the company, I could *'work'* the company, or I could work *with* the company Let me write them on this sheet of paper so that I can make them clear (Writes them on paper) In the past, you have been working for the company You did what you had to do for the wages you received You did not enjoy the work and you could not do so with your present point of view To some extent, you worked the company when you held on to your job but did not work regularly However, you might have tried to work us far more by catering to your foreman, tattling on the other fellows, or by restricting output through ostensible breakdowns of the machine you operate You didn't do those things and I'm glad you are too much of a man to do them"

J M "No, sir I've played straight there"

P E "Fine However, you failed to work *with* us That is, you did not consistently and wholeheartedly work just as though you gained self-expression from your job."

J M "How could I gain self-expression from a job I don't like?"

P. E. "By recognizing the fact that the nature of any man's work is secondary to the meaning of the work to him. You will agree with me, I believe, when I say that almost any person would be glad to run the machine you operate if he believed that he was the only man in

"He can realize that any job may be satisfying if it has pleasant associations"

"Let's face the facts, pleasant or unpleasant"

"He has a real opportunity in his present situation, if he can utilize it"

"People learn to admire those who admire them"

the world who could run it and if he were pointed out as the outstanding man in that work. Let me assure you that the nature of the work is incidental, the meaning of the work is most important. One can give his job meaning by one of three methods. First, he can do it better than anyone else. Second, he can improve the job by inventing a better machine or system to do the work. Third, he can improve the human relations in the job.

"In your case, you cannot do the first because the other men are physically stronger than either one of us. You cannot do this second because you are not an engineer nor are you trained in production management. But you would do well to study the latter and see whether you could improve our production system."

"Your best chance is the third, namely, learn to understand how to influence the employees here. You may consider them Bohunks now, but the place and time to learn how to handle men is the place and time in which you happen to be. If you want to become an executive, you will have to conduct yourself in a manner which will cause those men to like and respect you."

J. M. "That sounds all right. But how am I going to get them to admire me?"

P. E. "By deserving their admiration. Study them and some of their customs. Realize their problems and you'll forget your own. Visit them in their homes. Let them give you some of their fine qualities. You, in turn, can give them some of your qualities."

J. M. "What can I give them?"

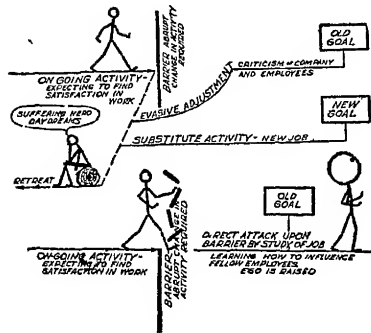
P. E. "Things you have that they

*Principles of Interviewing Stated and Illustrated in the Executive's Thinking*

*The Conversation*

"Every man has something to give other men if he can learn how to give it "

"Let him make the decision "



"Let him know that someone is following up his progress "

"Any problem in industry may be integrated for the advantage of all parties "

do not have—your education College should have given you some information in economics, psychology, sociology, and other fields Find out what things interest them and contribute in simple language the things they want and need Help them to learn to read and do simple arithmetic Some of them came to America because they thought it the land of opportunity Lose yourself in helping them and you will thereby find yourself in this company There is the opportunity Do you want to take it or to run away from it?"

J M : "Can you explain the whole situation in more detail?"

P E . "I'll try Perhaps we can both understand the problem and solution if we diagram it " (Draws the diagram in the accompanying figure and explains it according to the principles presented in Chapters 2-8 The evasive, substitute, and retreat activities of J M's behavior are explained, and then direct attack is offered as the one sound form of adjustment The adviser also presents any ideas that he believes to apply, such as those expressed in Chapter 7)

J M · "Sounds pretty good I never thought of my job as having any opportunity in it I'll try it "

P E · "Do it I know you can if you will You have the intelligence All you need is the attitude and desire You'll find ways of doing it Tell me how you get along Come to see me a month from now In the meantime, I'll hear of your activities."

J M "Thanks. I'll think it through and see what I can do "

P E · "Do so Remember that when you help these other men, you also help yourself and this company "

J M "Good-bye "

Priscilla Parker, a college graduate, has been working for the Blank Company for the past three years. She has never been tardy and has been absent only a few days. Her record, in general, is excellent. Some of her fellow employees have been tardy and absent more frequently than is necessary. The company decides to conduct a 'Be-On-Time-Campaign'. On the third morning of the campaign, Priscilla is caught in a traffic jam and is late. She records the correct time of her arrival. However, later in the day, she regrets her honesty and changes the record to show that she was on time. The timekeeper reports the falsification to her department manager, who calls her to his office for an interview.

*The Department Manager's Thinking*

"This girl has a good record and I must handle her in such a way that she will be strengthened by my treatment of her."

"I'll let her tell her side of the story."

"She ought to tell the whole story in her way."

*The Conversation*

("D M" is the department manager and "E" is the employee.)

D M "Good morning, Miss Parker. Won't you have a chair?"

E "Thank you." (She drops into a chair, blushing and in an obvious state of nervousness.)

D M "The Timekeeping Department tells me that you ought to have a chat with me. Will you tell me your story?"

E "Well, I left my home at the same time that I usually leave and I took the same trolley, but the car I was on had something wrong with it. It stopped several times and I realized that I might be late, so I decided to change to a Third Avenue car at Carden Street. I knew that I could walk the three blocks and make better time on the other line, but there was a fire at Garden Street and that detained me some more. When I finally got here I was late. I put down the right time when I came into the office. You know the rest, so there's no use my telling you."

D M "I know part of the remainder but I'd like you to tell me, and give me your reasons."

E "Well, I thought of the punctuality campaign, and I was sorry my tardiness would help spoil our department's chances for winning the departmental cup for having the best record. I haven't been late for three years and I was anxious to keep my own record."



*The Department Manager's Thinking*

*The Conversation*

"She must decide the significance of her act "

"She ought to realize how her conduct affects others "

"Have the employee state the effects of her act on the company's efforts "

"Have employee see the effect of her act upon her personality "  
"Find some redeeming feature in her act "

perfect That's why I changed the time slip later in the morning But I know it was against the rules to do that "

*D. M* "Why do you suppose we have the rule that office employees must be honest in recording their comings and goings?"

*E* "Because we're paid according to the record, but I had intended to work overtime to make up for the tardiness "

*D M* "If you had worked overtime to compensate the company and no one had noticed your changing the record, would you have been satisfied with yourself? Would everything have been square for everybody?"

*E* "The company would have been treated fairly, but I guess the people of the other departments would consider it unfair if our department should win the attendance prize Wouldn't they?"

*D M* "Yes, they would consider it unfair and some might even assume that they would be justified in falsifying their records How would that affect the Be-On-Time-Campaign?"

*E* "Well, the campaign and the prizes wouldn't mean anything if we didn't play the game fairly "

*D M* "Exactly Changing the record was unfair to the other employees But do you think that the falsifying of the record also had any effect upon you?"

*E* "Yes, I guess it did I didn't feel very easy about it after it was done "

*D M* "I'm glad to know that you were not trying to bluff yourself into feeling proud of an unfair act Perhaps your feeling of dishonesty and regret will help you to meet such problems in the future in a straightforward manner You know that your record with us is very good, but if you were to cause us to lose confidence in you, we should feel that we had to watch you con-

*The Department Manager's Thinking*

"Let the employee herself suggest the proper correction (punishment) of her mistake"

"Arrange for employee to close the incident in her thinking so that she has no 'emotional hang-over' to disturb her morale"

"Allow the employee to think that she has solved her problem herself, but require a report of the completed correction"

*The Conversation*

stantly, and that would be difficult for us"

*E* "Yes, and it would be worse for me. I couldn't be happy if I worked in a place where people didn't trust me"

*D M* "Of course not. But that is where you stand now. Neither your department head nor the Timekeeping Department can trust you in the future unless you square yourself with them and convince them that your misjudgment has improved you. What do you think that you ought to do in order to square yourself and deserve our continued confidence?"

*E* "I suppose I ought to explain the whole matter to the personnel manager and the chief timekeeper and tell them how the experience has affected me. I also want to apologize to you."

*D M* "Fine! You want to be square and we all want to forget about it. See the personnel man and the timekeeper. Convince them that you have benefited by this incident and I'm sure we can all forget about it. We want you to be happy here and have confidence in us and we want to have confidence in you."

*E* "All right. I'll see them and come back and tell you about it. I'll be glad to get this off my mind. I want a clean slate."

*D M* "Good. Come back and tell me when you've cleaned the slate. Thank you for your honesty and willingness to correct the situation yourself. That will be all." 6

## *the counseling interview*

in disciplinary problems, as illustrated in the sample problem on pages 169-171 \*

Such a procedure requires an executive who tries to build employees by allowing them to build themselves. He must be normal in his adjustments, since the poorly adjusted executive will try to impress the errant employee with his authority—that is, he will make the employee feel inferior rather than a colleague of his. The educator type executive does not care to punish employees—he wants to enable them to use present situations to strengthen their personalities in order that they may be able to meet future problems more adequately. American businessmen are just beginning to study and practice skills in dealing with employees by methods that are more subtle than the older method of threat of discharge. Psychological approaches are more effective than force.

The counseling interviewer sees human beings in terms of their ongoing activities and emotions. He has a dynamic concept of people. He visualizes them as making adjustments to their changing environments. He notes their resultant attitudes, emotions, drives, habits, and general behavior patterns. He sees people in perspective. He tries to discover the factors that have influenced them in the past, and how their present ongoing activities may be directed into new channels that will give them a richer self-expression which will be of value to the group as well as to themselves. He does not want to remake human beings—he tries to help them to utilize their present tendencies for positive adjustment to life's problems.

### ***Principles that often apply to the counseling interview***

1 First of all, the specific problem volunteered by a counselee may be only a small part of the actual problem. Some interviewees find it very difficult to present their own problems, even though they seek an interview for that purpose. Complete frankness is often potentially embarrassing. The employee who calls on a personnel man to ask for a transfer to another job may like his present work, but he may dislike his supervisor or a fellow employee. To state the nature of his actual dislike might not be tactful. Similarly, the man who realizes that his poor health is partially caused by or related to his inability to live happily with his neurotic mother does not, as a rule, begin the interview with a statement to that effect. Such admissions are too painful to be handled in a casual manner. The good interviewer will sense such withholdings of facts and open an easy way for a gradual revealing of the significant facts. Sometimes the counselor can sense the counselee's unvoiced questions and discuss them without actually mentioning them.

2 The counselee's willingness to express his thoughts is influenced by the extent of his confidence in the counselor. Many counselees test the counselor by asking him questions the answers to which are not applicable to his immediate problem, but indicate to him the extent to which the counselor might be able to answer his personal question. Every counselor, when a counselee first appears for an interview, tends to get into the habit

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\* The conversation presented in this example of the interview for motivation may sound unnatural to some readers. However, as previously stated, each interviewer must use techniques that are spontaneous. In real life, this example is not so unreal as it may sound.

of asking himself: "What does this person think of me as a counselor?" "Does he have confidence in my ability to understand his problem and to view him objectively?" "Does he believe that I will keep his confidences?" "Is it easy for him to talk to me?" and similar questions. The wise counselor constantly seeks improvement of his techniques of establishing rapport with the counselee.

3. The outward manner and facial expression of the counselor should be friendly and relaxed. The counselor who has the art of getting repressed people to talk about personal matters has a rested, unhurried manner. He does not show surprise or shock at anything the counselee says or discloses. He evaluates most unpleasant facts objectively without any demonstration of annoyance or disgust. He sits in a relaxed manner and gives the impression that he has nothing to do other than to listen to the counselee. This relaxed manner during the interview also prepares the way for the counselor to end the interview whenever he desires. When he changes from a relaxed to a tense busy manner, the counselee usually realizes that the interview is over.

Some counselors improve their interviewing techniques by means of motion-picture studies of themselves in an actual or simulated interview. Every interviewer who sees and hears sound motion pictures of himself in action is certain to see how he can improve his techniques.

4. The trained counselor uses diagnostic instruments, such as psychological tests. He does not use them, however, in the mechanical manner of the psychometrician, whose use of tests is limited to the selection of applicants for jobs. Rather, he thinks of tests as opportunities to observe the counselee in a sample work sit-

uation—to note his grasp of instructions and his reaction to failure or success. The testee's scores are viewed as clues to possible strong points. Furthermore, demonstrations of the counselee's ability in action are more conclusive than mere test indications. Test findings are interpreted in relation to the individual's total situation.

5. During a counseling interview, the counselor listens for recurrent ideas, themes, or repeated statements in the counselee's conversation. Questions which the counselor asks himself are the following: Does the subject resent persons of authority, of higher education, of the opposite sex, or some other class of persons or institutions? What kinds of inadequacy or self-depreciation does he mention with strong emotionality? What topics, apparently incidental to the main problem, are repeated so often that, though apparently incidental, they obviously have a bearing on the crucial problem?

6. The aggressive counselee who has a disagreeable manner indicates that he has a problem which has advanced beyond his control. If he berates the counselor or ridicules his profession or business, the counselor should maintain his poise and look for the counselee's unexpressed problem. The counselor need not bother to defend himself if he has learned how to use a soft answer to turn away wrath.

The counselor does not blame the counselee for his past actions or present difficult situation. If the counselee is at fault, he should discover it for himself or be led to make the discovery. A good interviewer believes that all people have the right to make mistakes and that psychological growth often takes place most

rapidly when we recognize and deal constructively with our own mistakes

7 The counselor does not try to remake the personality of the counselee. To the counselor, most persons are pretty good as they are. Some persons, of course, can redirect into more effective channels their established tendencies, but the life style is so firmly established that a remaking of the fundamental personality pattern is impractical and usually undesirable. The advisee usually needs encouragement rather than criticism. The good counselor puts the emphasis on the counselee's strong points rather than his weaknesses

8. The advisee needs a plan of action more than a mere review of what happened. The review of what happened is often a necessary step in the development of a plan of action, but a plan of action for the future is usually the main objective in the counselee's thinking

9 Whatever plan of action is developed, the counselee should feel that it is *his* plan. If the counselor develops the plan for the counselee, it is too easy for the counselee to lean on the counselor for the execution of the plan.

10. The counselor must be straightforward in his statements, avoid cleverness, subtlety, shrewd guesses, and astute hints. If the counselor wants to make a statement or communicate an idea, he should state it tactfully but clearly. The poor counselor often offers half-ideas in the form of subtle hints which are supposed to occur to the counselee after he has left the counselor. Good interviewers leave an effect of straightforward honesty. The counselee feels that he understands exactly what the counselor meant to tell him.

11. If the counseling is effective, a

strong emotional relationship often develops between the counselee and the counselor. The counselor should be careful to avoid giving the impression that he has personally gained some special advantage over the counselee. Rather, the counselor should stress the idea that the counselee has really solved his own problem and that the counselor functioned as a convenient agent—not as an authority who developed the answer for the counselee. When the counselor and the counselee meet socially, after the counseling relation has passed, the counselor should respond in a friendly but matter-of-fact manner. Certainly, there should be nothing in the counselor's manner that suggests, "What I know about you!" or, "Why don't you act the way normal people do?"

If the counselor is also the employee's supervisor, the emotional tie developed should be that of the normal variety in which the two men identify themselves with each other. The employee should feel that his supervisor is a leader who believes in him and trusts him.

12 The good counseling interviewer makes frequent reviews mentally of the effectiveness of his techniques. At the end of the interview he asks himself questions such as the following

- a Did I put the counselee at ease and enable him to talk freely?
- b. Did I see his problem and his situation from his standpoint?
- c. Did I find out his defenses, rationalizations, opinions, and attitudes?
- d. Did I learn the various steps in the history or development of his problem and how his present situation became a natural

## *the counseling interview*

one under the conditions involved?

- e. Did I enable him to see his situation in its psychological settings, so that he now feels that he is in better control of himself in relation to his problem situa-

tion? Does he feel that he can make a better adjustment to his problem because he understands it more clearly?

- f. Did I help him develop a plan of action which he recognizes as essentially his own plan?

### PROJECTS

- 1 Assume that you are a college professor and one of your students has been found cheating in an important examination. The student has been called to your office. Write a dialogue of your conversation along the lines of the two cases presented earlier in this chapter.

- 2 *The back-number employee* William Johnson, 38 years old, has been working for his present employer for fifteen years. Several years ago his work changed, but he was not able to adapt himself to the changed conditions. The firm progressed but Mr. Johnson did not. The personnel manager has been unable to transfer him to a vacancy with the same rate of pay that he now has, and he refuses a demotion with a lower rate of pay. He is married, has several children, and his character and general record are excellent. The

management is confronted with the problem of either forcing him to accept a demotion or allowing him to draw a higher rate of pay than his work really merits. Assume that you are the personnel manager. What would you do about Mr. Johnson's case?

- 3 Assume that you are the head of a department having about thirty employees. One employee is a chronic faultfinder. He particularly belittles people having higher education. He takes no courses that might improve his own education, which ended in the third year of high school. He obviously tries to lift himself above others by "pushing them down." His constant defensiveness is having a bad effect on the morale of other employees and you decide that you must do something about it. What would you do?

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*PART THREE · PERSONAL PROBLEMS*



## 9 Developing your own personality

*The mere reading of a book on personality will not make you popular nor skillful in handling people. It can only start you on the road to making yourself friendly and influential. It can suggest new ways to enjoy people and stimulate you to apply the methods that you already know but neglect to use. At times you may fail to achieve your ends. You may even be misunderstood. But failure should simply spur you on to improve your strategies.<sup>1</sup>*

THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT DEFINITIONS of personality is about the same as the number of persons who have defined it.<sup>2</sup> Most psychologists restrict the term *personality* to nonintellectual traits, applying it particularly to the traits which determine a person's social effectiveness and happiness in life. However, most definitions tend to fall into two general classes: (a) those that define personality as the unique pattern or organization of the individual's adjustment habits, that is, the fundamental organization of his mental life as developed through his capacities interacting with a complex social and physical world, and (b) definitions that give emphasis to the effect the individual has on other people with whom he comes in contact, his so-called social stimulus value.

### **What a man is**

The first definition refers to what a man is psychologically, his fundamental

character, rather than what he *does* in social situations. A truly great personality, even though a famous person, impresses us more for what he is than for the achievements that have made him famous, as is explained by a scientist who worked with Albert Einstein

Material facts matter less in Einstein's life than in anyone else's. The world of his sense impressions, of cold, hunger, pain, is dulled by the great intensity of his internal life. The adventure of Einstein's life is that of his mind. . . . As great as Einstein is as a physicist and a philosopher, he is still greater as a man.

I know that the last sentence sounds like a bad cliché. Yet it cannot be, because Einstein is the only great scientist of whom I could say it. When one comes in contact with him, one is not overwhelmed by his greatness as a scientist. This greatness is engulfed by the greatness and strangeness of his whole personality. Einstein is unlike anyone else. And perhaps this simple fact is the real clue to his fame. The real clue is not the spectacular discovery of the bending of light rays. If this were so, why should this

## *developing your own personality*

fame persist in a quickly changing world that forgets today its idols of yesterday? It must rather be his inner greatness, which the people of the world somehow sense and need for their comfort. . . .

It is easy to say that Einstein is great as a scientist, but even more so as a man. But wherein does this greatness lie? And how is it reflected in the minds of the people? My answer may sound bombastic, but I believe

it to be true. For me and for many others (some of them could not or would not care to formulate the answer explicitly), Einstein is the aloof conscience of the world.

I do not know anyone as lonely and detached as Einstein. His extreme kindness, his absolute decency, his straightforwardness in dealing with men and social ideas is, in spite of all the appearances to the contrary, impersonal and aloof. His heart does not bleed,



THE "SIX BURGHERS OF CALAIS" were depicted in Auguste Rodin's statue as having attained a high level of maturity of personality. When the besieging English promised to spare the medieval city if six citizens would give their lives for Calais, six men had the courage to sacrifice themselves for their fellows. Rodin's statue of the historical event depicts no fear; only regret and awareness of the meaning of their act. Of course we do not know the actual psychological development of each of the six burghers, but we do know that Rodin's portrayal of their personalities was on the right psychological level of maturity. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.)

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his eyes do not cry, yet his deeds are those of a man whose heart bleeds and whose eyes cry. Perhaps this aloofness and detachment make it possible for him to achieve the highest moral level any human being can achieve. The moral scale becomes unbalanced if the "I" is involved. It is sensitive and accurate for Einstein, because his "I" is little involved . . .

A few weeks ago I received a letter signed by Einstein as the chairman of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. With it was a small pamphlet containing his article "Only Then Shall We Find Courage." Here he speaks with the insight and power of a prophet. Indeed, it is the conscience of the world that speaks to us—the wisest, simplest words ever spoken on a subject drowned in a flood of meaningless silly words formed into clichés by men who understand and learn nothing.

There was suffering in Einstein's writing, and strong indications that now the impact of a troubled world has invaded his aloofness. In his words there is a message for humanity. And it seems to me a thousand times more important that people should understand his simple words than that they should understand the Relativity Theory.

At the end of his article he writes:

*When we are clear in heart and mind—only then shall we find the courage to surmount the fear which haunts the world.*

These are the aims for which Einstein strove all his life: to be clear in mind and heart. He is one of the very few who have achieved this clarity.<sup>3</sup>

The truly educated man seeks more than knowledge; he searches for the basic principles by which men live. The learning of principles and the development of a philosophy of life are more important than the mere acquisition of facts. Facts change and disappear; principles remain. Basic principles are guides to judgment and provide a sense of values that lead to strength of personality. They enable a man to distinguish between cheapness or the conventional and grandeur of soul.

The man who attains such maturity of personality has poise, power, and influence. He studies psychology, not to give him a feeling of superiority, but to enable him to enjoy all personalities. He does not pity the maladjusted nor does he identify himself with them. He enjoys them, because he understands and likes them in spite of their inappropriate adjustments. Insight into their adjustments increases his respect for all mankind. He loses his cynicism in constructive service to others.

The habit of using direct-attack methods of dealing with barriers is one of the goals of personality growth. The person who has achieved it has what people often describe in such terms as, "That man has good stuff in him," "He's made of good material," or, "There's a man who is a real man." Everyone has heard such statements about a few persons he has known.

Several years ago the author made a list of ten men and women who had been described in these or similar terms. In addition to those on his list, 160 others were chosen by a committee of acquaintances. The 170 superior men and women were studied by means of many reaction questions. The answers of this superior group were compared with the answers of 200 persons chosen at random, 150 mentally sick patients of an institution, and a group of low-intelligence persons. The test that developed from this study, "Personality Maturity," is given in the Appendix.

Personality maturity means that the individual has developed a certain unification of the whole self, a dependable individuality. He is no longer a youth who seeks to try out all kinds of adjustments, all roads to experience, all ways to

## *developing your own personality*

growth. He has learned that some modes of behavior lead only to new blockings or to deterioration. Past failures and successes have taught him what things are worth while for him. He knows his aims and the ways in which he will strive to attain them. His character is stable, and his scale of values has been established. When a man's maturity has become positive, he feels and believes that adjustments by evasion and retreat eventually result in a lowered ability to deal with the next barrier.

### *What a man does*

As indicated above, the what-a-man-is aspect of personality growth resolves into the what-a-man-does concept. This is fortunate, because it means that every intelligent person who wishes to develop his personality to a high level of growth can do so by means of conscious effort. One of the most natural environmental situations in which he can work toward his own maturity is in those relations that involve people.

Most people who wish to improve their personalities think of them in terms of their social stimulus value or effectiveness in dealing with people. They realize that they are not alert to the handling of social situations. They are likely to be self-conscious.

The very term "self-consciousness" expresses their basic problem—they are conscious of the wrong person. The socialized person is conscious of others rather than himself. Fortunately, the art of dealing with people can be acquired:

The habit of becoming more aware of others than of yourself can be learned. For example, certain introverted college students asked me to conduct classes in personality development. In these classes I taught one

basic principle or rule: *Watch the other person and do whatever appears to be appropriate.*

When the classes were begun, the students were unknowingly given a standardized interview where the interviewer asked six questions. Two of the answers were written incorrectly by the interviewer. The interviewer then tried to erase the error, using a wooden pencil with the eraser worn down to the metal. (Each student had been given a pencil with a good eraser.) The test of the student's habituated use of the above rule was observed and recorded. The poorly socialized students failed to offer their erasers to the interviewer.

After this first test, the students were trained in the practical application of the basic principle. The students themselves suggested extensions and applications of the rule, but pencils and erasers were never mentioned. After eight hours of training, they were again given the same test. Most students made a definite improvement as shown by the moving pictures which were taken without their knowledge. They had learned to objectify some of their thinking, to lose their self-consciousness by becoming conscious of others . . .

If you wish to have more friends or to be able to handle people happily, you, too, have to learn the art of forgetting yourself. You must lose self-consciousness by becoming more conscious of other people and by directing your thinking toward them. Personality, in this social sense, is not something that you have or are, *personality is what you do when you are with others. It is an activity, not a possession.* It is not a stagnant pool but a running brook.

This dynamic nature of personality is most fortunate. If you are seeking more friendships or wish to handle people more effectively, you can forget what you are. Simply concentrate upon others, and discover how to give them greater enjoyment. Think of each person as being a distinctive individual whom you try to understand and make a bit more happy. If you practise this fundamental principle, you will find, sooner or later, that you are popular and influential with others.

## *developing your own personality*

Your attainment of this social artistry is not so formidable a task as it may appear to be. You have already learned some knacks of handling people. If, on certain past occasions, you had not withdrawn into a shell of reserve when strangers or unkind persons were about, you would have learned more skills. Perhaps you were so wrapped up in

your own feelings of doubt about your ability, imagined unattractiveness, or self-concern that you failed to watch the other person. Of course, if your thoughts and feelings were concentrated on yourself, you made a poor impression on him and you withdrew more quickly from contacts with the next stranger.



THE ARTS OF FRIENDSHIP begin in the early years. The child who must depend upon himself, unimpeded by excessive parental supervision, when making his own friends soon develops the knack of getting his companions to say "He's young, but maybe it'd be okay for him to tag along this time." (Photograph by Ward Hutchinson, Sharon, Connecticut.)

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Parents are at fault when they try to protect their children by isolating them from imperfect companions. Sooner or later the children may develop into first-class neurotics whose chief fault is the fact that in the game of life they "can't take it." Parents who constantly guard their children, not allowing them to play with other children for fear that they will learn the facts of life, are not fulfilling their parental responsibilities. Occasionally the children even run the risk of later becoming patients in hospitals for the mentally ill. The only way for a girl to learn how to handle men, or for a boy to learn how to get along with girls, is for both to go through a long practice period of training where each successful skill in getting along with people has been learned through hard experiences plus intelligent judgments. Socially speaking, every man is his own ancestor and his own heir—he makes his own future and he inherits his own past. What he does on a great occasion depends upon what he already is, and both depend upon the years of training acquired in the social arenas of life—the playground, the office, the shop, and the park bench on a moonlight night.<sup>4</sup>

The socialized personality and its resultant friendships must be earned. Many persons who find it difficult to earn friendships would like to improve their personalities, but they have the habits of the *introvert* rather than those of the *extravert*.

### *Introversion-extraversion*

Introverts are characterized by their "shut-in" personality. They do not share their joys and sorrows with others, but keep them to themselves. They are largely self-sufficient for their emotional outlets. Anger, blushing, and laughter are examples of emotional outlets, and the introverts express them within themselves, that is, their emotions are introverted. Daydreaming is an example of an introverted emotional outlet. Introverts,

in short, are vividly aware of their own inner lives.

Extraverts, in contrast, express their emotional outlets in action and in seeking the society of others. They do not sit alone with their thoughts, but depend upon others or upon activity for their happiness. Introverts are men of thought and extraverts are men of action. Scientists tend toward introversion and businessmen toward extraversion. Foremen and executives whose duties require the supervision of others are likely to be extraverts. The key executives of industry incline toward *ambiversion*, or a middle position on the scale of introversion-extraversion. Office workers, clerks, and stenographers incline toward introversion. Many accountants and research engineers are pronouncedly introverted.

It should not be assumed that all or most people are of either one type or the other. Rather, they tend to group themselves in the center of the scale. Each person has some qualities of each type, and his classification depends upon the degree to which he is introverted or extraverted rather than upon the absolute presence or absence of the characteristic traits. Laird<sup>5</sup> devised a scale for the measure of introversion and extraversion. The personality signs he listed are

- 1 The introvert blushes easily; the extravert rarely blushes.
- 2 The extravert laughs more readily than the introvert.
- 3 The introvert is usually outspoken, the extravert is usually careful not to hurt the feelings of others.
- 4 The extravert is a fluent talker; the introvert can prepare a report in writing more easily than he can tell it in conversation.
- 5 The extravert lends money and possessions more readily than the introvert.
6. The extravert moves faster than the in-

## *developing your own personality*

trovert in the routine actions of the day, such as walking, dressing, talking, etc

7. The extravert does not take particular care of his personal property, such as watches, clothes, etc., the introvert is found continually oiling, polishing, and tinkering

8. Introverts are usually reluctant about making friends among those of opposite sex, while extraverts are attracted by them

9. Introverts are easily embarrassed by having to be in front of a crowd

10. The extravert is a more natural public speaker

11. The introvert likes to argue

12. The introvert is slow about making friends

13. The introvert rewrites his letters, inserts interlineations, adds postscripts, and corrects every mistake of the typist

### *Personality signs revealed in thinking and attitudes*

1. The introvert worries, the extravert has scarcely a care in the world

2. The feelings of the introvert are easily hurt, the extravert is not bothered by what is said to him

3. The introvert deliberates in great detail about everything—what to wear, where to eat, etc., and usually tells one why he decided to do what he did

4. The introvert rebels when ordered to do a thing, the extravert accepts orders as a matter of course

5. The introvert is urged to his best efforts by praise, the extravert is not affected by praise

6. The introvert is suspicious of the motives of others

7. The introvert is usually radical in religion and politics, the extravert—if he entertains any opinions—is usually conservative.

8. The introvert would rather struggle alone to solve a problem than to ask for help

9. The introvert would rather work alone in a room than with others.

10. Extraverts follow athletics, introverts read books and "high brow" magazines.

11. The introvert is a poor loser.

12. The introvert daydreams a great deal.

13. The introvert prefers fine, delicate work (die making, accounting), while the extravert prefers work in which details do not bother.

14. The introvert is inclined to be moody at times

15. The introvert is very conscientious<sup>6</sup>

The study of personality traits or patterns of this kind has value to the supervisor, because those persons who are most introverted can be influenced by methods that are not successful with the extraverts. Praise, caution, and exactness appeal to introverts. Activity, speed, chance, and challenges appeal to the extraverts.

As salesmen are decidedly extraverted, it is hopeless to try to compel them to fill in and mail each day very detailed reports to the home office. Salesmen should have a minimum amount of clerical work to perform. Their paper work should be done by women, because women, as a group, are more introverted than men. Bank work usually attracts introverts. Bank workers who meet the public should be assisted by extraverted contact men and women in the lobby. Workmen who are to be promoted to supervisory positions should be extraverted rather than painstaking and retiring introverts.

In the forms of introversive adjustment which we call *retreat* the individual seeks solitude, prefers to stay at home, adopts cults of mysticism, studies his ancestry, or lives in a world of poetry, art, or fiction. Some religions have idealized this tendency by formalizing the retreat adjustment. Tibet, the center of religious fanaticism, has many old Buddhist monks who have kept themselves sealed up—except for small openings for food—in little huts since their early manhood. Some of them have not heard the voice,

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seen the face, nor touched the hand of a human being for more than forty years.

Many of our very studious college students are introverted, but college fraternities probably attract the extraverted and the introverted students in approximately equal numbers.<sup>7</sup> The differences between fraternities are likely to be greater than the differences between the

spect, namely, introverts are so very sensitive, their feelings are hurt so often, that they would be happier if they would learn greater skill in the social arts. Those who wish to acquire the social skills can do so by directing their thinking toward others and away from themselves.

Paradoxically, the socially skilled and

THE ADJUSTMENT HABITS developed as a result of childhood experiences of this kind often have a profound influence on the later personality (Courtesy of Warner Bros., Inc. A scene from "Penrod and Sam," a First National and Vitaphone Production)



fraternity and the non-fraternity groupings.

Some introverted students would like to become more extraverted but wonder whether it is possible to do so. The answer is a decided "Yes." On the other hand, many introverts say that they prefer to remain as they are because civilization needs introverts as well as extraverts. No one can argue with those who make this choice except in one important re-

interesting personality cannot be acquired if it is sought directly. It is a by-product, like happiness. "Happiness is a butterfly which, when pursued, is always just beyond your grasp, but which, if you will sit down quietly, may alight upon you." Or, as Hawthorne said, "Happiness in this world, when it comes, comes incidentally. Make it the object of pursuit, and it leads us a wild goose chase and is never attained."



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As previously stated, self-consciousness on the part of the introvert means just what the term indicates—the individual is more conscious of himself than of others. Self-pity and similar ego-centered tendencies can be changed by looking out—not in. Extraversion can be attained by thinking more of external and social values, particularly how to deal with and handle people.

*To socialize your personality, watch the other person and do whatever appears to be appropriate.* In this social sense, personality is what you *do* with people, not something that you have.\* Friendliness can be learned in the same way we learn arithmetic or French—by study and practice. The extent to which the college student, male or female, has learned commonly used information about social relations can be measured by the "Social Knowledge Test" in the Appendix of this book. The students who score high in the knowledge of the Lower Social Strata and low in the Upper Social Strata questions should consider the desirability of increasing their study of social information. The college man or woman who has limited his associations to either class may be somewhat handicapped in certain occupations.

The adjustments made in early childhood are very important in the development of effective social skills. Many a child finds it difficult to adapt himself to others because he feels emotionally insecure. He may feel insecure because, for instance, he took too seriously the ordinary family quarrels of his parents. The frictions between his parents may have caused him to feel that they, and

his world as well, were not dependable. He became emotionally insecure because the most important persons of his experience, his parents, did not seem to merit his belief in their dependability.

If the emotionally insecure child is also nagged a great deal, he is apt to grow up to be impulsive, self-centered, and unable to identify himself with his associates. He feels left out and, in awkward attempts to readjust himself, he behaves in ways that cause others to avoid him, thus increasing his feeling of not belonging. However, if he later comes to realize how his insecurity came about, recognizes that many parents show their affection for each other by their bickering, and he secures some dependable person as a friend, he is likely to develop adjustment habits that result in a feeling of belongingness. Practically, this means that the individual should frequently participate in group activities appropriate to his age and social status: sports, team or group games, dancing, committee meetings, and so on. In this respect, chess and archery are likely to be less developmental than baseball or amateur theatricals.

The feeling of belongingness can be achieved by anyone who consciously practices the best methods of doing whatever seems to be appropriate in dealing with people. This means that the intelligently socialized person not only accepts people but also thinks of them as sources of mutual enjoyment.

An important difference between the adjustment-minded person and the average layman is illustrated by the three ways in which we can deal with a problem person's annoying behavior: namely,

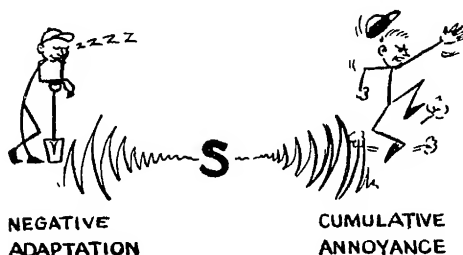
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\* The second person is often used in this chapter for the greater interest of readers who wish to develop the social stimulus values of their personalities.

## *developing your own personality*

(a) cumulative annoyance, (b) negative adaptation, and (c) insight-meaning.

*Cumulative annoyance* is exemplified by the employee who dislikes his boss

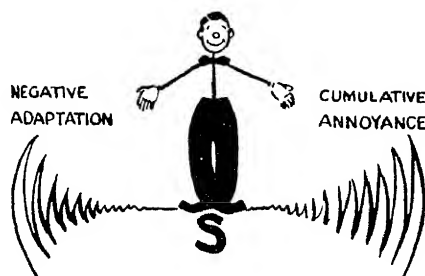


**THE ADAPTATION-ANNOYANCE RANGE** When an individual is stimulated by the repetition of any given situation, he may, on the one hand, completely adapt himself to the situation, so that it no longer elicits any reaction except one of boredom and dullness. On the other hand, each repetition of the stimulus may result in added annoyance. The effects of the stimulation are then summative. Each reaction adds to the accumulated annoyance of the previous sum. The worker who responds to his job in the latter way soon develops feelings of strong resentment that result in rebellion. If he cannot escape from the summative effect of the annoyance of his job, he will have to "explode" or "break" under the strain. The "explosion" may be expressed through the channel of fighting the boss, or through bitter antagonism toward industry or toward anything that symbolizes the annoying situation. The "break" may be in the form of the so-called nervous breakdown. Contrast this with insight-meaning response.

and at the beginning of each day says to himself.

"Another day of that man! Every time I see him I hate him more. When can I get away from him?" The individual who reacts to another person or situation in this manner soon develops intense feelings of resentment. Eventually he rebels, perhaps violently. If circumstances, such as the need for a job in order to support a family, do not allow him to quit, he must "explode" or "break" under the strain. He is the type of employee who is impelled to "tell the boss to go to Hell"

and thereby lose the job he wanted to lose. This type of worker, if he does not explode, is apt to become a bitter critic toward industry, modern business, or something else that happens to symbolize his baleful situation. If he does not have an outlet for his pent-up emotions, he



**THE INSIGHT-MEANING RESPONSE** When an individual is stimulated by the repetition of any given kind of situation, he need not adapt himself completely, nor need he be cumulatively annoyed. He may apply intelligence to the situation. He may seek insight. When he seeks insight, he makes observations. He notes annoying and satisfying factors. He looks for causes and effects. He discovers possible improvements. He utilizes the situation for self-expression. The situation acquires meanings for him, and these meanings radiate in all directions from the situation and result in the disappearance of feelings of dull acceptance or of resentment. The worker who reacts to his job in this manner becomes neither bored nor caipingly critical. He utilizes his job for creative self-expression.

is likely to escape through the so-called "nervous breakdown."

*Negative adaptation* applies to many of our daily experiences with people. Some persons and situations are dealt with and forgotten. Examples of negative adaptation are the factory worker who has given up all hope of getting a better job and now does his work in a mechanical spiritless manner, the small child who does not react to his mother's constant scolding, or the husband who does not "hear" his wife's back-seat driving.

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*Insight-meaning* is used by the worker who finds himself in an annoying situation, analyzes it, and discovers some interesting aspects of it. It is used by the boss who, when he is annoyed by the mannerisms of an employee, learns that the employee has a difficult home life and then tries to make the employee's life more interesting by giving him extra attention while at work. *Insight-meaning* is always more satisfying than either dull acceptance or cumulative annoyance. It can be used every day with our annoying associates, such as the back-seat driver, the teacher who scolds, the executive who threatens, the housewife who nags, the girl-friend who insists on having repeated personal attentions, and others.

A first step in the *insight-meaning* relationship to people is to become aware of their adjustments. Anyone who learns to apply the adjustment concept to the actions of people will soon develop a feeling of kinship\* toward them. He will feel friendly toward them and they will sense that he understands and likes them. The psychologically intelligent person does not tell people how much he knows about them. Rather, he uses his insight into their personalities to help them make the adjustments and gain the satisfactions they seek. He never flaunts his knowledge of them but uses it as a background for friendly, mutually satisfying relationships. He learns how people feel and feels himself into their situations and problems.

*Second*, he notes what people do and like. He learns what topics of conversation interest them, what badges or insignia they wear, their hobbies, the

brands of cigarettes they smoke, whether they are more deaf in one ear than another, the taut muscles which indicate tension, and subjects of conversation which are pleasant to them. He says "Good-bye" with his face toward the departing guest. When an old joke is told, the true extravert does not show by his manner that he has heard it previously but laughs heartily. One of the tests of extraversion on the part of a listener is to look so interested when a story teller begins his story that the raconteur does not ask "Or have you heard this before?"

This awareness of what people like does not mean that flattery can take the place of a sincere interest in others. Many misinformed persons fail to appreciate the importance of a genuine interest in work and people.

This principle is illustrated by the difference between flattery and a genuine interest in a person, as seen in the case of employees who imagine that flattery is necessary to gain promotion.

*Should an employee use flattery in order to gain promotion if he believes that others are succeeding by this method?* Mr. Edmunds is thirty-five years old, is married, and has been working for his present employer for ten years. He likes his work and, in general, he considers his employer fair. However, he believes that some of the younger men of the department who have been promoted gained their promotion through clever and tactful flattery toward his superior. Mr. Edmunds should:

1. Try to flatter his superior in order to gain promotion also
2. Quit, and try to get a job where promotion depends upon ability rather than flattery
3. Allow the others to do as they wish. He

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\* "Empathy" is used by some psychologists to express the mental state wherein one person identifies or feels himself into the state of mind of another person. It is also used to mean mental projection of oneself into the elements of a work of art or into a natural object.

## *developing your own personality*

likes his work and he should be completely satisfied

- 4 Discuss the situation as tactfully as possible with his superior
- 5 Improve his ability by studying, taking an active part in technical associations, and contributing articles to trade journals. The future will take care of itself if he improves himself and builds a reputation for his ability<sup>8</sup>

*Third*, the introvert who wishes to socialize himself should practice responding to others by means of his facial expressions. Typical introverts are surprised when they see moving pictures of themselves in conversation. They discover that they look as animated as the Statue of Liberty! If a person feels friendly, he should show it by lifting his eyebrows and smiling with his eyes as well, as by grinning with his lips. Of course, friendliness is far more than facial expression. It is a sincere identification with others, but a sincere identification includes facial expressions which help to convey the feeling of friendship.

*Fourth*, the introvert should acquire the knack of asking questions in order to learn from others, not to argue with them. Usually, we can ask questions of a person about his occupation: what he does, who the leaders are in his field of work, changes since he has entered the field, and what successful experiences he himself has enjoyed.

Furthermore, the good conversationalist does not answer questions completely—he answers them only partially and then asks the questioner what he thinks about the unanswered aspect. He knows that when a person answers a question and then says, “Don’t you think so, too?” the conversation is closed. The flow of conversation should not be shut off by requests for agreement but kept moving

from topic to topic by requests for additional ideas.

Asking questions is an art which few introverts learn even though they argue frequently. They are so wrapped up in their own feelings about themselves that they cannot ask questions so as to enable the other person to expand. They are apt to ask questions to prove their own point, as found in this typical problem.

*Who should take the initiative in correcting misunderstandings: the superior or the subordinate?* A senior in a Liberal Arts College has had a reasonably good scholastic record. He is now in his last semester. In the first semester of his senior year, he failed a course under a certain professor, but continued the year course with this same professor. The student believes that he failed the first semester’s work because he had a very heated argument with the professor. He also believes that he will fail this semester’s work because he is sure that the professor does not like him. What should he do?

1. He should remain in the course, work hard, and say nothing to the professor.
2. He should request permission of his dean to change his course, explaining his reason.
3. He should discuss the matter with the professor and find out wherein he was wrong. He should then apologize, if necessary, and put himself on a friendly relationship with his professor.
4. He should tell the professor frankly what he thinks of his unfairness and demand that the professor treat him absolutely fairly.<sup>9</sup>

*Fifth*, the individual who seeks to make himself interesting to others usually finds it necessary to direct his thinking and working toward some definite end. He is apt to have a vocational program of some kind whereby he becomes a specialist or expert in some one field such as business, as exemplified by the mental habits of successful versus the

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nonsuccessful businessmen. They have chosen vocations which are appropriate for their behavior patterns

Psychologists have found that no one or two traits cause a man to be a successful businessman. All human beings possess the same traits, but they differ in the degree or amount of possession of each trait. That is, if we were to list all the traits or qualities of the one hundred greatest men of the world and then list the qualities of one hundred unimportant men, the two lists of traits would be the same. However, the two groups would differ widely in the degree or extent of possession of each trait on the list. For example, the second group of men would have less intelligence and initiative than the first group, but high intelligence alone does not enable the youth to become a leader, nor does a high degree of initiative. Success depends upon a proper combination of essential elements

The skilled housewife's batter is a correct combination of the proper ingredients, and, when it is given the favorable environment of the oven, delicious cake results. Similarly, the great leaders in business are those who have the effective "personality ingredients" or patterns of behavior.

Forty-one situations were described to 150 businessmen of five grades of income. Questions were asked and the answers were then treated quantitatively. The questions which gave differential values are shown in the "Executive Reaction Pattern" test in the Appendix. The results indicate that certain measurable differences do exist among the five classes. These differences have been statistically treated, and the questions can be used for employment purposes.

If the reader will check the appropriate items and then refer to the key in the Appendix of this book, he can score his answers and obtain an estimate of the financial rating of his own executive behavior pattern. The answers which have a plus value on the key are characteristic of the higher-salaried businessmen. The minus answers apply to the lower-salaried groups. The scorings of the answers to the 28 questions were not made during an "armchair" study, but were determined by a statistical analysis of differences in the behavior patterns. It would be difficult for a person to obtain the maximum rating by reasoning out the answers with the greatest plus values. For instance, in question 10, the highest plus value is given to the man who says that his family relations had a slight negative effect in stimulating him to do his best.

The student who wishes to develop the human relations skills of the executive must do far more than learn the correct answers to an executive reaction pattern test. Executive ability and skill in handling people are attained through daily practices in dealing with janitors, sales clerks, teachers, fellow employees, friends, and members of the family rather than through reading books. The following suggestions call attention to factors often neglected by those who wish to develop their personalities

### *Ten suggestions for personality development*

1. *Be conscious of the other person and note what HE does.* Talk about the subjects that interest him and he will think of you as a person with an interesting personality. Forget yourself through an active interest in other people.

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2 *Assume that people like you.* If you show that you want people to talk to you, they will respond warmly. On the other hand, if you act in a reserved, seclusive manner, people will assume that you wish to be let alone. If you show that you enjoy your own company more than the company of others, they will let you have yourself to yourself.

3 *When you greet a person, greet him emphatically.* When you say "Good morning," say, "GOOD MORNING", don't say "*good morning*". Also wave your hand and smile. If you feel that you are faking when you first attempt to be cordial, just continue practicing cordiality until you do it naturally.

4 *Build up the other fellow's feelings of self-worth.* Note things about which he feels inferior. Offer him sincere compliments which prove that he has better qualities than he thought he had. Do not talk about him but compliment him on his intelligent acts. And remember that every woman likes to receive feminine compliments regarding her beauty and personal attractiveness. But phrase the compliment in an original way.

5. *Admit your own defects.* You need not deliberately make an ass of yourself but, when you have acted as one, let others make humorous remarks at your expense. It makes them feel superior and keeps your personality more flexible.

6 *Practice use of the word YOU and avoid I.* One measure of your personality is the number of times you say *you, your, he, his, she* and *her* rather than *I, me, my, or mine*. The test of your socialization is not the ideas that you give others but the number of ideas that others give you.

7. *Admire your friends.* Perhaps you have already done many kindnesses for

others which they repaid with meanness or infidelity. Perhaps you have lent money to some who never paid it back and, moreover, do not care to pay it back. These lapses of loyalty, goodness, and integrity should not sour one for the greater number of gifts received. In the totality of human relationships, human nature is remarkably good and fine.

8 *Love someone intensely.* Man's normal state requires an outlet for his affections. If your wife is not of a lovable sort, love your child. If that is not feasible for you, assume responsibility for someone's happiness. A dog or a monkey may fill the gap, but a normal person can better look himself in the face if he gives his devotion to a human being instead of concentrating it on a dumb animal.

9. *Change your environment occasionally.* Take a vacation when it is due. Go to a new part of the country. Meet some new people. Leave your wife and children at home when you take a vacation and allow them to take a vacation without you. Sell your house and buy another. Change your office furniture. Of course, you should have a den of your own, where you can litter the floor with cigarette butts or cigar bands, a place where you can put your feet on the desk and feel at home, but even a den becomes monotonous and a new surrounding is needed.

10 *Associate with people who are successful and happy.* Living within oneself alone is dangerous. We all need certain contacts to give us new points of view, new thoughts, and new hopes. Attend at least one social affair each week. Call on your neighbors. Meet the fellows at the club. Go to church. Compel yourself to play cards, or dance, or sing, or tell

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stories, or play golf. When you do associate with others, do not consider your associates as either inferiors or superiors. Let your motto be "All men are my equals, but no man is my superior." Try to learn from those who are experts in

other fields, but do not envy them their money or position. Happiness does not lie in wealth, fame, or personal beauty. Rather, happiness is achieved through intelligent adjustment to what we have and are.

### PROJECTS

- 1 Obtain and study a copy of the Bernier Personality Inventory, obtainable from Stanford University Press (Stanford University, California)—or some other personality test. Study the items in relation to the traits they are presumed to measure.
- 2 Read descriptive material dealing with a number of personality tests. Suggest some ways in which such tests may be helpful to the individual and some situations in which they should be used with caution or not at all.
- 3 Culture has been defined as openness of mind, objectiveness of attitude, a sensitive appreciation of human values, an original point of view or philosophy of life, and a development of the potentialities of the human being. (a) Which courses in college have impressed you as being directed toward one or more of the five mentioned qualities? (b) Can you name any courses which are not directed toward one of these five qualities? (c) Can you name any work or recreation which could not be directed toward one or more of these five qualities if the individual so desired?
- 4 Make a point of complimenting several acquaintances on some good qualities they possess. Note the various reactions and analyze these effects.
5. A prospective borrower from a bank was advised by a friend to apply to the sour-mannered loan executive rather than to the jovial friendly one on the basis that the sour-mannered one could say "Yes" while the jovial executive was paid to say "No" charmingly. How would you evaluate this advice—what psychological principles are involved?
- 6 One of the most common methods of judging the personality of a person is his conversation. A number of individuals

were asked what words, phrases, and questions they disliked to hear from other people. The following list resulted. (It is not to be considered complete.)

ain't	loafer	shorty
brass	lousy	skinny
bum	mess	slob
Butch	nut	sloppy
cake-eater	piker	snob
crab	pill	stink
crumby	prune	stuff
cuckoo	punk	sucker
dumb-cluck	rotter	swell
highbrow	runt	yeah
huh?	shack	yellow
junk	simp	

#### *Questions Disliked*

D'ya eat?  
How much did it cost?  
Is that so?  
What did I tell you?  
What's it to you?  
What's the big idea?  
Why bring that up?  
So what?  
Haven't you finished yet?  
How do you get that way?  
How's every little thing?  
Isn't that grand?  
What did you do that for?  
What makes you so sure?  
What's on your mind?  
What d'ya know?

#### *Expressions Disliked*

And how!  
After me, you come first  
Bad egg  
Beautiful but dumb  
Believe me  
Cut it out.

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Don't trouble yourself  
He means well  
Hello, old sock!  
I done it  
I'll say so  
I'll tell the world  
Make it snappy  
Mind your own business  
No kiddin'  
None of your business  
Prove it to me  
Shut up  
That's just like you

That's not true  
You flatter me  
You tell 'em

a Ask a number of your associates to check the items that they dislike to hear

b Check the items you use frequently  
Then have a friend check those which he says you use Compare the two lists

c Note the number of times you hear these terms used by low-salaried and by high-salaried businessmen To what factors do you attribute any differences in their usage?

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# IO      Improving efficiency in mental work—effective methods of study

*A person's own convictions regarding his abilities are powerful factors in his mental efficiency. His convictions about himself can be changed and his methods of work improved, but his methods of work will not improve until such time as he himself determines to improve them and persists in learning the new and better habits*

WHAT IS A GOOD STUDENT? COLLEGE students have various definitions of the "good" student, most of which are not very complimentary to the student who makes superior marks. Psychologists who have devoted years to the development of study techniques and to reading clinics for students with scholastic difficulties offer definitions somewhat more meaningful than the students' typical definitions.

Stromswold and Wrenn,<sup>1</sup> for example, recommend five diagnostic constructs of possible hypotheses of need on the part of the student

1. *Misclassification.* Students in this category lack the aptitudes, interests, or other personality qualifications needed for the curriculum being pursued

2. *Inadequate educational background.* Students with this handicap are

performing work at a level below their potentialities because of inadequate preparation in one or several areas

3. *Inadequate use of time* This may be mainly a symptom of some other disorder.

4. *Interference with study by problems outside of the scholastic realm.*

5. *Inadequate command of study habits and skills.*

The counselors who have studied and assisted failing students know that effective counseling cannot be confined to study habits only. Instruction in study habits, time scheduling, and reading clinics have proved to be of little value unless the personality development has been appropriate for effective study. The mental habits and attitudes of the student, his convictions about himself, his modes of adjustment to his problems,

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are determining factors in his record as a student

The student who is in emotional turmoil because of personal problems, such as conflict with parents, poor social contacts, or financial difficulties may or may not be a good student. Some students adjust to these problems by overcompensation and become scholastic "over-achievers." These students are found in every college. They are among the top-ranking students scholastically, but they are not "good" students in the best psychological sense. Truly good students enjoy life in many areas, have a stable emotional life, can concentrate on their tasks, recognize their own aptitudes and limitations, and have a high degree of interest in the subject matter they study.

In Chapters 2 to 6 we saw how habits and attitudes growing out of adjustments tend to result in outstanding achievements. The motives developed in the processes of adjustment on the part of the individual are exceedingly important, not only in setting up and striving toward vocational and other goals, but also in setting up psychological resistances which handicap the individual in learning common school subjects. The normal person's nervous system will perform the functions involved in learning one subject just as easily as it will those involved in learning any other subject. Only the conditionings and habits growing out of adjustments result in inability to learn certain kinds of subject matter, such as mathematics or languages. The individual's own definitions and convictions regarding himself are the potent factors in his talent and skills, or lack of them, as is proved by the re-

sults from drills in spelling. Experiments show that when drills are given to a poor speller, he improves his spelling only when he himself really determines to improve it. Mere repetitious drill has almost no value—the individual's attitude toward the drill is all-important. Sometimes the individual's convictions regarding his inabilities are so deep-seated in his personality that a clinical approach is necessary to make the later exercises in spelling worth while.

The following statement by a psychologist who spoke at an annual meeting of the American College Personnel Association explains more fully the need for a clinical technique in dealing with certain inabilities.

The clinical technique which follows from the theoretical conception of the problem must therefore aim to bring about in the subject a re-examination of those ideas which block his development. Academic difficulties and social maladjustments are both conceived of as due to resistances arising from the subject's\* idea of himself. Obviously, the method must rely upon inducing the subject to observe the system of contradictions in which he has become involved.

Let us take the case of an intelligent student who is deficient, for example, in spelling. In almost every instance, poor spellers have been tutored and practiced in spelling over long periods without improvement. For some reason such a student has a special handicap in learning how to spell, though not in learning the other subjects which are usually considered more difficult. This deficiency is not due to a lack of ability, but rather to an active resistance which prevents him from learning how to spell in spite of the extra instruction. The resistance arises from the fact that at some time in the past the suggestion that he is a poor speller was accepted and incorporated into his definition of himself, and is now an integral part of

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\* The reader will note that the word "subject" as used in this context refers to "the person experimented upon", not to a course of study.

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his total personality. His difficulty is thus explained as a special instance of the general principle that a person can only be true to himself. If he defined himself as a poor speller, the misspelling of a certain proportion of the words which he uses becomes for him a moral issue. He misspells words for the same reason that he refuses to be a thief. That is, he must endeavor to behave in a manner consistent with his idea of himself.

In these cases, we find that this self-definition as a poor speller, and consequently the resistance to learning how to spell correctly, can usually be removed in from one to five interviews. The majority become average or better than average spellers within the space of two or three months.

A study of the spelling behavior of these students shows that each individual seems to have a definite standard of poor spelling which he unconsciously endeavors to maintain. If his spelling test is cut in two, it will be found that each half contains approximately the same number of misspelled words. If we study his letters or written theses, there is likewise a striking consistency in the number of misspelled words per page. Strange to say, the spelling of foreign languages seems to be impaired very little if at all, showing clearly that the difficulty cannot be attributed to eye movements, left-handedness, or other mechanical interferences. Evidently the conception of one's self as a poor speller usually has reference to one's native language only.

The clinical technique consists in first finding several strong values apparently unrelated to the value in question which can be used as levers, so to speak, and then demonstrating the inconsistency between these values and the one responsible for the deficiency. Almost every student considers himself independent and self-reliant, for example. On the other hand, it can readily be shown that the poor speller expects his defect to be condoned and treated sympathetically, that, in effect, he has his hand out begging for indulgence. If the contradiction can be demonstrated from his own viewpoint, a reorganization becomes compulsory. His definition of himself as a poor speller is vigorously rejected and a determined effort made to establish the opposite definition. The re-

sult obtained is out of all proportion to the effort exerted to bring it about. Spelling assumes such interest that it is studied at every opportunity, even from the advertisements on street cars and subway trains. An elaborate analysis to convince the subject that his difficulty really is due to a fixed idea of himself does not seem to be necessary in the remedial treatment of spelling. He should, however, be asked to recall when he first accepted the role of a poor speller, ceased to worry about it, and dismissed the question as closed.

It is significant that not only poor spellers, but stammerers and others with similar defects, freely admit as a rule that they accept themselves as they are and make no effort to change. This is an excellent defense, of course, for they feel no inconsistency once the definition has been accepted. And they often attempt to avoid the effort of maintaining a more useful definition by referring the defect to heredity or neuro-muscular maladjustment.

Our experience also shows that unless a person has an unusually optimistic view of the future he would not be likely to anticipate a lenient attitude on the part of others in regard to errors in spelling. This optimism also appears in the fact that poor spellers seem almost universally to count on the services of stenographers who are good spellers, and many are able to quote the names of several people who became famous in spite of a deficiency in spelling.

Those who claim that they "do not have a mathematical mind" are likewise victims of their own resistance. Such a student may have defined himself in childhood as the exact opposite of some unassimilable companion who had been held up as a shining example of mathematical proficiency. In other cases, remarks by parents or teachers that the child was lacking in aptitude for mathematics seem to be the explanation. The suggestion was accepted and is now a part of the student's conception of himself. In one instance, a student who despised mathematics in high school, during his freshman year acquired a sudden attachment for the subject and is now a professional statistician. This boy's older brother was proficient in mathematics, and the two had been in conflict for years.<sup>2</sup>

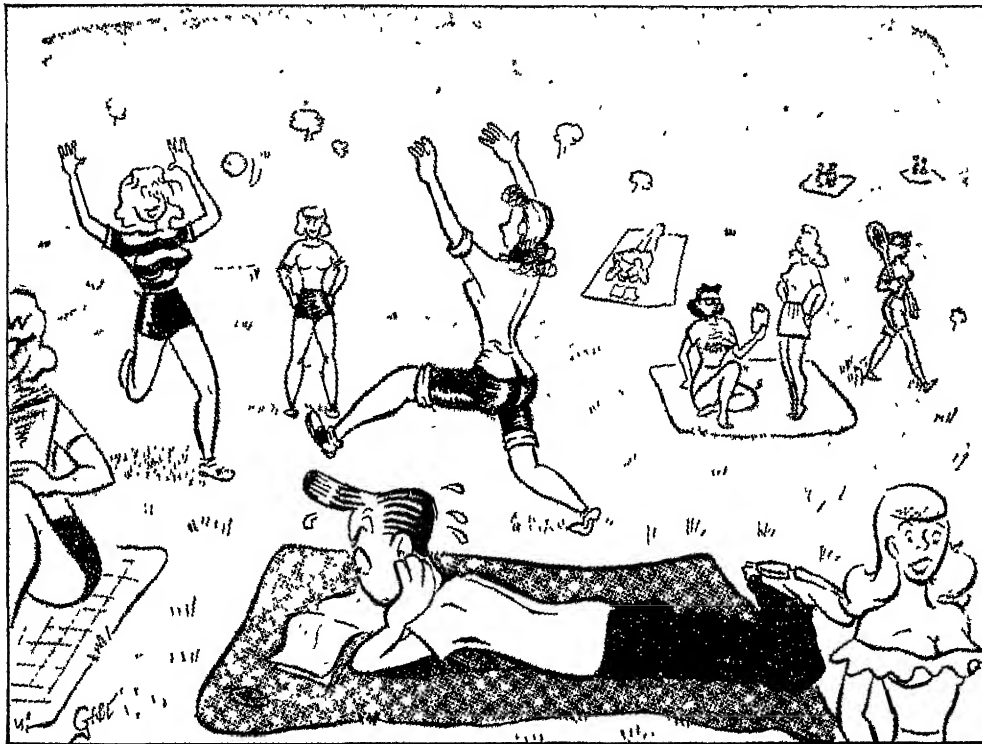
## improving efficiency in mental work

The clinical technique is helpful in those cases where individuals have proved that they can learn many subjects but claim they are unable to learn one or two specific subjects. The individual is apt either to continue to assume that somehow he is incapable of learning the "difficult" subject or to use evasion, such as searching for some magical or quick means of attaining his ends. He may, for example, read the biographies of great men, study success books, or books on "how to have power of will." Such epigrammatic books, articles, and lectures are inspiring, but if adjustments to environment have already given him an

urge, he can accomplish more by the practice of prosaic acts, such as outlining meaningful material, plotting graphic charts, and learning the cold facts of his courses and tasks.

### Concentration

Informal polls among college students indicate that lack of concentration or poor concentration is the most common of poor study habits. In fact, many students feel that this is their only problem. The much-voiced complaint, "Every time I start to study, I all at once just seem to find myself daydreaming!" needs analysis. What causes these daydreams? It



"THE PASSING of the disestablishment act in 1867 did not satisfy the nationalists under  
of the disestablishment . . . The passing of the disestablishment act in 1867 did not satisfy the  
nationalists . . . passing of the disestablishment act in 1867 did not . . . the passing . . ."—"Vic  
the Vet," by Gabe, Syracuse University, *Daily Orange*, May 19, 1949,

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may be run-of-the-mill emotional problems, the current girl or boy friend, financial difficulties, or breaking away from home ties. All of these can be a hindrance to concentration.

However, *knowing* your particular problems is to be on the way to solving them. Find out what it is that is taking your interest from studies and guiding it into daydreaming sessions. If you do not wish to consult a clinical psychologist in order to find out, try the system of studying for a week with a paper and pencil always at hand. Each time that you catch yourself daydreaming, write down what it is you had been thinking about. At the end of a week, you should be aware of some of your major problems. Some students find this technique an aid to sticking to a subject.

Concentration is so closely allied with interest that in order to be able to concentrate, interest must first be developed. It is profitable to recognize that the big problem in studying lies in creating interest. There is such a thing as achieving a "forced" interest in a subject. Many students have not only created this forced interest, but have gone ahead and achieved a "real" interest through the study of formerly disliked subjects.

There are helpful methods by which enthusiasm for subjects can be developed. One technique that works at times is for the student to study exceptionally hard for the first examination in a course. If the student is successful in getting a high grade, the high grade helps to develop interest in the subject. Success generates interest.

Another technique is reading ahead of lectures. This practice will help to eliminate much of the disinterest students have toward especially difficult subjects.

For example, in an economics course, the instructor may announce that the subject of the next lecture will be the "Law of Supply and Demand." The student, by reading this material in the text before the lecture and, if time permits, in the library texts and periodicals, facilitates his own understanding of the subject and, hence, increases his interest in it.

### **Scheduling**

Scheduling study time is the most controversial of the study techniques. "Why schedule—I just have so much time," or, "I just work until I'm through," is a typical reaction. If you are receiving grades commensurate with or beyond your mental ability, or if you have time for sufficient relaxation to make for enthusiasm in your work, you probably do not need scheduling. If, on the other hand, you constantly worry because you are "not on top" of your work, then scheduling is a prerequisite for your study.

Students differ widely in their desire for and ability to follow a schedule. A student should plan a schedule for his first week in school, realizing that this schedule will probably be changed by conflicting class meetings, unavailable courses, or inability to get the teachers he desires. However, by the second or third week of school, as he becomes oriented to the semester's work, he can plan another study schedule, knowing that this one is to serve as a guide throughout the term.

A college student usually takes from fifteen to twenty-one class hours per semester, and his professors advise that about two study hours be given to preparation for each hour spent in class. With this simple yardstick of study-time re-

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quirement, and with fixed class hours each day, the student can arrange his individual schedule either to increase or decrease his study time, according to his scholastic needs. Some students and instructors think in terms of a weekly schedule. A series of twenty-four hour schedules is likely to be more effective for most students. At the end of each day, the student sets up a feasible, rather than an ideal, schedule for the next twenty-four hours.

It is a good idea to arrange studying time as soon after lectures as possible. Researches indicate that study immediately, or within a reasonable time, after a class is far superior to the same amount of study the day or the night before a class. In this program, good students often allow for a short period of review just prior to the lecture.

Another important point to remember is that spreading the learning period over the semester is far more effective than cramming in all the subject material at the end of the semester.<sup>3</sup> This means that reviewing must be a constant practice. It is imperative to "keep on top" of your work throughout the semester, and this can be achieved only by wise scheduling.

### ***Physical setting***

It is highly important that the college student study in the right setting. A good desk lamp is desirable. Soft, diffused light should illuminate the rest of the room to eliminate contrast and strain. His desk should be so situated as to facilitate the maximum of efficient concentration. Generally, it is a good idea to have it away from windows affording campus views. If the room is shared by another student, it is a good idea to arrange the desks so that the two students are back

to back while studying. Nor should the student, when at work at his desk, be able to see his bed or an inviting easy chair. The chair for study should be of the hard straight-backed variety. This will enable the student to maintain a state of muscular tenseness during study, a state that greatly aids effectiveness of study.

Keep a specific desk and chair for study only. Lounging and recreational reading should be done in another chair. Eventually, if the particular place of study is consistently used for study only, it will cause the student to settle down to intensive work almost immediately. In order to build up sustained attention habits, the student should begin work as soon as he sits down. Oftentimes it is difficult to get started. Hence, routine tasks such as reorganizing notes or re-copying a theme might be tackled first as a "warming up" for the real work.

### ***Reading as a study tool***

The increasing awareness of reading ability as an aid to successful study is readily seen in the development of reading clinics as an integral part of college and university programs. The importance of reading in the entire program of education can hardly be exaggerated.<sup>4</sup>

Reports from reading clinics emphasize two facts: (1) the average student reads unnecessarily slowly and inefficiently, and (2) after a period of intensive training, such a reader can increase his speed, improve his comprehension, and increase his over-all efficiency.<sup>5</sup>

Comprehension is the first objective in reading. Improving comprehension is an aid to speed also. Increasing the speed means that the time spent in study can be reduced. From 85 to 90 per cent of all

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studying done in high school and college is concerned with some form of reading. With adequate training in reading a student who has been spending four hours per night in study can do the same amount with better comprehension in two hours.

The poor reader reads slowly, generally about 100 to 150 words a minute, comprehends poorly; makes many "regressions" (backward movements of the eyes over material already read), reads word by word or phrase by phrase, must move his eyes six or seven times to cover an average line of print; reads with his tongue, throat, and vocal chords; and tires easily.

The student reads for different purposes on different occasions, and his methods on each occasion should fit the purpose for which he is then reading. The more intelligently he reads, the more inclined he will be to vary his rate of reading and his method of attack.

Most persons can make their easiest and quickest improvement by varying the rate of reading. Various rates of reading may be used for different types of reading material. The light novel and the tabloid newspaper can be skimmed or scanned and comprehended easily, but more complex novels and the more difficult magazine articles must be read more slowly and carefully. The physics text, the economics book, and the philosophy pamphlet must be read even more slowly. Reading clinics have found that the rate can vary from some 40 to 1,000 words a minute for the same individual, reading different types of material.

An understanding of the reading process has helped many students to improve their reading skills. During read-

ing, the eyes are in a constant state of movement. In the actual process of perceiving words, however, the eyes are fixated or stopped. It is during these stops that words are read. How many stops do you make per line? It is a simple procedure to find out. Have someone sit across from you and count them. The number of stops varies from two to six or seven per line according to the skill of the reader and the difficulty of material being read.

The skillful reader reads fast, comprehends exactly, has few regressions, reads phrases and sentences—rarely single words—can absorb an average line of print with one or two eye movements, does not move his lips, reads actively, thinks with the author, has superior concentration, and remembers what he reads.

The student should make certain that his reading procedure is correct before he begins to read. Many students find that a graph representing reading speed serves as a stimulus to practice. Another device is to have constantly on hand a book which is enjoyable and which can be read rapidly—this can be a light novel or a book of short stories. When one book is finished, another can be started immediately. A definite reading program of 15 to 20 minutes a day can be set up, and the chosen reading material will thus be consistently read. Such consistency brings about results. With these books, too, occasional pages can be timed as a check on speed.

Speed of reading and comprehension are closely correlated. Often students show surprise that comprehension can increase along with speed, until they realize that single words do not make pictures or ideas. It is only when several

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words or phrases are comprehended that a visual picture or idea ensues

A simple device for improving reading comprehension is *written recall*. The student should take a meaningful paragraph, page, or section from a textbook, read it, close the book, write a summary of the important points, and then check his writing with the text. Some students prefer to write a rough outline, which usually brings about the same result. Vocabulary-building, as an integral part of reading ability, should always be in the developing stage.

An extensive knowledge of the exact meanings of English words accompanies outstanding success in this country more than any other single characteristic. To keep your vocabulary developing requires constant and continuous surveillance. Many systems are in use for this purpose. The most common one uses 3" x 5" card indexes, generally set up with a word on the front of each card and its meaning on the back. Thus, in odd moments, the cards can be shuffled and a private word game can be played. When words have been mastered, the cards are usually filed and then occasionally reviewed. Some students prefer to keep a section in their notebooks for vocabulary improvement, others like a small notebook devoted entirely to new words. The particular system by which you improve your vocabulary is not significant; that you do have some system is important. Without one, your vocabulary either levels off or declines. It is imperative to keep your vocabulary developing.

The importance of increasing over-all reading ability is evident today in many places. To cite just one example, thousands of Air Force officers will in the future be able to read their way down

through their mountains of "paperwork" with much greater speed and ease. The reading rate of officers in the Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, was speeded up by special training from an average of 250 words a minute to approximately 600 words a minute.<sup>6</sup>

The following rules or practices will help the student improve his reading methods:

1 Prepare your mind before beginning to read. Ask yourself how this book or article fits your plan of development. What questions should the author answer for you? Recall other articles on the same subject and ask yourself how this article relates to your previous studies.

2 Make a preliminary survey. Note the exact title, the author's position and his other writings, the year the book was written, the publisher, and the preface. The intelligent student reads the preface to learn why the author wrote the book and the treatment or points of view which he believed to be of value to the reader.

After reading the preface, read the table of contents and page rapidly through the book to note other main headings and the illustrations. Get the outline of the book in your mind. Note the parts in italics or capital letters or ideas which the author wants to impress upon the reader. Reading a book twice may seem unnecessary and a waste of time—but it is not, because double reading aids the formation of stronger and more lasting powers of recall.

3 Read rapidly. Beware of "dozing" study. Don't think that you are studying when you merely hold a book in your hand and look at words. If you cannot throw yourself into your study and work at high pressure, stop entirely and stand before an open window, or take a few exercises.

Force yourself to read rapidly.<sup>7</sup> Urge yourself to speed up. Begin at once to read rapidly. At first this may interfere with the clarity of comprehension but if you persist, you will soon find that you can learn ten



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times as much by speeding up. Spending a lot of time in study is far less important than a small amount of time well spent at consistent intervals. Don't dawdle. Go to it full steam ahead. Whenever you find yourself gliding off into daydreams or irrelevant meditations, bring yourself back sharply. Let each digression act as a reminder to get back to the job at hand.

4. Vary the rate of your reading. Read the

simple or already known parts rapidly, or skip them entirely. Concentrate upon the important and difficult parts. If you do not understand the meaning of a word, look it up in the dictionary. If you find it difficult to grasp a principle, try to draw a diagram illustrating it or make an outline of the author's own statements. Make it a rule never to do straightaway reading at a regular rate unless you read for entertainment.



AIR FORCE OFFICERS, including generals, are given systematic training to improve their reading speed. One purpose of the training is to enable them to go through their paperwork more quickly. In the first step a film record is made of the subject's eye movements, using the ophthalmograph in the Pentagon's Reading Improvement Laboratory. For example, Maj.-General Kenneth P. McNaughton's eyes are photographed by the instrument, as it is adjusted by Staff Sergeant Thomas J. Smith. Film record made by the ophthalmograph reveals the number of stops or fixations made by the eyes in reading lines of type. The training technique includes practice in increasing the span of what the eye takes in at a single glance and the shortening of the time needed for the glance. The training technique was developed by Dr. Samuel Renshaw at Ohio State University to train men in flash aircraft recognition. As a result of the training, which includes use of instruments such as the ophthalmograph and tachistoscope, the Air Force officers can read 50 per cent to 60 per cent faster. ("Improve Reading Speed," *Science News Letter*, July 16, 1949, presents a more detailed account of this project.)

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5 Make marginal notes or underscore the main ideas. Try to summarize the author's ideas in your own words by writing a sentence in the margin. A good plan is to underscore important items or draw a vertical line in the margin for important paragraphs or sentences. Always read with a pencil or pen in your hand so that you can indicate important passages. A book well-read has many penciled passages.

6 Use "active self-recitation." Think while you read. Spend a large part of your study in thinking over what you have read. Do not accept the author's statements blindly. Consider his views in the light of your own ideas or those of others. Be open-minded and willing to learn, but do not accept without some analysis of statements. Ask yourself whether the author is stating the results of impartial investigations or merely his own opinions. Do his conclusions follow from his statements? Is he trying to sell you some pet idea?

### **Notemaking**

The notebook is the badge of the student, the engineer, the explorer. The standard 8½" x 11" looseleaf notebook with a stiff cover is recommended. One well-organized notebook, in addition to class and book notes, can also be used for material passed out by instructors. The obvious advantage of one notebook is that work materials are always at hand. With actual notemaking, a system of abbreviations is necessary. Much time can be saved if this system is a consistent one. Many students, especially in the first months of college, before the abbreviations have become automatic, have found that a page set aside in the notebook for abbreviations is an aid to the mastery of a system.

In actual college work three kinds of notemaking are found: notes on lectures, notes on borrowed books, and notes in a book. Making lecture notes makes you an active rather than a passive participant. It is an aid to learning, for it re-

quires you to evaluate ideas, to organize thoughts, and then to jot down the meaningful items. Good lecture notes are brief, but good lecture notes have complete sentences and are organized under meaningful headings. Making notes on radio programs, a sermon, or a talk can give added practice. In class lectures, being ready for the lecture is essential. Notes from the previous lecture should have been reviewed. Reading ahead of lectures, in textbook and reference books, is valuable here also.

The question whether notes should be rewritten will depend on how expert a notemaker you are. If your original lecture notes are ready for use in review, then rewriting is not necessary. Otherwise, it is.

Notemaking from library books is essentially the same as lecture notemaking. You must sort out the salient points of a chapter or a portion of a book or magazine article. This task is made easier by reading the entire assignment to get an over-all picture or framework. Then go back and actually write out the points or facts of this framework.

Making notes in your own books is essential to active learning. A consistent set of symbols is necessary to indicate important facts, points of disagreement, connection of key words or phrases, and numbering or a series of ideas. Important points can be underlined or can be marked by vertical lines in the margin. A soft lead pencil or a red lead pencil will mark so as to show up plainly. Brief markings will serve the student best—key words, important phrases, and, of course, ideas that need clarification. Through notemaking on an assignment, the important points stand out so that skim reading will serve as a review.

### Using the library

In student life, knowledge of efficient library usage is essential. The librarian is always there to aid research and investigation, but time can be saved by one's own ability to dig out necessary information. In a new college situation, you should spend every available minute during the first weeks in becoming familiar with your college libraries.

Three types of card catalogs are in use in libraries: (a) *Dictionary*—alphabetically arranged by author, title, and subject; all cards are in terms of one alphabet, (b) *Divided-catalog*—divided into two parts subject catalog and author and title catalog, (c) *Classified* (mostly in technical libraries)—arranged by broad subject or some practical scheme related to the type of material. The dictionary type of catalog is the one in general use and the one you would expect to find in most libraries.

The catalog serves as an index to the library. It contains author, title, and subject cards for the books in the library. These cards are important in that on each the call number of the book concerned is given. The author, title, place and date of publication, and publisher are also given. For most books in the library there are three cards in the card catalog: one, the author card; one, the title card; and one, the subject card. Some books, particularly fiction, have only two cards, and some (autobiography) only one. More cards may result from dual authorship. Also, if the book deals with more than one subject, each subject will be represented by a card in the catalog. On subject cards, the subject is always typed in red at the top of the catalog card so that it can be readily

distinguished from an author or title card. In order to get a book from closed stacks, you must copy the author, title, and call number of the specific book wanted on a call slip. It is important to be extremely accurate in copying the call number, making sure that no letter or number is omitted, since an omission may result in having the wrong book delivered. Also, sign your name legibly. Then give the call slip to a staff member at the circulation desk.

Fiction is usually found in a separate section or room. It is arranged alphabetically by last name of the author and under each author alphabetically by title. All the books by Somerset Maugham, for example, will be together. Books other than fiction are arranged according to a special system of classification. The Dewey Decimal Classification is widely used.

Besides learning from books, the industrious student will learn from periodicals. The newest ideas in any field are in the magazines. Using periodicals beyond the limit of assignments imposed by instructors can give you a richer background and a knowledge of current material. As has been mentioned, periodical reading in the field of a new course or an unfamiliar topic can give you extensive information.

To find pertinent information in magazines, you must use periodical guides. The card catalog is an index to books, the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and similar periodical indexes are indexes to contents of selected magazines. In the front of each issue of an index a list of the magazines indexed, the abbreviations used, and an explanation on how to use the index. Entries are alphabetized under author, title, and

subject. Libraries often have special call slips, and to obtain a desired issue of a periodical, it is necessary to copy the following from the index—name of the author and the title of the article, the name of the periodical, the volume number, the date and page number. Large libraries usually have a call number for each different magazine to be found in the card catalog. The *Reader's Guide* indexes general periodicals, but for special fields the following indexes are invaluable. The titles indicate generally specific areas covered.

*Agricultural Index*  
*Annual Magazine Subject Index*  
*Art Index*  
*Book Review Digest*  
*Dramatic Index*  
*Education Index*  
*Engineering Index*  
*Industrial Arts Index*  
*International Index to Periodicals*  
*Monthly Catalog, U S Public Documents*  
*The New York Times Index*  
*Public Affairs Information Service*

The achieving student becomes quickly familiar with the indexes that will be useful in obtaining articles in his particular fields of special interest. Business administration students, for example, will find a wealth of material on applied science, business finance, and technology in the *Industrial Arts Index*.

In addition, a library has many reference books, such as dictionaries, *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* and *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms*. Encyclopedias, as a beginning tool in research, save much time, in them information on every subject of importance is given in alphabetical order. However, a paper based on encyclopedia reading only is not enough to satisfy a professor's assignment such as a term paper.

### **How to write**

Many college courses consist primarily of a sort of correspondence between professor and student. In such courses it is imperative for you to be able to write. If you can express your ideas in writing, the assignment of a theme, a book review, or even a term paper will present few insurmountable barriers.

First, be sure that you have something to say. Secondly, no matter how small or large the assignment may be, always make sure that the facts supporting your ideas are correct. Third, make a rough outline.

And then—write.

In this initial setting down, it is getting the ideas on paper that is important. If this is very difficult to do, you may not have enough material on the subject. More reading in books or periodicals may be necessary. Definite ideas to express, accompanied by interest, make writing easy.

In reading, the garnering of background material is the objective, it is not the "lifting" of whole sentences or paragraphs for your paper. Ideas are not formed in a vacuum, hence the necessity of wide knowledge. With patience and practice in writing, you can put your ideas across to other persons.

Writing is a skill that requires consistent practice. If you find it difficult to write, do not confine your writing to assignments. Do other kinds of writing for practice. Write friendly letters. See how well you can get across a mood, an event, a day-to-day routine to family or friends. Make summaries of radio talks or the Sunday sermon. Keep a journal.

In writing it is not enough to say a fact once if you really want to put it

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across. Rather, the point must be made in more than one way. Approach it from different angles or enlarge your original premise.

Many students lose credit on written assignments through neglect. They fail to read what they have written in order to polish and correct the finished product. At the college level, misspelled words, incomplete sentences, grammatical errors often affect one's grade.

An important written assignment should be done in the rough as soon as possible. After the rough outline or plan has been developed, let your ideas "simmer." Keep notes on any new ideas and on hints for the rephrasing of particular sentences. The day before the assignment is due, make the final revision.

All college assignments should be typed.

Professors may be traditionally thought of as absentminded, but they are quick to pick out the theme written at the last minute, perhaps while the writer was being bored in the preceding class. Effective writing of any kind, from class assignments to best-seller novels, is hard work. If you will work diligently at writing, aiming for accuracy and clarity, you can achieve them.

### ***How to remember***

Many people dislike the idea of memorizing because memory is thought of only as a mechanical process of "learning by heart." Thinking and memorizing are usually considered as alternatives. Actually they are a part of the same process and go together. Material which has been thought through is remembered without much effort. Memory is a by-product of study, and the general principles of study apply to memorizing.

Most students want to be able to recall studied material for one of the two more common kinds of examinations, the essay test and the objective test. In studying for an essay examination, the understanding and organizing of major ideas are especially important. The making of outlines should be a part of the study for recall.

Objective examinations cover the study content extensively. Underlining of many factual items is important so that reviews can be made easily and frequently.

Good students also do studying that is "instructor-oriented." That is, they are alert to note the ideas stressed by the instructor, and they make extra effort to understand and memorize them.

The main way to improve memory is to improve the methods of learning. However, the following rules may aid in improving the ability to remember.

1. Get the meaning of the material to be remembered. Be sure that you clearly understand the material you want to recall. Think of the new ideas from every angle and try to apply them to practical situations. Do this not only when you are reading but also when you are at leisure. When you are walking or riding to and from your home, do not waste the time in idle reverie. Utilize your spare time. Perhaps you may think it dangerous to keep active mentally so large a part of your time. Have no fear. No man ever went insane or had a breakdown from mental overwork, but a lot have gone insane or broken down from overworry or other inadequate mental habits. Most of the talk about breakdowns from mental overwork is rationalization. The idle and the ignorant are the ones who suffer most from neuroses, not those who are exceedingly busy.

2. Always study with the intent to remember. Herein lies the cause for much forgetfulness. Occasionally a teacher repeats certain outlines of lectures to his students and asks

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them to memorize the outlines. Later on he finds that he himself cannot repeat the outline because he simply dictated the material from his lecture notes. Whenever you study, do so with a determination to remember the things studied, and you will be surprised how easy it is to recall your past mental efforts.

3 Stop frequently during your studying and check up what you have learned. Compel yourself to recall what you are learning. Spend about 40 per cent of your time reciting to yourself. If you cannot recall what you have read, turn back and read it again. By a little practice along this line you will treble your ability to remember what you have covered. Imagine you are teaching the material and see whether you know it so well that you can explain it clearly to someone else. If you are unable to explain the meaning to someone else, you do not understand or know it. Go over it again and study each sentence and paragraph until you are able to tell what it does mean.

4 Use repetition. Don't expect to recall everything that you study unless you repeat the difficult parts over and over. In the case of definitions of technical terms, formulas, dates, and outlines, where the material has few natural clues for recall, don't hesitate to commit to memory verbatim. Of course, parrotlike recitation is wasteful, but don't consider yourself above mechanical repetition of certain material.

5 In committing to memory it is better to read aloud than to read silently and it is better to read to someone else than to yourself. Attention is better sustained in this way, because an appeal is made to the ear as well as to the eye and some help is gotten from the "feel" of the words in the throat and mouth. The value of reading to another person is that it promotes accuracy of thinking and insures proper emphasis of the several ideas.

6 Attempt to remember only the important material. Confine your efforts to the essential and relegate the nonessential to references to the dictionary, encyclopedia, and textbooks. Some memory systems give elaborate suggestions for the remembering of numbers on box cars. Don't waste your time trying

to remember box car numbers, football statistics, or stock quotations unless these things are important to your vocation or recreation.

7 Carry the learning of important items beyond the point necessary for immediate recall. Experiments show that we forget about 60 per cent of material barely learned within one day after learning. This means that information necessary in your life work must be studied more than is sufficient barely to recall it the next day. The fading of impressions must be met by overlearning. Superficial learning of the spelling of a word may satisfy the immediate need, but it will not satisfy the needs of correct spelling a year later.

8 Space your study. Experiments have shown that it is better to memorize a certain amount of material at intervals than to try to complete the job at one sitting. Don't try to do seven hours of studying in one evening of each week, but study one hour on seven evenings of each week. This allows the individual to organize new material in relation to past experience.

9. If necessary, invent some artificial scheme for learning and recalling material which lacks rational associations. This is seldom necessary, but may be helpful in recalling material, such as the height of the volcano of Fujiyama, which was reported as 12,365 feet. Simply remember that we have 12 months and 365 days in the year.

Or you can use acrostics. As one man said: "In my public school days we had a speaker give us a talk once a month. Of the fifty or more talks which I heard I recall the subject of but one. In that case the speaker's subject was 'Grow' and the method of growth which he suggested was 'Go right on working.' The first letter of each word forms the word 'Grow'." Acrostics can be used to advantage in remembering lists of words or names.

For temporary recall, it may be very helpful to try to visualize facts or principles. Try to picture them in unusual lights, colors, positions, and so on. However, it is best to depend upon logical connections by understanding the relationships of the material to be remembered.

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### **Techniques of creative thinking**

Many persons who do original thinking seem to want the public to believe that they do their thinking with the efficiency of firmly disciplined methods. Actually, studies of creative thinkers indicate that they make many false starts, waste time in random and exploratory movements, have desultory periods, and waver between unmanageable fantasies and systematic attack.

Investigations indicate that some creative thinkers realize that they are driven by a kind of demon or creative urge. An investigator of creative thought has reported one man's consuming purpose and commented on such drives as follows:

Eden Phillpotts, the Devonshire novelist and dramatist, writes "For my own part the creative urge is a demon that drives, and will doubtless continue to drive, while my intellect, such as it is, functions normally and does not begin to wither with age. As a boy at school there was a longing to make things. I was always drawing. Then I longed to be an actor and create character, then I found these mediums beyond my power and turned to writing."

Perhaps such a drive is instinctive, reaching down into the very foundations of the personality. Perhaps it is conditioned and due to education, perhaps to abundant and overflowing energy. There are a dozen theories to explain it. In some it is not always persistent. It may lie dormant for years and then, when aroused by an inexplicable circumstance, drive the mind with a lashing hand. Whatever its source, we are certain that the immediate occasion for creative activity is the adjustment to some inner and controlling purpose, the resolution of some dissatisfaction with the world as it is, the ambition to idealize reality.<sup>8</sup>

The several stages in the process of creative thinking have been designated by Graham Wallas<sup>9</sup> essentially as follows.

1. *Preparation* This stage refers to the study of the problem, its essential aspects, and the consideration of similar problems and their solutions.

2. *Incubation* When the thinker has made the first step, preparation, he often takes a walk, a drive, or carries on some other activities wholly unrelated to the main problem. During incubation, the unconscious mental activities may be applied to the problem while the individual is engaged in easy physical exercise or routine tasks. However, close attention to some other problem, or intense emotional reactions from thrilling motion pictures, seem to be less beneficial than the kind of mind wandering which we experience during a train ride or in easy reading for one's entertainment. Time spent in just "sitting still" is likely to facilitate incubation far more than vigorous continuous search for an answer. Idleness and relaxation are often more helpful than an attempt to stuff one's self with "good reading."

3. *Illumination*. This refers to the appearance of the "good idea," coming seemingly from nowhere. The thinker usually has an intimation of the coming of the sought answer. He is conscious of the "dawning" for which he has searched.

Sometimes the thinker may recognize that he has experienced a great discovery but decide to postpone its consideration. Later he may find that he cannot revive the great idea whose birth he throttled. Failure to record the "flash" or to follow through may result in tragic inability to do so later, as reported regarding an artistic composition:

Berlioz struggled against the creative impulse and eventually killed it. He suffered from poverty while at the same time his

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wife's health was causing him anxiety. One night there came to him the inspiration for a symphony. It ran in his head, an allegro of two-four time in A-minor. He rose from his bed and began to write. But he thought, "If I begin this bit, I shall have to write the whole symphony. It will be a big thing and I shall have to spend three or four months over it. That means I shall write no more articles and earn no more money. And when the symphony is finished, I shall not be able to resist the temptation to have it copied (which will mean an expense of a thousand or twelve-hundred francs) and then of having it played. I shall have a concert, and the receipts will barely cover the cost. I shall lose what I have not got. The poor invalid will lack necessities, and I shall be able to pay neither my personal expenses nor my son's fees when he goes on board ship. These thoughts made me shudder and I threw down my pen saying, 'Bah! Tomorrow I shall have forgotten the symphony.' But the next night I heard the allegro clearly and seemed to see it written down. I was filled with feverish agitation. I sang the theme. I was going to get up, but the reflections of the day before restrained me. I steeled myself against the temptation and clung to the thoughts of forgetting it. At last I went to sleep, the next day upon waking all remembrance of it had indeed gone forever."<sup>10</sup>

What restless energy to create, disturbing even sleep! What fatal adjustment to inner reality! Such artistic immolation and the death of such an idea sears the mind. The blocking of a creative purpose either by circumstance or lack of technique not only smothers inspiration; it leaves the personality hobbled, unable longer to vault the fences to creative freedom. And it makes one shudder, but perhaps also admire an artist who was heroic enough—or was it mad enough?—to substitute duty for genius.<sup>11</sup>

Hutchinson investigated the frequency of "scientific hunch" as recognized by chemists, mathematicians, physicists, biologists, and men of similar standing. Answers to a questionnaire sent out by the Educational Department of the

American Chemical Society yielded the report that 83 per cent of the 232 directors of research laboratories and "American Men of Science" replied affirmatively to the question "Have you ever received assistance from the scientific revelation or 'hunch' in the solution of an important problem?"

Hutchinson has reported several examples of illuminations from the many sent him.

Bertrand Russell remarks, and in this his experience parallels that of a large number of scientists: "In all the creative work that I have done, what has come first is a problem, a puzzle, involving discomfort. Then comes concentrated voluntary application involving great effort. After this, a period without conscious thought, and finally a solution. This last stage is usually sudden."

Sir James Flinders Petrie, Egyptologist, illustrates the same points. "My work is mainly historical. I never try to settle a difficult problem off-hand. I first assemble the material, state the problem as definitely as possible, and then if no solution is evident, leave it alone. From time to time I look over it to refresh my memory, but never to force a solution. After waiting days or years I suddenly feel a wish to go over it again, and then everything runs smoothly and I can write without effort. . . ."

A physicist writes: "For two years I had been thinking about solid solutions or mixed crystals. There is a good bit known and some regularity has been discovered, summarized as Vegard's Law. (The law states that the crystal cell dimension is a linear function of composition in molar percentages.) One morning on going to look up something in the *American Mineralogist*, I came across a paper which denied this law in regard to mixed crystals. Its denial was based on the measurement of crystal spacing and not on the cell dimension to which Vegard's Law is said to apply. This wrong application amazed and disgusted me. Being out of mood for further work, I went to meet a friend who was going to town and was vaguely glad of the relief. I returned to the laboratory for



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my hat and arrived at the car before my friend I was slightly annoyed at his delay. But suddenly, without warning, the idea flashed upon me that I could start with Ve-gard's Law and deduce a law for the variation in spacing which these men had measured, and could use all their measured data to check it" <sup>12</sup>

4 *Verification* When the "good idea" or important solution has appeared to the thinker, he tests it in the light of known facts and reason. Perhaps he also explains it to colleagues in the same field of thought.

Creative thinking for most great thinkers has a pattern which may be described as drive, problem, conscious effort to solve it, passivity, repeated periods of conscious efforts and passivity, sudden illumination, and verification.\*

### *The doctrine of transfer of training*

Years ago, particularly during the days of the phrenologists, people thought that our minds were divided into faculties. It was believed that the faculties or "departments of the mind" could be trained as we train individual muscles. The curricula of the day required students to study certain subjects for their so-called mental discipline. Indeed, many people still erroneously believe that dead languages, mathematics, logic, and sciences should be studied, not because of any usefulness of the subjects themselves but because of the mental discipline which is supposed to be acquired for other subjects that are useful.

Numerous investigations of these old claims have been made and we now know that we do not have such general powers or faculties. For example, there is no power of memory, but many memories. One may have an excellent memory for certain kinds of facts such as baseball statistics and a very poor memory for historical dates. To him, the baseball statistics are important, whereas the historical dates are needed only to pass an examination. The learner's attitudes toward the materials to be learned are far more potent in his abilities to recall them than any previous drills in unrelated subjects such as history, geometry, or Latin. The recall of a past experience or bit of information is not at all like the playing over of a wax record which has been traced by study of unrelated subjects. Remembering is a creative process.<sup>13</sup>

A simple example of the need for creative remembering, and the transfer when training is rigid and extensive but not creative, has been aptly phrased by Thorndike: "Soldiers trained to unquestioning and immediate obedience to their superiors are not characterized by notable obedience to law, conscience, or the civil authorities" <sup>14</sup>

This is not to say, however, that there is no such thing as transfer of training. If there were not, each new task we undertake would have to be learned through specific instruction or trial and error. Judd <sup>15</sup> proved how first teaching the

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\* These stages in creative thinking have been studied in the work of artists. See the study by C. Patrick, "Creative Thought in Artists," *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 4 (1937), pp. 35-73. The process of creative thought in sketching pictures was studied by having artists sketch pictures while expressing their thoughts aloud, and by having them answer questions concerning their usual practices. Fifty professional artists and 50 unpracticed sketchers served as subjects. The reports revealed the four stages of creative thought, namely, preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification, already revealed in other studies of creation. The course of thought in artists and nonartists is similar. Nonartists draw more objects and more different kinds of objects than do artists.

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principle involved in a task promotes faster learning, because the principle is generalized by the learner and applied to other situations. In his experiment, two groups of boys shot at a target submerged in water. One of the groups was first taught the principle of light refraction; the other was not. Although both groups made similar errors at first and corrected them through trial and error, the value of knowing the underlying principle was proved when the depth of the target was changed. This time the instructed group did much better than the uninstructed group. In another similar experiment, results showed even more clearly the value of theoretical background in solving a problem. Hendrickson and Schroeder's instructed subjects did better than uninstructed ones even in initial aims at the target.<sup>16</sup>

Knowledge of facts or principles in itself does not insure a transfer of learning to a new situation, however. There must be a basic understanding of the knowledge so that the possibility of its application to other situations may be realized.

Transfer of training depends upon the conscious acceptance by the learner of methods, procedures, principles, sentiments, and ideals which are common to the past subject and present interest. We make transfers whenever and wherever we sense a later experience as being similar to a previous one. This sensing of similarities or relationships may be vague or it may reach the level of fully conscious understanding. The more clearly or fully the relationships are sensed or recognized, the greater is the likelihood of transfer.<sup>17</sup>

Of course, this fact does not mean that no one should ever study Latin, logic, geometry, or zoology. Good reasons for

the study of such subjects may be found in direct needs for the subjects themselves or in the cultural backgrounds which they supply. A student should study these subjects when the subjects contribute something directly to the student's needs or interests.

Furthermore, almost any subject has so many intrinsic values and relationships to one's contacts with life that any subject, when well taught and thoroughly learned, can contribute to one's intellectual growth.

### **Suggestions for the office and professional worker**

*Utilizing time efficiently.* It is obviously impossible to specify how much time any office or professional worker should spend on each operation in the day's work. However, the places and occasions where one's time is wasted or misused are not in the performance of his regular duties but in the attention given to the bothersome trivialities adequately described by James Gordon Gilkey in his "Secrets of Effective Living":

Once I read about a man who was tied  
down and the ants ate him  
His fingers, his ears, his eyes, everything.  
At last they even devoured his brain,  
Emptying his skull bit by bit  
I am tied down, too, and little things are  
eating me—  
The friend who calls me on the phone and  
talks and talks,  
The agent who is determined to sell me a  
new mop,  
The children who quarrel and will not do  
their lessons,  
The letters that must be answered before  
night somehow,  
The ice man's short weight, the butcher's  
carelessness,  
All these little things are devouring me  
alive. . . .

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The time-consumers that "eat" us are social obligations, "being a good fellow," eating too much, and chasing ephemeral ideas that appear promising but end in rainbows without any pots of gold.

Our social obligations — receptions, playing bridge, golf, driving just for a drive, formal dinners, fraternal meetings, conventions, and community drives all appear essential to the development of a balanced personality and vocational advancement. In many cases, wives insist upon them. Some of these affairs do bring us in touch with people whom we ought to know. Some do bring in business later, but it is a waste of time in the long run to cultivate people merely for the sake of getting business rather than as the result of a natural liking for them. All these side lines become dangerous when they control us. Selling tickets for charity affairs, putting up decorations, buying theater tickets, lending money, giving talks before Sunday schools, writing letters of introduction, and so on, all have their place, but they tend to devour time and effort and end nowhere. It is seldom that people trust their fortunes or important problems to the accommodating man. When we are seriously ill we go to the doctor who is so busy professionally that he has no time to give to little things. We prefer to deposit our money in the bank whose president is noted for his ability and stability rather than in the bank whose president is a public beast of burden. To achieve things worthy of the respect of our fellows, we must respect the obligations of our own work to the extent that we fulfill them before we oblige others.

The ambitious individual need not confuse the performance of his own duties with an abrupt disregard for the

needs and feelings of others. To refuse to take time to be accommodating to others does not necessitate coldness of manner. The daily acts of the worthwhile life can be invested with cordiality and friendliness. Our social relations should be more than mechanically reciprocal. They can be made delightfully pleasing. If a person lends us a book, we can do more than just thank him. We can prove to him that we read and enjoyed it. If we dine in a restaurant on a fifty-fifty basis, we should not forget the tips. We need not say to a person, "I see you do not remember me," but can state our own name without reminding him of his failure. When we win a big score in a bridge game, we need not go into a detailed recital of how it was done. When we greet the stenographer and the elevator operator, we can make the greeting just as friendly as the one we bestow upon our best customers. These little daily acts do not consume much time, but they do bring greater returns in human happiness and popularity than years of trifling services.

*Memorizing names and faces.* Remembering the names of people whom we meet is not a mysterious gift that is given to politicians and denied to others. The politician finds it necessary to know people's names when he meets them and he consciously practices learning them. He seriously wants to know their names. Students in laboratory courses in psychology have taken part in an experiment where they repeated the colors in a color-naming test. The colors were only five in number and were irregularly arranged in one hundred bits, each of the five colors appearing twenty times. After the colors had been named over as often as two hundred times by each student, not one

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student could repeat the colors from memory in correct sequential order. Their efforts had been concentrated upon naming the bits of color as seen and not in connecting them in a series that could be remembered. Similarly, when we meet strangers, our attention is concentrated upon the impression that we make on the stranger and not upon knowing his name. We are too conscious of ourselves to grasp the name of the stranger. Our self-consciousness will tend to disappear if we determine to know and remember the names of those whom we meet.

Quite frequently, when we meet strangers and are formally introduced to them, we do not hear the name, or, if we do hear it, we get it incorrectly. To insure clarity, we should spell the name and ask its owner whether it is correctly spelled and pronounced. The chairmen at businessmen's luncheon clubs frequently ask each member to stand up and state his business affiliation. After this ceremony is over, few, if any, have learned the names. Most of the names are mumbled, and repeated too rapidly to make any neural impression. If members of clubs wish to become acquainted, the leader should ask the secretary to write each name on a blackboard or have each person write his own name on the board. Each of the other members should then write, on a piece of paper, the name of each stranger and try to connect the name and person in his own mind. Before the meeting ends, each person should try to recall the name of each member and verify his recollection.

A similar method can be used at bridge parties, dances, and banquets. Here the formal introduction must be hurried by the hosts and a request for enough time to write down each name and verify it

would break into the smoothness of the occasion. However, when the guests are seated or participating in the activities, then the names of strangers can be requested from a near-by associate. Effort should be made to meet the strangers and learn something about their personalities.

Some memory-training systems advise the student to connect the name of the stranger in a grotesque or irrelevant way, as, Mr. Pitts might remind us of the fiery pit—Hell. Or, Mr. Long may be very short and the contrast seems to enable us to associate the name with his height. However, such irrational associations are not nearly so effective as a logical connection of facts regarding the personality of each stranger. The time and effort expended in making such incongruous connections can be spent more profitably in making logical connections of correct facts about the person.

The feeling tone in names must also be recognized. Persons whom we like, we remember. The name of the girl at the dance who is most attractive to the youth will be remembered for years. He puts forth effort to learn her name, telephone number, and other items of information. Conversely, we tend to forget those whom we dislike or do not care for. If a number of older men are asked to state the number of times they were engaged to girls before they were married, one is apt to find that those who were engaged to three or more girls cannot recall their names. They cannot recall them simply because some unpleasant experiences are associated with their memories. The true politician likes people, and his pleasant feeling toward them assists him in recalling their names.

When the name of the person is to be fixed so that it can be recalled, it should

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be repeated during the conversation as often as politeness permits. The average individual is able to recall about one-third more names when he has spoken the name once than when he has remained silent.<sup>18</sup> The salesman should get into the habit of prefacing many of his statements with "Mr. Prospect," and ending some of them with "Do you agree, Mr. Prospect?" After the stranger has left one's presence, it is well to think of him—not as "that fellow in the blue suit" but by name. And he should be thought of in terms of a clear visual image.

*Frequency of use and error* Frequency of Use and Error is a principle worked out and successfully applied by Dr. John A. Stevenson, President of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co. This principle works, as proved by Mr. Stevenson himself, for he has had a remarkably successful career. He has been a salesman, a sales manager, and a college professor, and at the age of thirty-four he attained a high executive position in the business world.

This principle can be applied by anyone anywhere. It is so simple that one is likely to say that it has always been known in a general way. But, since it is simple, it can be applied with profit to many jobs. It can be applied to an employee's tasks as follows.

Frequency of Use means that you

1. Make a list of the things which you use or do in your daily work

2. Find out how to improve these things which you use or do

3. Perform your daily work according to the improved methods which you have discovered or found advisable

Frequency of Error means that you

1. Make a list of mistakes which you often make in your daily work

2. Find out how to eliminate these errors

3. Eliminate the errors in your daily work

Let me illustrate. Suppose you are a shoe salesman and are selling shoes of various kinds of leather and prices. Make a list of the things you do each day, such as meeting customers, finding out the kind of shoes they want, measuring their feet, finding shoes from stock which they might want, making sales, giving change, and so on. Then find out how to improve each of the things you constantly do and apply your improved methods.

Now make a list of the errors you make, such as saying the wrong things to customers, grammatical errors, misjudging the size of shoe needed, and so on. Learn how to correct these errors. Then eliminate them from your daily work.

It all sounds very trite, but it is more easily said than done. Just to find how interesting and practical it is, let the reader take two sheets of paper and on the one make a list of the "Frequencies of Use" and on the other "Frequencies of Error" of his own vocation. It is well for the individual to work out the principle for his particular work and try it. The results may be surprisingly effective.

### PROJECTS

1. Keep a careful record of all your activities for one week. Is your time being used efficiently? If not, make a study schedule and then follow a definite time schedule, as suggested by the accompanying form.

2. Below is a list of "do" study habits. Post a similar list over your desk and check each night on your study habits.

a. Had eight hours sleep.

b. Followed a definite time schedule

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- c. Prepared the next assignment immediately after class
- d. Reviewed assignment and preceding lecture notes before class
- e. Checked written assignments
- f. Added words to my vocabulary
- g. Took a brief scanning view over before reading
- h. Took part in class discussion
- i. Discussed a lesson with another student
- j. Read a book or journal in the library for collateral reading
3. Do you find it difficult to concentrate? For one week study always with an extra sheet of paper at hand. Each time that you find your attention wanders from your studying, list the subject of distraction.
4. Write a set of rules for remembering people whom you meet
5. Devise a written form of recording new words being added to your vocabulary. Some students use a page in their notebooks, others use a separate notebook, still others keep small card files.
6. What is a card catalog? What information is found on most cards? How are the cards arranged?
7. What indexes does your college library have? Explain each item of one magazine entry in a periodical index.
8. After reading an assignment, develop questions that your instructor might use on the next quiz
9. When an executive requests a subordinate to give him a report, the executive

usually wants it as soon as possible. After the report has been submitted, the executive may neglect to read it for several days or weeks. What is the cause of this habit on the part of the executive? How can the subordinate adjust himself to such wishes of his superior?

10. To what extent does playing the stock market decrease the efficiency of businessmen who do it? Should the ambitious businessman determine not to bother with speculation?
11. Where can the businessman obtain his best ideas or do his most effective thinking—in the office, at home, in the club, on the golf course, or other places?
12. Is a clean desk indicative of personal efficiency? Make a study of this problem by preparing a list of the best executives whom you know and then observing the tops of their desks
13. What are the psychological reasons for the fact that some executives find it difficult to delegate routine tasks to subordinates?
14. Experiments indicate that muscular tension and thinking go together. In one experiment, when the muscles of the arms were tensed, the learning time was reduced 13 per cent, and arithmetical problems were solved 10 per cent more rapidly and 6 per cent more accurately. Should a man attempt to keep his muscles in a state of tension when he is on the job?
15. Analyze a definite job according to the principle of Frequency of Use and Error

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CONVENIENT FORM FOR WEEKLY WORK SCHEDULE FOR STUDENT

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
MORNING	8						
	9						
	10						
	11						
	12						
AFTERNOON	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
	5						
EVENING	6						
	7						
	8						
	9						
	10						
	11						

Work Schedule of \_\_\_\_\_



## II Problems in choosing a vocation

*Many people think of choosing a vocation as wholly a problem in prediction of the person's future vocational abilities, successes, or failures. Psychologists, too, are interested in facilitating the individual's choice by means of valid prediction devices, but they are even more interested in improving his adjustments to the possibilities within himself and his environment. The psychologically well-adjusted person is likely to be a vocationally happy person.*

ONE OF THE PIONEERS IN THE FIELD of vocational guidance became interested in the work because he met a boy who worked in a bird store during the day and studied architectural drawing at night, but had an ambition to become a sea captain! We all know of similar persons who are confused about their vocational objectives, many others who accept their daily grind because they do not know what else to do, and a few who are really enthusiastic about their work.

### ***The problem of vocational misfits***

The editors of *Fortune* conducted a national survey on occupational contentment. The answers to the question, "On the whole would you say that your job is really interesting and enjoyable, or would you say that it is all right but not very interesting, or would you say that it is dull and boring?" are given in Table 19.

Educational institutions have in some

instances recognized their responsibilities regarding the vocational adjustment of youth, but much more could be done. For example, in one study<sup>1</sup> of 400 college freshmen, it was revealed that 32 never had had any type of work experience either full or part-time and 78 said that they had never had any useful contact with any opportunity in any type of work.

Henry C. Link has made a significant comment about our educational system and competent psychological guidance in the following words. "Our present educational system is better equipped to give eight years of the wrong kind of education to its pupils than eight hours of competent psychological guidance in the choice of the right type of education." He maintains that there are two critical periods in youth when such guidance is desirable. The first is before the choice of a type of high-school course—academic,

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TABLE 19

### OCCUPATIONAL CONTENTMENT

Question On the whole would you say that your job is really interesting and enjoyable, or would you say that it is all right but not very interesting, or would you say that it is dull and boring?

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Professionals and Executives</i>	<i>Salaried Employees</i>	<i>Factory Workers</i>	<i>Union Members</i>
Interesting	69.1%	92.4%	71.7%	54.1%	52.6%
All right	22.6	6.2	23.7	30.5	34.1
Dull	7.2	1.0	4.6	14.5	12.7
Don't know	1.1	.4		9	6

Americans do a lot of grumbling, but most of them like their jobs. Ninety-two per cent of the prosperous find interest in their work, compared with 52 per cent of the poor and 42 per cent of Negroes. Advancement possibilities have considerable bearing on whether work is interesting or not. 77 per cent of those people who think they have a good chance of getting ahead in life enjoy their daily work, compared with 60 per cent of those who see little chance for improvement. Similarly, 76 per cent of the workers who think that harder work would result in their being promoted are interested in their work, in contrast to 50 per cent who think increased application to the job wouldn't make much difference. Reprinted from the *Fortune* Survey, January 1947, by special permission of the Editors of *Fortune*. Copyright Time, Inc.

commercial, or vocational. A second occurs among those who have to make the choice of a college—liberal arts, engineering, business, or other.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of college students, the statement is often made that they do much floundering around before they find permanent jobs. For example, in reviewing the history of the Harvard Class of 1911, research disclosed that less than 5 per cent of those "who took jobs on leaving college have stuck to them."<sup>3</sup> However, job and vocation should not be synonymous in our thinking. Many college students do rather well in finding their vocational interests before or during college and in sticking to them.

At Oberlin College, College of Arts and Sciences, Hartson's study of five classes revealed that 97 per cent of the 1,600 freshmen had made (or thought they had made) a vocational choice. "The records show that in the case of seven men out of ten the later choices have been consistent with those expressed before entering Oberlin. The same is true

of 57 per cent of the women." The question, of course, arose as to whether the choices persisted, which the investigator answered as follows.

An answer to this question, so far as it concerns Oberlin alumni, may be formulated, in part, from a study made of the nine classes, 1914 to 1922, which was made from data gathered in 1926 [A 1941 study confirmed the findings reported in 1928.] Examination of the case histories of this group of approximately 600 men and 1,000 women shows that they did remarkably little exploring before settling into the field of their final choice. Half of the men remained in the field of their first choice. For 27 per cent the final occupation was the second choice, 15 per cent experimented in two fields before finding one that satisfied them. In addition to the 50 per cent who remained in the field originally chosen, there were 14 per cent who returned to it after experimenting with another vocation. Moreover, many of the changes consisted of promotions within the business or educational fields. Adding the 11 per cent who belong in this group brings the proportion of men whose final occupation was either identical with or closely allied to their original choice to 75 per cent of the group.<sup>4</sup>

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Studies of college students' abilities to make lasting vocational choices indicate that permanence of choice varies with the kind of professional training. Law and medical college students are more likely to enter and remain in their chosen professions or areas of work than business students.

Some changes in occupations are probably beneficial and natural. A physician in the private practice of medicine who concerns himself with health problems in the community can make a logical and easy step to politics. The university teacher of chemistry may pass on to chemical research in a corporation. Our available evidence indicates that such shifting about in occupations does take place among the successful members of society. For example, a study of the persons listed in "Who's Who in America" indicated that occupational changes were made after the age of 35 by one-third of these successful persons.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps a great deal of the vocational shifting which constantly takes place is largely one of the ways in which individuals are making adjustments to the psychological problems within themselves as well as to the problems of making a living.

Many persons who have had to choose a way to make a living thought that the choice was determined by chance. But *chance* here, as elsewhere, is simply another name for the influence of a large number of unknown factors. Chance, in the determination of vocational choice, simply refers to the influences of many factors, such as those of adjustment. These psychological influences are now being unraveled in some cases. However, chance will have to continue to play the major role for some generations to come, because science must make many discov-

eries before we can foretell the future of a youth. We shall probably never reach "that day when men's biographies can be written in advance." However, the man who is dissatisfied with his vocation, or who is at the threshold of his economic life and must choose an occupation, can be given some helpful suggestions.

Several important basic facts should first be fixed in the mind of the person who is seeking vocational guidance for himself or is trying to counsel others who are misfits. One of these basic facts is that "the square peg and the round hole" idea is an erroneous simile. This expression implies that the human being is vocationally fixed and unchangeable in his nature. It also implies that the occupation is rigid in its requirements. On the contrary, human beings are very adaptable. Consider the record of man's progress through the ages and note the many adaptations he has had to make. Few of us would choose the life of the cave man, and yet, if conditions demanded it, many men could meet the demands of primitive life in a highly successful manner. Few of us would choose the trade of the skilled artisan, but, if a sudden industrial upheaval demanded it, we could become blacksmiths and carpenters just as readily as we become salesmen, teachers, and lawyers. Each man who goes into any vocation must adapt himself to some extent; and he, in turn, also modifies the job to fit himself.

We are not fitted by nature for one occupation and one only. It is probable that most persons who are now successful in one field could also become equally successful in some other occupation. No one is perfectly fitted for any occupation. The choosing of a vocation means that we must choose the one that requires the

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least amount of adjustment and gives us the greatest amount of personal satisfaction. Very few individuals are "born" to any vocation. A person of high intelligence who has had a favorable previous environment could succeed in at least a dozen fields, unless one of those fields required some special organic quality, such as the ability to hear a wide range of musical notes or to distinguish sharply

as neural capacity is involved, a great majority of persons who are in doubt as to the vocation to be chosen could pick any one of several and succeed equally well in any of the several.

Vocational decisions must be made continuously. An individual cannot make a single decision that will settle his vocational future. Rather, he must make a series of decisions, not only as to the

MANY CHILDREN change their vocational plans as they grow older. Many men, in childhood, had the ambition to become locomotive engineers, firemen, or aviators. Later their interests became more stabilized. They learned to like certain definite activities and dislike others. The vocational interest test by Edward K. Strong, Jr., can be scored for maturity of interests. (Courtesy of the Oakland Motor Company)



between shades of colors. However, limitations of the sense organs or motor equipment are exceptional in modern vocational adjustments.

So far as we know, the brain does not at birth have certain neural patterns for specific vocational functions. Nor do such patterns develop in the brain except as the adjustments bring them about. Of course, we exclude such native endowments as exceptional qualities or limitations of the sensory apparatus. In so far

as neural capacity is involved, a great majority of persons who are in doubt as to the vocation to be chosen could pick any one of several and succeed equally well in any of the several. As he develops ability in a given occupation, he must choose the phase in which he shall specialize. And, later in life, he must decide upon the kind of activities that will give him the greatest amount of self-expression. Occasionally he must decide upon the factor that shall be construed as suc-

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cess or failure for him, whether his objective shall be happy associations with his children, opportunities to influence the lives of others, fame, or wealth. The selection of this objective cannot be made at the beginning of life but must be decided as time brings about new situations and conditions. Not only does the individual change, but society, business, and occupations change. The occupations which are important in one decade may be of little consequence in the next decade. The progress in aviation and the automobile industry could not be foreseen forty years ago.

The writers of romance on the stage and in fiction have given people the impression that, if the youth does not happen to find the right mate, he will be destined to years of unhappiness with a shrew. And, later in his life, some kind providence will readjust the universe to satisfy the predestined scheme of things and allow him to live happily, though briefly, with the one mate that fate ordained that he should have. This kind of destiny-teaching is the opposite of the truth. It is true, rather, that any man could live as happily with any one of ten thousand women as with any of the other nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine. Likewise, no one is born for a particular occupation. Nor should we think that, if an individual fails to find his one niche in life, he will be doomed to a life of failure or mediocrity. No one should be continually looking for a "niche." If he is, it is quite probable that he never will find it, because each man must make his own.

Nor should we seek to follow the vocational pathways that some other successful individual traveled. Much as we admire Lincoln, none of us can be just like

him or do what he did. We can hope only to make a place in life for ourselves which we can fill as well, proportionately, as he filled his. The man who hears of how some relative, classmate, neighbor, or friend has become wealthy or happy and then attempts to follow in the same footsteps is apt to find that his feet do not fit those footprints. We cannot take the personality and conditions of some other individual and superimpose them upon ourselves. Each man must establish his own career for himself and in his own way rather than by imitating a predecessor. He cannot even imitate, as a rule, his own father, unless the successful father gives the son so great a head start that it is difficult for the youth to fail. This rule also implies that the boy who goes to "dad's alma mater" just because his father happened to go there should realize that times have changed, and that his needs may not be the same as those of his father when he was young. The vocational advice of relatives and friends is likely to be defective in this and many other respects.

### ***The vocational advice of parents and friends***

Vocational guidance in the sense of predicting what a person should do is very difficult. It is very difficult for even the trained vocational psychologists. Most modern vocational psychologists do not try to study a youth in order to predict what he should do but to help him improve his adjustments to life by means of a vocation. Perhaps the psychologist also points out what the youth is likely to do. A boy may have certain adjustment tendencies which can be pointed out to him and suggestions may be given him for the utilization of his established tendencies.

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However, the boy's choice cannot be controlled. The individual himself must make his own adjustments and his own choice. Guidance cannot play the part of a benevolent parent who adjusts conditions for the child, guidance can only prepare the boy to meet his own difficulties.

Parents who attempt to influence the choice of vocation for their children often do so as a compensation for their own deficiencies. The parent may say it is for the child's good. Actually, it may be a form of display for the parent. When parents find that they can no longer hope to become famous or to achieve their adolescent dreams, they project their hopes for glory into the brightest or favorite child of the family and compel the child to enter the profession which, in their opinion, offers the desired prestige or wealth. When a boy fails in college and the personnel adviser suggests to the parent that his son should become a mechanic or a businessman rather than a surgeon, the parent is likely to answer disgustedly: "Why, that's no profession at all. I want my son to amount to something." Such an answer indicates that the parent is the one who really wants to amount to something.

The vocational guidance given by many teachers, employment managers, preachers, and lecturers is in the same class as the home remedy of the friend who never studied medicine or the human body. The physician, with all his years of training and experience, makes many errors in diagnosing our bodily ills, but the untrained friend who tries to do so makes many more.

If a person is in need of vocational guidance and asks some of his friends for suggestions, he may be surprised to find that each person's advice differs from that

of all the others. Many friends can give only general and trivial suggestions which have but slight value. For example, a case study was made of each of a number of adults who voluntarily sought vocational guidance. To assist in the analyses, each one of the subjects gave personality rating blanks to several persons, six or less, who knew him well. These six friends were to check on the rating blank the items that applied to the person being rated and to offer any helpful vocational suggestions. An analysis of the rating blanks for 36 ratees as filled in by the 191 raters resulted in the following table:

TABLE 20

<i>Traits</i>	<i>Percentage of 191 Raters Who Listed the Trait in Their Ratings</i>
Learn to do things that you dislike	26
Control your temper	21
Be more patient	17
Be less nervous	17
Smile more often	16
Think less about your own troubles	16
Do not sulk when things go wrong	16
Be more tactful	15
Be more enthusiastic	14
Improve your vocabulary	13
Learn to talk to all kinds of people	13
Be more aggressive	13
Learn more about human nature	13
Be less sensitive	13
Shave more frequently	9
Improve your table manners.	6
Don't tell shady stories	5
Prevent your halitosis	2

In addition to the above, many other characteristics were mentioned by the friends of the advisees; but this table will be sufficient to illustrate the nature of the suggestions of the friends who rated the individuals. Some helpful suggestions were given, and the ratings gave a composite picture of how the person rated appeared to the raters. The ratings were

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a group estimate of the individual, and, in some cases, suggested avenues for further psychological exploration. The main deficiency in the ratings of these persons who sought vocational guidance lay in the poverty of helpful suggestions regarding any specific occupations which the ratees should enter. Many of the traits listed are really suggestions for better adjustment habits.

The logical question arises. When the psychologist analyzes a person for the purpose of vocational guidance, how does his analysis differ from that of the acquaintances who know the individual? Chiefly, in two ways. First, the experienced psychologist who has had some clinical training knows much about adjustment patterns of individuals. He can recognize tendencies which can be utilized in a vocation in order to bring about better adjustment and more satisfying fruits from the advisee's efforts.

Second, the modern vocational psychologist supplements his clinical and other subjective estimates with objective tests. The tests which he uses have been standardized on thousands of individuals and are fairly accurate, so, if two psychologists test the same person, their findings tend to be the same. The psychologist also tries to find the specific channels through which the intelligence expresses itself, as in mathematics, music, mechanics, social contacts, and so forth.

An example of the value of the testing services of the psychologist may be shown in the case of a high school boy of a western New York high school who was sent to the commercial teacher by the principal. The principal told the teacher that the boy was of low intelligence and could not do good school work. The quality of the boy's work in all his courses was of

such a low grade that the teachers had given up all hopes of teaching him. Because the other teachers were tired of the boy, he was sent to the new commercial teacher of the school. This teacher also found that the boy's reputation for poor work was correct so far as commercial subjects were concerned. He was the poorest student that this teacher had met in that school.

Fortunately, the commercial teacher had had courses in mental testing, and he gave the boy several intelligence tests just to find out whether his intelligence was as low as it appeared to be. To the teacher's surprise, the boy scored slightly above normal in all the tests. The teacher then gained the boy's confidence and found that he had a serious inferiority complex. One of his teachers whom he had had four years previously had convinced him that he was a "dub and a dumb-bell." After that he made no effort to do good work, but rather tried to live down to the kind of reputation he was given. The commercial teacher changed the boy's attitude and he then did good work in all his courses, because all his teachers knew that he could do good work and required him to do it.

In this example we see that the counselor used tests as an aid in his diagnosis of the boy, but he supplemented the test results with his own subjective insight into the boy's adjustment habits and helped the boy readjust himself to his barriers.

### *Methods of choosing a vocation*

Some of the current methods whereby the individual can predict or tries to predict his own behavior for vocational adjustment have been mentioned, but we shall list the more common ones:

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1 Pseudo-scientific schemes such as phrenology, character analysis, astrology, etc. These have no value and need not be discussed further

2 Choose a problem to the solution of which you can devote your life

3 Analyze yourself according to some systematic plan and make a decision

4 Have yourself tested with the few valid psychological tests now available

5 By means of a systematic analysis of your adjustments, recognize the conscious and unconscious drives in your own personality

6 Allow yourself to be made a case study by a vocational psychologist

One of the best ways for the intelligent person to choose a vocation is to select a problem that needs solution. The modern scientific student often does this and develops his interest in a problem into a new vocation. For example, a girl who was a student in a college of home economics found that the lowly mushroom had never been studied carefully. She then decided to make a study of mushrooms, and, when she was graduated, she was offered an excellent position where she utilized her interest in mushrooms. Inventors often use this method. So does the man who sees a need for some particular kind of business in his community and then starts a business to answer that need. Thousands of problems in all the professions and businesses are awaiting solution. The man who determines to devote his efforts to answers to economic and social difficulties usually finds that he has found his vocation. A few of many such problems are listed as suggestions and not as a complete list:

1. Create a public sentiment whereby manual labor will be considered more honorable and desirable

2. Develop, through propagation, certain prolific weed plants into valuable food plants

3. Work out and install better systems

of training and promotion for employees of large concerns.

4 Much of the money now spent for advertising is wasted. Someone should discover the laws of advertising, so that all money spent for advertising will be well spent and productive.

5 Find out how to make public school work more interesting, more cultural, and more related to life

6 Many persons die or suffer unnecessarily because of lack of physical development and exercise. Work out plans that will give the office workers more exercise

7 Develop better methods of settling difficulties between employers and workers.

8 Work out methods for improving the personal efficiency of certain classes or kinds of persons

9 Teach and help people of this country to understand and appreciate art—the beautiful things of life as well as the practical

10 Discover the bases of personality and help others to improve their personalities

11 Study the problems of modern housekeeping. Try to make it easier and less expensive. Educate women in the best methods of housekeeping

12 At present our educational system is adapted to the average child. Some cities pay special attention to the backward or poor student. Evolve a system that develops the exceptionally bright student to his utmost. Much of this latent ability is now being wasted

13 Religion is in a different environment from what it has been heretofore. Some think that we must put religion on a basis that will appeal to the people of this age.

14 Prevent or decrease crimes and learn how to re-educate criminals

15 Solve the parking problem in cities

16 Invent sidewalks which are less trying to our feet.

17 Improve the lighting of rooms

18 Invent better children's games, especially games to be played by small children while riding in an automobile.

We Americans have hundreds of unsolved problems, and the solutions of certain problems would give employment to



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thousands of workers. To the well-adjusted intelligent worker, the pull of the future (toward the solution of a problem) should be more stimulating than the push from the past (his own adjustment tendencies). Unfortunately, however, most young people allow their own adjustment tendencies and the conventional occupational openings to determine the directions of their vocational efforts. Very few men devote themselves to the solution of some problem unless they first have had some profound emotional experience that pushes them in the direction of such devotion. For example, all of us recognize the need for greater safety in driving automobiles, but few among us will vigorously pursue safer driving as a life work unless we have had an intense emotional experience with bad driving, such as the death of a loved one in an unnecessary accident. Sometimes the vocational psychologist can recognize such adjustment tendencies, resulting from severe emotional problems, which can be utilized in solving a problem and giving the individual a well-motivated and satisfying career.

### *Self-analysis*

Many of the first attempts at vocational guidance required the youth to answer a long series of questions regarding his vocational interests. He was asked not only to state whether he liked, disliked, or felt a neutral interest in listed occupations, but also to estimate himself in general traits as:

Are you aggressive?  
Are you industrious?  
Do you have a pleasing personality?  
Are you neat in habits?  
Are you conceited?

Do you cooperate with others?  
Do you look ahead?

Hollingworth and others have made studies of the reliability and accuracy of self-estimates of general traits. He conducted experiments wherein the individuals in a group rated the other members of the group and themselves in nine different traits. The results indicated that people cannot rate themselves with any great degree of accuracy. The natural expectation would be that we tend to overestimate ourselves in desirable traits and underestimate ourselves in undesirable traits. The following data<sup>4</sup> from his study of estimates of fifty people show the presence of a factor of constant bias in self-estimation.

TABLE 21  
SHOWING CONSTANT TENDENCIES OR BIAS  
IN SELF-ESTIMATION

Trait	Per Cent Over- estimating Themselves	Per Cent Under- estimating Themselves
Refinement	80	20
Humor	78	22
Intelligence	68	32
Sociability	68	32
Neatness	50	50
Beauty	50	50
Conceit	48	52
Snobbishness	36	64
Vulgarity	34	66

Hollingworth also found that the more admirable the trait the closer the relation between possession of the trait and the ability to judge it in others. His subjects who had reprehensible traits could not rate themselves very accurately in those traits. Of course, we must bear in mind that people cannot rate others accurately in generalized traits, and Hollingworth's experiment assumed that the group estimates of the raters were correct.

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The consensus of the acquaintances who did the rating was accepted as the true impression that an individual made on others. It is quite probable that, if objective measures had been available of Hollingworth's subjects in the nine traits he studied, they would not have agreed with the average ratings of the acquaintances.

The Allports' <sup>7</sup> experiment confirmed the principle that self-estimates in general traits are not accurate. Different people were asked to estimate their own intelligence by the rating scale method, and they were also given intelligence tests. Then their self-estimates and their scores in the tests were compared. Those who were high in intelligence tended to underestimate themselves and those who were low in intelligence tended to overestimate themselves. The correlation between self-estimates of ability and scores in the Otis Group Intelligence Test was —.67. Self-estimates are not reliable, unless they can be proved to be of sound predictive value. To prove their value requires careful statistical treatment, which has not yet been given for most traits that are considered in vocational self-analyses.

Even though self-estimates are not reliable, they may have some value in causing the individual to grade and recognize his own inclinations, tendencies, and characteristics in relation to an occupational choice. In some cases, it may be well for the individual to decide upon his personal likes and dislikes and to try to avoid those occupations that require traits that are definitely unpleasant or to seek occupations that require traits that are pleasant to him. For example, some persons dislike to handle other people physically, which is necessary in the work

of the osteopath, the chiropractist, the barber, the nurse, and the hairdresser.

When the individual's self-analysis is made by means of a statistically treated list of occupational and other activities to which the individual reacts in terms of liking for (L), indifference toward (I), or dislike for (D), the method of self-analysis is called an *interest test*.

### ***Vocational interest tests***

The most widely used interest test is that of Edward K. Strong, Jr. There are two forms of this test, one for men and one for women. Each form of the test is an eight-page leaflet listing some 400 items covering occupations, school subjects, amusements, activities, peculiarities of people, and self-estimates of personal abilities and characteristics. The average time needed by most persons to fill in the test is forty minutes, though no time limit is set.

Norms have been developed for some forty-seven occupations and vocational groupings for men and twenty-five for women. Most of the occupations listed are on a professional level. This makes the administration of the test to a person of low intelligence or one with no prospect of professional training largely a waste of time. The test is best used with individuals of college and adult age levels, though it may be used to advantage with selected high school groups.

The interest test is not a measure of aptitude or ability, and so is used, not to replace aptitude or ability tests, but to supplement them. Results of the test do, however, suggest that the person whose pattern of interest is similar to that of the men or women in the criterion group has greater chances for satisfaction and success in that occupation.

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than in one where his interests differ widely from successful persons in that field

Scores on the Strong test may be translated as standard scores, percentile ranks, or letter ratings. The ratings A, B, and C are more easily understood. An A rating means that the testee has the interests characteristic of persons successfully engaged in the occupation specified, B has a similar implication, but there is less certainty, and C means that the testee does not have such interests. Any occupation in which the rating is an A or B+ may be suggested to the testee for serious consideration. An occupation in which the interest rating is C should be chosen only after careful consideration of other factors, such as strong drives.

Strong made a follow-up study of 223 men who were tested when they were seniors and again five years after graduation. The second testing revealed that about three-fifths had not changed their occupational program in the five-year period, while about one-fifth appeared to have changed from one occupation to another. Approximately one-fifth were uncertain as to occupation at both of the times when the test was administered. A ten year follow-up study revealed practically the same conclusions. After ten years, 58.9 per cent of the men made the same occupational choice that they had made as college seniors.<sup>8</sup>

In at least one occupation, life-insurance selling, Strong's interest test showed a high positive correlation between measured interests and success. See Table 22.

Numerous studies have been made of the permanence and predictive value of measured vocational interest and expressed vocational choice. In one study of college women, the subjects were asked

to express a vocational choice in 1933, 1937, and 1941, and to fill out the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Women in 1933 and 1941. Each woman was interviewed. Over the eight-year period, 57 per cent of the Strong letter ratings remained the same, the expressed vocational choice was retained for four years by 64 per cent of the women and for eight years by 38 per cent. Satisfaction with a job was greater when the job was in the field of expressed interest.<sup>9</sup>

In a study of another interest test it was found that low scores in a particular area of vocational interest do not justify the assumption that the individual cannot derive satisfaction from work in that area. Nor does a high point in an interest test profile always indicate the most appropriate field for specialization.<sup>10</sup>

Interest tests are a helpful device in confirming stated interests as well as in calling attention to occupational interests which the individual may have overlooked. The vocational psychologist is also concerned about certain aspects of interests other than the score on a test, especially about "absorbing interests" or intensive drives which may have developed in the adjustment history of the individual.

### *Other tests for vocational guidance*

Many people who seek vocational guidance think that the psychologist can test the capacities of anyone so that the person tested will know just exactly what vocation he can and should follow. The psychologists also at one time thought that they might be able to develop predictive testing to that stage, but the recent researches indicate that they were too optimistic. Professor Seashore and his colleagues have spent some fifty years in

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the analysis of musical talent. They have developed some tests with high predictive values, but the analysis of that one talent is not complete. If fifty years of research in one field have not produced wholly satisfactory results, we should not expect too much from the use of other tests which have had far less attention than the musical aptitude tests. Certain schools of music now use musical aptitude tests and find them very helpful, but psychologists have probably made more progress in musical testing than in

Thousands of people are capable of becoming good undertakers, but most of them would object to it as a vocation because of emotional inhibitions. Similarly, psychologists might make more statistical studies of the kinds of men and women that can marry each other with the greatest chances of a happy marriage, but such tests would have little value in decreasing matrimonial failures. The persons whom scientific analyses would indicate as ideal mates might not care for each other at all and would re-

TABLE 22\*

PRODUCTIVENESS AND INTEREST RATINGS OF 181 LIFE INSURANCE AGENTS

Average Annual Production	Number	Percentage of Agents in Each Life Insurance Interest Rating Who Produced Indicated Amount of Paid-for Insurance				
		C	B—	B	B+	A
\$0 to 49,000	19	31	20	17	21	2
50,000 to 99,000	37	44	20	33	26	13
100,000 to 149,000	29	12	20	17	8	18
150,000 to 199,000	40	6	20	28	16	26
200,000 up	56	0	20	5	29	41
Total		100	100	100	100	100
Number	181	16	5	17	38	105

\* Edward K. Strong, Jr., *Manual for Vocational Interest Blank for Men*, p. 12. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Cal., 1937, p. 12. See also by the same author and publisher *Vocational Interests of Men and Women*, 1943, p. 492.

any other aptitude. As stated in the previous discussion of tests, they do have some value, but they furnish a statistical prediction on the basis of what a group or number of individuals will do rather than what any single person can or will do. In vocational guidance we want to know what a group can do, but we wish particularly to know what a specific individual can do.

Another difficulty in vocational guidance, based upon tests only, is the fact that a person who tests high in a given trait that could be capitalized vocationally may not care for that vocation

and refuse to go through with the ceremony. Scientific marriages would not be nearly so inviting to the masses of people as the old-fashioned method of romance and chance. Two individuals must be "drawn" to each other emotionally. The individual must also be attracted to his vocation emotionally.

This statement of some of the limitations of tests should not be construed as making them valueless. It is important to use tests as one factor to be considered when dealing with vocational problems. Tests are particularly useful in pointing out certain vocations in which the indi-

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vidual would have small chance of success. Certainly anyone who considers choosing music as a career should first have himself tested by someone who can administer the Seashore test or adaptations of it.

Other tests, helpful in certain problems of vocational analysis, can often be recommended by competent vocational psychologists and counselors.<sup>11</sup> However, when the vocational counselor attempts to find tests having unquestionable value in the vocational guidance of youth, he has difficulty in finding any that are conclusive. He must resort to the use of general intelligence tests. General intelligence has been defined in various ways, but chiefly as the ability to adjust oneself to the problems of one's environment, as the average of various abilities, as the ability to learn, and as the ability to do school work. Most studies indicate a definite relationship between general intelligence or mental ability and other desirable traits of vocational significance.

In cases of extremely high or low intelligence, we are safe in making certain predictions. A person with an intelligence quotient of less than 100 could not do good work in most colleges. Lack of intelligence can be compensated for, to some extent, by an exceptionally great amount of effort, but even superior effort would not enable a student of low intelligence to succeed in college. The high school student who plans to enter college should try to select a college and a course that are in harmony with his intelligence level and high school marks.

The vocational psychologist often supplements intelligence, interest, and special ability tests with personality inventories such as the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, the Humm-Wadsworth Tem-

perament Scale, social knowledge tests, and others. These are useful in making diagnoses regarding introversion, social adjustment, and similar personality characteristics of importance to the trained psychologist. He wants to know the pattern of temperament, intelligence, aptitude, interest, and other tests. Knowledge of such patterns may enable the counselor to suggest a suitable type of work within a vocation after the general vocational field has been chosen.

It was formerly thought that a person must have a certain set of personality traits and abilities to fit a particular occupation. Recent investigations have revealed that men with widely different characteristics may be equally successful in the same position. A man seems to be successful if he can supply the one thing that is particularly needed in a situation, with ordinary fitness for other requirements of the job. For example, a man may be a desirable member of an architectural firm if he is an expert draftsman, without any social ability or power of verbal expression. Another man may be equally desirable as a member of the same firm who has little ability as a draftsman but who knows how to meet people and explain building plans. A third member may specialize in drawing or esthetic appreciation. Legal firms have the same variety of talents. There is a great difference between a successful surgeon, a laboratory diagnostician, and a family doctor.<sup>12</sup>

We should recognize that vocational objectives and choices of college can be revised. Educational and vocational growth are intertwined. Civilizations and personalities are dynamic. Interests ripen. The satisfactions derived from exercise of intelligence and aptitudes vary with the individual's adjustments to new barriers in his development. This means that a study of adjustments, drives, and preferences should supplement any tests administered.

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### ***Adjustment analysis for choosing a vocation***

The choice of a vocation, like the choice of a mate, often expresses the adjustment of the individual. For example, the son of many a very able and successful business executive does not care to become a businessman. He may want to become a scientist, even though he knows that his father hopes he will some day take over the business. When we also learn, as happens in some cases, that the boy has felt for years that he did not meet his father's expectations of him as a son, we can expect the boy to prefer a career in some line of work other than his father's. To such a son, the father's business may be associated with feelings of inadequacy. This appears to be most likely if the father has a dominating personality, is the kind of father who has often said to the child: "I don't understand why you can't do thus and so? Why when I was your age, I did that and more."

Such a boy in his adjustment development naturally turns to some activity which is not associated with the father's personality. Sometimes it is in the direction of political radicalism, because that kind of "conviction" on the part of the boy is one way in which the businessman-father can be "punished."

Of course adjustments such as these are made unconsciously. The boy, when asked to explain his own psychological development, cannot do so. The clinician can. Unfortunately, very few clinically trained persons are doing vocational counseling, and those who are realize that truly reliable insights into a person's motivations can be made only after considerable study of the individual.

Projective techniques such as the Rorschach ink-blot tests have been found especially helpful in making such studies,<sup>13</sup> but these require much clinical training for their interpretation and further validation of their results.

Most competent vocational counselors constantly recognize how vocational choices are influenced by the advisee's adjustments, such as his barriers, predisposing influences, substitute acts, frustrations, passive and aggressive hostilities, and so on. But they do not tell the advisee all that they know or think they know. The advisee must always retain the human right of living his own life in his own way.

Some clinical psychologists believe that vocational counselors are simply meddlers and that the individual should be allowed to follow the directions of the "Unconscious." They believe that all actions are determined by unconscious motives that follow definite patterns formed in the individual during childhood.<sup>14</sup>

The writer has attempted to assist several hundred persons in choosing a vocation. Some of these were students who were asked to have a vocational conference, but others, who heard of these conferences, requested guidance. Those who requested assistance in choosing a vocation certainly included an appreciable percentage of slightly psychoneurotic and inadequate-adjustment cases.

An estimate, based upon experience in this field, suggests that at least one third of the adults who voluntarily seek vocational guidance are really seeking an adjustment to life in general rather than a vocation only. This estimate is probably too low.

Adjustment analysis is of assistance to

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many persons who are vocationally unsatisfied because it may indicate the manner in which the person with a feeling of inferiority might attempt to compensate for his sense of inadequacy. It is probably partially true that Napoleon became the conqueror of a large part of the civilized world through his adjustment to the

Many of us develop our feelings of inferiority as the result of comparing ourselves with others. A person who has average artistic ability when compared with other artists of the world may have a definite sense of inferiority because he knows that there are others considerably better than he. A person need not have



"YOUNG RALPH," by John Everett Millais. This famous painting is reproduced to illustrate the fact that some individuals choose their vocation as the result of instructional influences. Not all careers are the result of subconscious drives—the following of directions of the "Unconscious" (By permission of Granstonff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.)

taunts of his playmates in his childhood. Some of our poets achieved their eminence because of physical defects. In fact, Adler cited many cases of compensation brought about by some organic inferiority and concluded that some psychic reaction makes up for the deficiency of the physical organism.<sup>15</sup> This theory hardly explains every successful person

any actual physical or mental inferiority in order to feel inferior. The odious comparisons of life may give him the impressions of inferiority. The business and professional world has many examples of able individuals who attempt various methods of compensation because they realize that others are more successful or have higher salaries than they have

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We can understand these people when we recall the typical adjustments discussed in Chapters 2-6.

The person who seeks a vocation that fits his personality should ask himself. What embarrassing or unpleasant experiences have I had for which I need compensation in my work? If he cannot answer the question himself, he might

ability to do college work of ordinary grade. In most cases it has been difficult to convince these poor students that they wish to do graduate work not because it is essential to their careers but because the contrast between themselves and other college students causes them to think that they are inferior. Actually they are fine young men who have developed



"BONAPARTE, a Novice in the School at Brienne," by Realier-Dumas. This painting is reproduced to illustrate the influence of subconscious drives in choosing a career. Napoleon may have become a conqueror as a compensation for a number of unhappy childhood experiences. An inferiority complex is often compensated for by a career that satisfies the ego's needs. (By permission of Gramscioff Bros., Inc., Malden, Mass.)

consult a vocational psychologist. Each year it is found that several college students who are barely able to do college work and just manage to graduate wish to take additional postgraduate work in another college which has a reputation for requiring unusually hard work. This desired prestige of having done graduate work in a famous institution is merely an attempt to compensate for the feeling of inferiority engendered by their in-

an abnormal attitude toward the importance of college degrees and the college aura.

Adjustment by projection explains many of the dissatisfactions with occupational life. A bank clerk, for example, who is not especially ambitious or intelligent and who knows it, may suddenly develop a dislike for banking. Further analysis may show that his home relationships have become strained and that he



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would like to get married and set up a home of his own. His dissatisfaction has not been caused by the uninteresting nature of bank work, but he has blamed his work for the fact that he does not have the courage to set up a new home on the available income.

Sometimes a person highly trained and successful in a given line of work suddenly tires of the vocation for which he has a high interest rating as measured by an interest test. His income and social prestige may also be excellent, but he refuses to continue in the work. In such cases, only an analysis of adjustment problems will reveal the true cause of his desire for a change.

Many a person has left a vocation and spent years in training himself for a new vocation because he thought that competition was far too keen, whereas he might have attained greater success by training himself more thoroughly in his original work. A typical example is a certain man who was a fairly successful printer. He blamed competition for his limited income, and decided to study dentistry. After six years of study and several years in developing his practice, he has become another average dentist. In the meantime, one or two printers in his city have become well-to-do. If he had devoted the same effort and capital to printing that he applied to learning dentistry, he might have become far more successful as a printer than he is as a dentist.

Whenever someone wishes to leave an occupation in which he is fairly well established, the counselor should look for the difficulty that the occupation symbolizes or represents to the person. The real reason for his eagerness to leave one job for another may be his irascible stepmother, a brighter sister, an unre-

sponsive executive, or a fiancée who loves someone else.

In some cases a sudden interest in politics may be a protest against some injustice. A determination to travel may be an attempt to adjust to restraint or convention. A keen interest in the study of an obscure subject such as paleontology or Egyptology may be an attempt to prove to others that the individual is as bright as those whom he considers to be his rivals. By contrast with the knowledge of such unusual subjects on the part of most people, his meager fund of information gives him the intellectual recognition he unconsciously seeks.

The vocational psychologist frequently finds freakish interests on the part of persons who are dealing with a barrier, such as the crude man who wants to be an artist, the immoral person who wants to be a preacher, the homely girl who wants to be a beautician, and the failure who writes success books. Such attempts to gain adjustment through the vocation are not necessarily wrong. Many of the world's finest contributions have grown out of such troubled personality strivings. For example, Charlotte Brontë wrote some very successful novels, the result of an overflow of emotions engendered by her father's unfortunate influences. The father was a hypochondriac, a dyspeptic, and an ascetic. He did not believe in marriage and was particularly opposed to Charlotte's marrying. He was fond and jealous of her. He was unable to get along with his associates and so became a tyrant in his home. He tried to please her and showered her with attention, but he was moody and critical as well. She could not develop in a normal manner and was forced inward emotionally. She took refuge in books and fan-

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cies. Her tragic childhood was stamped deeply upon her personality, and the books that she and her sisters wrote show the effects of a maladjusted father upon motherless children

### *Vocational self-sabotage*

Anyone who does vocational counseling of adults is certain to meet individuals who have high intelligence, pleasing personalities, seemingly good habits, and many good character qualities, but who always manage somehow to fail in their vocations. In contrast with them, other individuals of less intelligence, more irritating personalities, and poorer personal habits manage to succeed, regardless of their opportunities. Both types are difficult to explain as long as we use quantitative approaches only. When, however, we think in terms of unconscious motives, we get plausible explanations. We discover that many of the men who always manage to fail are really expressing an unconscious urge toward self-sabotage in their vocation.

Failure enables the maladjusted person to accomplish aims that are more important to him than success. Such aims have been revealed by Friend and Haggard\* in the systematic investigation of two classes of unemployed adults: those *high* and those *low* on eight basic criterion items of occupational adjustment. One of the striking differences between the two groups was described, in part, in their findings.

Topping the many sharp contrasts in personality, the stronger tendency of the *Lows* to defeat themselves and spoil their job

chances stands out as an indicator of adjustment at work. It is often evidenced by excessive drinking, quarreling, and illness. The *Lows* seem to marry the wrong person and to have families so large that they experience difficulty in supporting them. Correlational and other special analyses of the extent of the tendency toward self-sabotage link it with the extent of the following attitudes: parental rejection, antagonism toward the father, resentments both of dependence and domination of families, rigidity, buried fear of failure, and self-attack, unrealistic thinking about jobs, ambivalence, and reliance on pull. . . . Although the relationships suggested are not necessarily causal ones, these factors do seem to serve as devices through which the maladjusted individual accomplishes an aim. They seem to be ways of settling early parental scores, or of handling the guilt which demands constant failure, or of protecting himself against fears of being unable to cope with work. . . . This extreme type of "vicious-circle" behavior seems related to the well-known proclivity of those seriously disturbed emotionally (the *Lows*) to make things generally hard for themselves—a trait which is slight in the *Highs*.

Friend and Haggard also call attention to similar findings on the part of psychiatrists:

Dr. Karl Menninger has discussed work as a valuable outlet for the self-destructive tendencies of the individual and cites consistent job failure as an exemplification of this tendency.<sup>16</sup> After relating the numerous business failures of a patient, he says

This man's aggressiveness, which was great, was carried out very largely in his work, but unlike the normal man who uses this drive as a means to success, this man made it his business to fail, losing not only his own money, but that of his friends.

In discussing another case, Dr. Menninger suggests that the work failure of the patient

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\* Jeannette G. Friend and Ernest A. Haggard, "Work Adjustment in Relation to Family Background," *Applied Psychology Monographs*, No. 16, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Cal., 1948, pp. 58-59.

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served to thwart the man's aggressive but indulgent father

Whatever the explanations that may eventually be found most appropriate for the understanding of the adults who manage to fail, the fact is that they do manage to fail in spite of apparently excellent outward reasons for success. The only helpful psychological explanation, thus far, is that they themselves are unconsciously sabotaging their own efforts in order to attain aims more important to themselves.

### ***The case method of vocational guidance***

The evidence presented in the preceding discussions suggests that while some individuals do not need vocational guidance, many others do. We must not assume that all wholly normal persons need no assistance in choosing a vocation. The normal youth is not raw material psychologically; he was raw material at birth, but since birth he has developed many adjustments and conditionings. He has certain likes and dislikes, some feelings of inferiority, self-confidence in certain situations and not in others, a fairly definite level of intelligence, and accumulated experiences of all degrees of importance, so that his psychological composite in relation to his environment may not result in a happy vocational choice. In many cases he finds that he has difficulty in choosing a vocation. Even though he thinks that he knows what he wants to do, it may be well for him to attempt to obtain a bird's-eye view of himself and the world in which he lives. He really knows only a few occupations, and those he does not know comprehensively. Such a case study involves the following steps by a counselor.

- I Analyze the individual
  - A History and general status
    - 1 Health record
    - 2 School record
    - 3 Financial status
    - 4 Leadership record
    - 5 Hobbies and recreational activities
    - 6 Psychological test scores.
  - B Vocational likes and dislikes—self-analysis
  - C Estimates of associates and friends—ratings by others
  - D Peculiarities of personality
  - E Parental wishes
- II Present the suggestions of the above to the advisee in a personal conference
- III As a result of II, choose several occupations for the investigation of the advisee
- IV After investigation of the several tentative occupations, choose one as a vocation
- V Plan a program of training
- VI Assist advisee to obtain a job or get started in the chosen field
- VII Follow up advisee and revise his program as occasion demands

Vocational guidance by use of the case method has the advantages and the defects of the physician's services. Its value is difficult to prove or to disprove. If the patient takes the doctor's prescriptions and gets well, it is often impossible to know whether the patient regained health because of the medicine or in spite of it. Similarly, investigations of the value of vocational guidance are not conclusive. No one knows what the advisee would have done if he had not followed the adviser's counsel. The writer made an intensive study of 58 individuals who sought vocational guidance. Two years later, each advisee was investigated regarding the number of suggestions that he had accepted and applied. The following table shows the results of their replies.

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Kinds of Suggestions Given	Percentage of Suggestions Accepted by	
	Stu- dents, under 20	Adults, over 20
For improvement of personality	58	48
Educational suggestions	86	57
Vocational suggestions	61	39

The table indicates what experience tells us counseling should be along the lines of educational guidance and should begin with students under twenty years of age.

### College education as a part of a vocational program

When a high school graduate wishes to enter business and plans his vocational program, he must decide whether he will go to college or enter a field of work without college training. When successful men in one field are compared with the unsuccessful, investigations show that many of the successful individuals in business do not have a college education. We cannot say that a college education is essential to business success. (See Table 23.) However, statistics on the value of college training based upon men who graduated a generation ago are not entirely significant for modern conditions. Going to college then required more initiative and ability than it does today, when a college student is no longer a community marvel as he was then.

The main reason why college graduates make more money than high school or common school graduates is superior intelligence and personality. A youth with high intelligence and strong character traits is likely to go to college. He

TABLE 23\*

IS A COLLEGE DEGREE NEEDED FOR EXECUTIVE SUCCESS?		
	Total Number Interviewed	College Trained
All executives	53,957	28%
Production executives	14,610	9
Engineering officials	13,247	46
Sales executives	14,720	38
Presidents	487	48

\* From a study by General Motors Institute, and appearing in *Sales Management*, September 15, 1940.

seeks the college degree as part of his program of personal development. College is the required or accepted education for many superior individuals, and professional standards as well as many businessmen require college graduation for admission into many occupations.

We can feel safe in saying that the percentage of college men who succeed in business is higher than the percentage of the group who do not go to college. There is also some evidence to indicate that high scholastic standing in college is correlated with future success in business. "E. K. Hall, who for two years made a study of the relation between high scholarship in college to success in the Bell Telephone system, found that the man who during his course at a college stood among the first ten of his class has one chance in two of standing in the first grade in salary. On the other hand, he shows that the man in the lowest third in scholarship in his class has, instead of one chance in two, only one chance in five of standing in the highest grade in salary, and that there is nearly one chance in two that he will stand in the lowest grade."<sup>17</sup>

The student who attains high grades in college and then succeeds in business

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probably does so not because the college trained him to think or gave him technical training but because he has superior intellectual and character traits. We should not advise every high school student to go to college. If a student barely manages to get through high school and if his general intelligence in abstract subjects is low, it may be inadvisable to recommend college training. It is interest-

though he may have to earn all his own funds for doing so.

### The vocational program

The value of a definite vocational program is suggested by a study made several years before World War II, the writer made a statistical analysis of the records of 500 men who had registered for jobs with an employment agency that

TABLE 24\*

RELATION BETWEEN SCHOLASTIC STANDING IN COLLEGE AND LATER SUCCESS

Deciles	"Who's Who in America"		"Who's Who in Engineering"		"American Men of Science"		In all three volumes	
	No †	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1	68	15.3	128	16.1	123	23.8	20	22.0
2	60	13.5	108	13.6	85	16.5	13	14.3
3	45	10.2	87	10.9	67	13.0	16	17.6
4	49	11.1	93	11.7	62	12.0	11	12.1
5	26	5.9	63	7.9	39	7.6	6	6.6
6	19	4.3	45	5.7	26	5.1	3	3.3
7	23	5.2	46	5.8	23	4.5	3	3.3
8	30	6.8	54	6.8	23	4.5	6	6.6
9	26	5.9	53	6.7	23	4.5	5	5.5
10	96	21.8	118	14.8	44	8.5	8	8.8
Totals.	442	100.0	795	100.0	515	100.0	91	100.0

\* F. Alexander Magoun, "Scholarship and Distinction," *The Technology Review*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. 37, No. 8 (May 1935).

† The No. column indicates the Number of former M. I. T. students, from certain classes between 1868 and 1910, whose names appear in "Who's Who in America." Thus 68 persons (or 15.3 per cent of the total) stood in the 1st decile or top tenth of their class, 60 persons (13.5 per cent) stood in the 2nd decile or second highest tenth—and so on for all ten deciles. The table can also be read as follows: "Of 442 former M. I. T. men listed in 'Who's Who in America,' 96 or 21.8 per cent stood in the 10th or lowest decile, scholastically, of the members of their classes, etc."

ing to know that high school graduates of both low and high mental ability plan to attend college. The desire to attend college is not a reliable criterion of the ability to do college work. Thousands of college freshmen are dropped each year because they are unable to do the work. However, if a youth has the intelligence and personality that will enable him to benefit from a college education, then he should by all means go to college, even

specialized in placing high-grade men. Their employment histories were accurately recorded because their records had been carefully investigated by the agency. A lot of facts were recorded about each man. Among the facts were answers to two questions:

1. What do you want to do five years hence?

2. What progress have you made in attaining your goal?

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Approximately one half of the men stated a more or less definite ambition. When their salaries were analyzed in relation to age groups and ambitions, the following figures were found.

	<i>Annual Average Salaries by Age Groups</i>		
	20-29	30-39	40-49
The "definite ambition" men	\$2,537	\$4,021	\$6,037
The "no definite ambition" men	2,443	3,792	4,853

The relations between average salaries and extent or progress made in attaining the definite ambitions were found to be the following

<i>Level of Progress Reported</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>
"Preparing myself for it"	\$1,832
"Have made no progress," or, "Little progress"	2,433
"Have made some progress"	3,390
"Good," "Very good," and "Fine progress"	5,664

Only thirteen men, all in the older age brackets, claimed they had attained their ambitions. Apparently most sensible men realize they are not likely to be very happy unless they are striving for goals that are ahead. As someone has said "Success is a wonderful thing to strive for, but a terrible thing to gain."

Of course, a program in itself is of little value. However, persons of superior personality strengths are likely to utilize

a program as an expression of their drive to achieve. The following conversation and appeal to a youth illustrates one kind of appeal that can be made when the counselor wishes the advisee to plan a definite program for training himself in his chosen vocation.

"Vocational success hinges partly upon not trusting your life to chance but knowing what you want and how to get it. The man of little ability who concentrates his efforts on one thing, in one direction, and on one goal is bound to succeed. He attains far greater height than the man of brilliant ability who lacks a goal.

"After you have chosen a vocation or selected your vocational goal, you should do what successful business concerns do—schedule your plans. Decide upon what you want to accomplish each year for the next few years. Determine upon what you will do each year in order to attain your goal. Set up standards for yourself. Set a date when you will accomplish each step and keep that schedule before you. Look at it occasionally, especially when you are failing.

"Whenever you find that your schedule needs revision, revise it. But follow a definite plan or you may drift, and drifting wood never reaches port." Table 25 shows a sample vocational program which will illustrate how one can plan a career.

### PROJECTS

1. "Success in a vocation depends upon an adjustment to life in general rather than the fortunate selection of an occupation." Assume that this statement is true and prepare a list of mental habits that every person should acquire to be vocationally successful. Assume that the above statement is incomplete

and add other forms of behavior that are essential.

2. "A rolling stone gathers no moss" and "A setting hen never gets fat." Which of these two epigrams is the more nearly correct? When should a man change his position? ✓

TABLE 25  
FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN PLANNING MY VOCATION

12 38 88	<p><i>Educational record.</i> High school graduate, college preparatory course</p> <p>Easy subjects English, history, languages.</p> <p>Difficult subjects. Math courses</p> <p>Grades Graduated in second quarter of class of 68 graduates English grades highest</p> <p><i>Test results:</i> Otis S-A test of intelligence P R 90 Nelson-Denny Reading Test, P.R. 92 Iowa Placement, English Aptitude, P R 86 Introversion, P R 62</p> <p><i>Interest test results, rank order</i> 1 Copywriter 2 Advertising man 3 Journalist 4. Lawyer 5 Commercial teacher</p>	<p><i>Experience record</i> Odd jobs in selling magazines, clerking in store</p> <p><i>Health record</i> Children's diseases only. Good health</p> <p><i>Financial resources</i> Father will supply money for most expenses Must earn money for personal expenses</p> <p><i>Parental wishes</i> Parents have no vocational preferences but they expect me to make high grades</p> <p><i>Special opportunity</i> Uncle is in textile industry but I as nephew could not expect any special opportunity from anyone</p>	<p><i>Past difficulties</i> that developed drives of vocational value, habits, conditions, feelings of inferiority, resentment, etc Oldest child in family of four boys, like to show off Believe that my parents are more or less indifferent to me A younger brother is praised for his very high grades Feel inferior regarding my lack of athletic ability Fear that I will be a failure. Resent close supervision Resent "poverty," of family</p> <p><i>Reasons for suggesting this vocational program</i> likes, dislikes, aptitudes, etc High record in English Practical minded rather than a student of English only Like to study people more than I care to influence them in personal contacts</p>
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Nature of the Career I Wish to Attain

Advertising Copywriter

My Job Program

My Training Program

My Personality Development Program

The Undesirable Aspects

Sequence of jobs to reach the main occupation

that prepares for the vocation

List items, such as

of this program which should be anticipated

For this year

Obtain part-time job in retail concern

Schools to attend

Enter a four-year college of business that offers cultural as well as business training

Friendships to make

Establish friendship with business owners, advertising men, and salesmen

Opposition to expect from family, friends, or employers

Parents who help me through college will expect me to get a well-paid job upon graduation. This is not likely

For next year

Obtain part-time job on newspaper or magazine

Courses to take

Major in advertising Courses in commerce, art, psychology, sciences, sociology, philosophy

Clubs to join

Join local advertising or sales club Later, join luncheon club

Effect on plans for marriage or home

Will prevent my getting married for next eight or ten years

Later

Write ads for local concerns even though the pay is small

Books to read

Bedell, C., *How to Write Copy That Sells* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1940

Books to read

Hattwick, Melvin S., *How to Use Psychology for Better Advertising* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950

Possible employers

Previous contacts may suggest possible employers.

Burton, Kreer, and Gray, *Advertising Copywriting* Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1949

Unpleasant conditions of work

Will have to do many menial jobs in order to get my education

Employment bureaus to be consulted

Study trade journals for employment bureaus that specialize in my field of work

Trade journals

*Advertising & Selling*  
*Printers' Ink*  
*Sales Management*

Tours to take

Visit the advertising agencies of a large city

Places of work

Do a good advertising job in my own community and hope to get an agency job in a big city

Investment plans

Save money when possible but spend in order to become acquainted with men and women in advertising and business Attend trade conventions

Difficulties in making advancements

Department heads such as buyers of stores often blame advertising man for their own failures.

Writing to do

Some themes in college dealing with the characteristics of consumers

Health plans

Analyze my personality once a year in order to keep a healthy mind

Income difficulties

Will be out of work at times Must shift employers frequently



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3. Outline a program for obtaining valid occupational information that fits your needs
4. Analyze yourself vocationally by means of the devices and suggestions presented in this chapter. Present the analysis in the form of a systematic report to a friend and ask him to criticize it. Then prepare a vocational program to fit your significant traits.
5. Study a number of friends who have achieved considerable success in their fields, and compare them with others who seem to be "marking time." What psychological differences can you discover between individuals in the two groups?
6. Compare the advantages and the disadvantages of going into business for yourself with those of working for an employer
7. Study the student employment opportunities in your college or one near by. List all the ways the students earn money to help support themselves. Check the jobs that contribute valuable vocational experience as well as financial reward
8. List some occupations which may diminish in importance within the next ten or fifteen years. Suggest how workers in those occupations might utilize the change to their advantage rather than suffer because of it

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- Hoppock, Robert, "A Review of New Books and Pamphlets on Occupations for College Students (1942-1946)," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. 7 (1947), pp. 485-488
- This reference contains the following listings:
- (1) Principal publishers of occupational pamphlets, 1942-1946
  - (2) Some of the better books and pamphlets from other publishers, 1942-1946
  - (3) Basic references on occupational information, 1942-1946
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- The Occupational Outlook Handbook*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1949
- Wrenn, C. Gilbert, "Trends and Predictions in Vocational Guidance," *Occupations*, Vol. 25 (1947), pp. 503-515.

## I2      Getting a job and gaining advancement

*"How can I get a job when I haven't had any experience?" is the lament of many a young person when he leaves school or college. Actually, any normal individual who has a definite vocational goal, has seriously studied an industry, and developed a well-adjusted personality has excellent evidence of value to employers. But he must be able to present his worth in an effective manner.*

EMPLOYERS DO NOT EXPECT FACTORY workers or uneducated applicants to use clever job-getting methods. Employers assume that such applicants use the old haphazard methods of seeking employment through employment agencies, *Help-Wanted* advertisements, labor-union headquarters, and applications at personnel offices. However, the college-educated and other superior job seekers are expected to demonstrate their superiority to some extent by means of their applications. The people who need superior techniques of making application are the more highly trained workers such as engineers, accountants, statisticians, technical salesmen, and professional workers. These should know how to present their qualifications intelligently.

The intelligent candidate in the course

of making his application should regard the following admonitions.

- 1 Know the kind of work you want and why you want it.
- 2 Study the employer's problems and interests.
- 3 Present a letter of application which proves your interest in the employer's problems and your qualifications for his needs
- 4 Participate in an interview which reveals mutual interests

### ***Stating the kind of work desired***

Many an ordinary applicant is so ego-centered when he needs a job that he can think only of his own needs. As a result of his concern about his own needs, he thinks and talks about himself. His argument for a job is similar to that of a candidate for a political office whose placard read: "I am the father of nine children and I need your support!"

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The intelligent applicant's major thought is to understand his abilities, limitations, and vocational goals so well that he knows the kind of work he wants and why he believes he can do it. One employment man explained the deficiencies of applicants in this respect as follows

I interview hundreds of applicants, and when I ask them what they can do, a high percentage say "most anything." The answer is obviously false. I am not interested in the applicant who says that he can do anything, because that really means that he can do nothing well, nor does he know what he would like to do. But the applicant who says, "I have been studying motor transportation and I believe that I could be of help to your firm in cutting down your delivery costs," arouses a definite interest. Young people who leave school and college are especially weak in this respect. Many of them do not know whether they wish to work in a circus, a department store, a machine-shop, or a cheese factory. How can they expect to sell their services when they do not know what they have to sell?

The superior applicant, especially the one who has benefited from his college opportunities, knows the industry he wishes to enter and the kind of work he wants to learn to do. His textbook readings, classroom lectures, and personal contacts with men in the field of his choice have stimulated him to learn more about certain aspects of the work and to associate with those who are already actively engaged in his chosen field. Such an applicant has read trade journals and attended trade association meetings, and there he has learned the names and addresses of the leaders in his chosen industry. Because of his genuine interest and informed background, he can approach the professional leaders or heads of the best firms and talk with

them in terms that he and they understand. The reactions of executives approached by such an applicant are likely to be. "This man knows what he wants and is going after it. He appears to be the kind of man we need in our organization. Let's try him out to discover whether he really means what he says."

Any college student who really wishes to use his college experiences in formulating definite vocational objectives can do so. Faculty members, friends in business, secretaries of trade associations, trade journals, psychological tests, and library books are usually available to him in his search to find himself in his work.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Studying the employer's problems and interests***

Whenever an applicant has decided what kind of work he would like to do, his knowledge will indicate which concerns would be logical employers for him. The advertisements and news articles in trade journals, listings in telephone directories, and suggestions from trade association secretaries will reveal names and addresses of many possible employers.

When the applicant has collected such lists, he should select several preferred prospective employers and learn all he can about them. He should investigate the history of each company, study each company's product, interview their customers, and find out why people use the product. Why did they buy the product? Would they buy the same brand again? If not, why not? Of course, the purpose of this kind of investigating is not to impress the employer but to write an effective letter of application and to ask intelligent questions during the interview.

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For example, a certain young man registered at an employment office. He had had experience in the retail gasoline and oil business, but had sought work unsuccessfully for some time. As he wanted to obtain employment with a certain retail gasoline company, the employment director suggested that he take definite steps to make himself valuable to this company. He was told that he should learn all he could about the business—if possible, find out if any of the company's local stations were not up to the usual company standards.

The young man found that a gas station belonging to the company where he had applied seemed to be getting less business than it should. To discover the reasons, he made a survey of all cars in the neighborhood to find whether their owners were buying gas from the station and, if not, whether there was any cause for dissatisfaction. When the survey was completed, the young man took it to the local manager of the gasoline company with a suggestion for increasing business at that station. The manager was impressed with the applicant's initiative and gave him a position to prove his worth. The young man made good at that job and at several other difficult ones. His work was so satisfactory that in a short time he had risen to a responsible position in the local office of the company.<sup>2</sup>

When looking for ideas of possible interest to the employer, the applicant can study the business by means of the trade journals of the industry. His local library probably has some copies on file.

If the applicant will also study the specific concern with which he would like to be associated, he will be able to offer some ideas which show that he is

seriously interested in becoming a member of that organization. If possible, it is well to talk with the company's salesmen who, in many cases, will be glad to give the applicant helpful suggestions. Once the applicant has developed his ideas and checked them with some person who is acquainted with the problems of the company, he can approach the prospective employer as an inquirer who is anxious to learn more about the company. Of course, if he takes the attitude of an expert who tries to advise the management on how they should run the business, the employer is naturally likely to assume that the applicant is too egotistical to fit into the company team.

The personnel manager of a large department store stated: "Not one person in a hundred who comes before my desk has any ideas. Yet it's the applicant with ideas who gets the job, the applicant who has intelligence and interest enough to spend some time in the store looking around before he comes to me, who can suggest ways we can improve our service, who at least will be able to say: 'I watched the clerks and customers in the jewelry department yesterday and I believe that I could sell in that line.' Most of them don't even do that."

When this question was brought up to the head of a publishing firm, he answered: "Ideas! Most job hunters don't know what the publishing business is. Less than one in a hundred will even go to the trouble of reading the most widely-used trade journal of the industry. Most applicants think they want to become editors because they do not know of the many other departments in the publishing business."<sup>3</sup>

Any applicant who takes the trouble to read the trade journals of the industry

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

or to observe the ways in which the product is being used by the customers is bound to develop an application that is not only intelligent but outstanding. Most employers today are in need of applicants who show that they can think with the businessman rather than merely do what the boss wishes.

### **The letter of application**

Many college students can write letters which are grammatically correct but fail to reveal an interest in the employer or in doing his work. The employer is seldom a student of English nor does he care about the niceties of phrasing. He has work to be done, products to sell, payrolls to meet, taxes to pay, customers to please, and bills to collect. He does not care particularly whom he hires—he does want to get his work done quickly and economically.

This letter, written by a college graduate and published in *Postage Magazine*, is typical of letters of application constantly written by ego-centered applicants who have had no training in writing to employers.

Dear Mr. Publisher:

I am seeking editorial (or writing) work on a magazine staff.

My age is twenty-four. I am a graduate of Grinnell College (Grinnell, Iowa), and since graduation have done irregular work at Chicago and Columbia Universities. My chief aim has been to improve myself in the ability to write and in comparative study of literature. I have also specialized in history, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and advertising. Recently I completed a long novel, which is at present at Doran's, having received one favorable reading.

My college record was good. I am a Phi Beta Kappa and a Sigma Delta Chi member, having edited the last-named organization's comic weekly during my senior year in college. Before that I worked on the staffs of

certain local newspapers. I also sold automobiles for a time and can use the trade language with some facility.

I have no present business connections. Since I was fifteen, I have incessantly aimed at journalism. My writing style perhaps tends to the search of the color-bearing word and the ironic, but within controllable limits. I read very rapidly (120 pages an hour) and analytically.

I am willing to start in any position which promises an opportunity for development and offers a reasonable wage.

Sincerely yours,

The comments of the recipient of this letter were

This letter, written by a college graduate, contains eighteen "I's," "my's" and "myself's" but not a single "you." We can well imagine the publisher who wades through such a letter, searching for and finding the "ironic" word and using it without "controllable limit." Every year, millions of letters like this are written by young men looking for positions. We should like to recommend to every college in the land that a business course on "How to Write a Letter" be delivered to its students, to cover the last six months of their term. Thousands of splendid positions are held by men who knew how to write a good letter and wrote it at the psychological time.

The following application letter, written by an alert college senior, was sent to the advertising managers of eighteen leading department stores and promptly resulted in offers of two jobs, one of which was accepted:

211 West 14th Street  
Meldon, Massachusetts  
July 5, 19—

Advertising Manager of (Name of Firm)  
Street  
City

Dear Sir:

Your advertising appeals to me. It suggests that you are following policies and procedures that would benefit the young advertising woman.

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

My ultimate goal is that of advertising manager of a retail store. To reach this point I realize that real experience is necessary.

I am anxious to have good supervision and direction in my training for this career and recognize the opportunities available in your store. Therefore, I am eager to attain any work in this line you can offer me.

As a beginner in your department, I offer the ability to take dictation and type. As your needs would demand, I could gradually make myself useful in writing copy or preparing advertisements. One of my sample advertisements for a local retail store is enclosed.

You will find further information and references on the attached personal data sheet. May I have your suggestions?

Very truly yours,  
(Miss) Mary Doe

This letter avoided the many "I's," "my's" and "myself's" through the use of a personal data sheet, an excellent device for most applicants. Furthermore, the applicant complimented the employer and indicated a genuine interest in learning *his* methods as an aid in her own development.

Many high school and college graduates claim that they cannot write a good letter of application because they cannot point to past experience as evidence of their ability. Some of these younger applicants visit employment offices where they are told that no jobs are open for inexperienced workers. These young applicants should recognize that the old answer, "Sorry, we have no opening now for persons without experience," often means that either the applicant did not appeal to the employment man or the applicant did not know how to present his qualifications effectively.

The intelligent inexperienced applicant who knows what kind of work he wants to learn and why, can, with reasonable persistence, find an interested

employer. The youth has a most appealing argument whenever he applies to an employer with this type of approach.

"Mr. Employer, I have decided that I wish to learn the hardware business because I have worked in a hardware store during summer vacations and liked it. I know such simple details as the sizes of bolts and saws. I can drive a truck and check invoices. Besides my summer experience as evidence of interest, I read two trade journals in the hardware field. Three hardware dealers told me if they were young again and wanted to learn the hardware business they would come to you. So here I am for your advice and, if I meet your requirements, for your employment."

ADDRESS  
DATE

NAME OF FIRM MANAGER  
ADDRESS

Dear Mr. Blank,

I wish to apply for a position as Junior Accountant in your firm, and am submitting for your convenience a chart of my qualifications. (See page 247.)

This chart will, in a brief way, I believe, present the information desired.

Very truly yours,

Dear Sir,

I have just read your advertisement.

You evidently want someone who understands what are the real duties of a secretary. He must

- transcribe your dictation accurately, promptly
- "proofread" his letters for possible errors
- receive your callers politely, civilly
- separate the important ones from those who should wait or come again.
- open and assort your mail.
- make a list of your engagements, reminding you of them at the proper time
- keep your personal accounts.
- keep your business to *himself*.

My experience covers eight years of stenographic and secretarial service, with knowledge of bookkeeping. Age, 25 years. Unmarried.

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

John Richard Doe

PHOTO

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE.

I *Vocational Objectives*

- IMMEDIATE To obtain on-the-job experience and training to prepare for psychological work in business (emphasis on personnel problems)
- LONG RANGE To become a Personnel Director with a company

II *Educational Background*

Was graduated from Blank College with a B A degree Major psychology. Academic average 90% Psychology average 93%.

Was graduated from John Adams High School in January 1941

Was graduated from P. S 121 in January 1937

Both schools are on Long Island, New York

III *Military Background*

Served in the Army for three years Attained rank of Master Sergeant

Spent two years overseas.

IV. *Work Experience*

Work experience has included working as undergraduate assistant in the psychology department at Blank College, vacation work as hardware salesman, and a six-month period as shipfitter's helper prior to being drafted.

V *Extracurricular Activities*

Psychology Club (assisted with programs)

Athletics (intramural—baseball, handball, football)

Outside Research (have read first sources in psychology beyond the scope of undergraduate academic requirements and have conducted small-scale experiments on my own initiative).

VI *Hobbies and Avocations:*

Reading

Cooking

Athletics

Social Organizations

Bridge

VII *Personal Data*

25 years of age—married—no children—excellent health.

Height 5' 9", weight 155

Willing to work at most any task

VIII *References*

Three names and addresses

## PERSONAL DATA CHART

<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 100px; margin: 0 auto; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; top: 5px; left: 5px; font-size: 8px;">PHOTOGRAPH</div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 50px; left: 50px; font-size: 10px;">AND</div> <div style="position: absolute; top: 95px; left: 5px; font-size: 8px;">NAME</div> </div>		
<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>Past History</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Scholastic Achievements               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A Grammar School—Valedictorian</li> <li>B High School—Valedictorian</li> <li>C Subjects Liked Especially Well                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Mathematics (All Forms)</li> <li>(2) Mechanical Drawing</li> <li>(3) Commercial Subjects</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> <li>2 Interests               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A Athletics                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Participation in all sports</li> </ol> </li> <li>B Social Interests                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Church, Sunday School; Epworth League</li> <li>(2) Boy Scouts, Clubs, etc</li> </ol> </li> <li>C Work All kinds of odd jobs</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>Future Ambitions</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 SUCCESS as a public-minded businessman and as a Certified Public Accountant</li> </ol>	
<p><i>Present Status</i></p> <p>Graduate of</p> <p>Syracuse University, College of Business Administration, Accounting</p>		
<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>Scholastic Achievements</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Winner of two University Competitive Scholarships</li> <li>2. Member of Beta Alpha Psi (National honorary, Accounting Fraternity)</li> <li>3 Member of Phi Kappa Phi (National scholastic)</li> <li>4 Scholarship Rating—B</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>Wholly Self-Supporting</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 College education was wholly self-financed by means of summer work, working six hours daily during school year, and scholarships</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>Activities</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Athletics               <div style="margin-left: 20px;">                 Wrestling '47, '48, '49                  Intercollegiate Champion '49                  Captain '49                  Soccer '47               </div> </li> <li>2 Social Activities</li> <li>3 Others Scoutmaster</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>References</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Name and address</li> <li>2 Name and address</li> <li>3 Name and address</li> <li>4. Name and address</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;"><i>Personal Record</i></p> <p>Birth—Jan 30, 1927, Henderson, New York</p> <p>Nationality—American</p> <p>Religion—Methodist</p> <p>Marital Status—Single</p> <p>Height—5' 4", Weight—135 lbs.</p> <p>Health—Excellent, Defects—None.</p>	



## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

Let me come and see you I feel confident of fulfilling your requirements My telephone is Main 6000.

Yours truly,

This letter leaves no doubt that the writer understands what a secretary is expected to do. The advertisement was simply for a secretary Instead of making his letter the usual hackneyed statement of qualifications and experience, he tabulates the duties of the post and thus modestly conveys the idea that he can perform them

Any youth can present his qualifications and evidence of interest in a given vocation in an original manner He can prepare a loose-leaf booklet or pamphlet of his background and characteristics It can be illustrated with pictures from advertisements and include character references, copies of school report cards, Boy Scout badges, maps, school term papers, and so on Anyone's personal history offers many examples of good character and interest in performing honest work that leads to vocational growth and advancement. Thousands of employers are looking for young people who exhibit a spark of initiative and strategy in presenting their qualifications in original ways

### ***The interview***

The main purpose of a letter of application is to obtain an interview. The interview is an occasion where employer and applicant consider each other's mutual problems and interests The applicant is not asking a favor nor is the employer granting a privilege Each has something to give and each has needs which may or may not be of mutual advantage.

Many applicants are nervous because they think of themselves during the interview They can often overcome or

avoid nervousness by anticipating the questions that are likely to be asked in the interview. Typical questions which are asked many applicants are the following

- 1 Tell me all about yourself
- 2 Why do you want to work for us?
- 3 What can you do?
- 4 Why did you leave your last employer?  
(Why do you want to leave your present employer?)
- 5 Do you have any good ideas on how to do this work for which you are applying?
- 6 May I see some samples or proof of your ability?

The first question should not be answered by starting with the date of birth, early life, and leading up to the time of the interview Rather, the question should be answered by reference to the present "I completed college this spring and I majored in finance While I was studying finance I became interested in banking. Perhaps my interest in banking was stimulated by the speakers whom I heard at the state bankers' convention held in Blankville two years ago The problems discussed with regard to financing farmers' crops interested me so much that I would like to learn more about the problems involved in loans to farmers I myself was raised on a farm in Spring Valley and my father often felt financially handicapped in his plans for modernizing his farm, etc."

One hundred college students and graduates who had applied for positions were asked to list the problems they had encountered in their applications The following list is made up of those problems most frequently reported by the interviewees. Each general problem listed below is followed by its frequency and examples of the problem.

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

THIS YOUNG MAN believing in the importance of a right start, is eager to go to work for an advertising agency at no salary until he has proved himself worthy of one. Twenty-two, college graduate, thorough training in advertising, background of retail sales experience, with character references of the best. Wrote for all college publications. Ambitious to do copy . . . start in anything leading up to it. Box 701, P. I.

ARE YOU PREJUDICED AGAINST A PHI BETA KAPPA KEY, University of Chicago? I confess I am—though I am a young woman who owns one.

I want to break into New York publishing or advertising or some similar employment—no matter how humble the starting place.

In extenuation, I offer:

1. One year's editorial experience on a Chicago publication.
2. Youth and enthusiasm—despite two years' public school teaching experience.
3. Some general business experience, including expert knowledge of typewriting.
4. A not unattractive, UNACADEMIC personality.

Will you grant me an interview? Box 432, Printers' Ink

### *Before the Interview*

- 1 The question of experience (27 times) Examples:
  - a Should I admit that I have had no experience and face the possibility of not being hired? Or should I try to lie and take my chances on getting by if I do get the job?
  - b. Is there any way in which I can compensate for the lack of experience?
  - c. How can I be sure that I am qualified to apply?
- 2 The question whether or not to tell the truth (19 times) Examples.

- a Religious affiliations—should I mention membership in my church if I know that my prospective employer is an adherent of another faith? (The laws of some states prohibit the asking of this question, if it is asked, it does not have to be answered.)
- b Should I admit union membership if I am a member?
- c Should I mention and discuss my political beliefs?

- 3 The interview itself (14 times) Examples
  - a How can I best determine the type of approach to make?
  - b Should I emphasize my scholastic achievements?
  - c How should I sell myself?
  - d What type of references should I use?

### *During the Interview*

- 1 The salary question (38 times) Examples
  - a How can I answer, "What salary do you expect?"
  - b How am I to know that I will not ask too much? Or too little?
  - c Or should I ask for an approximate salary?
- 2 Reasons for choice of firm in making application (19 times) How can I answer, for example, the following
  - a What can you do?
  - b. Why did you choose this type of work?
  - c. Why are you sure that you will like the work?
  - d. Should I talk freely and frankly about what I consider my ability?
- 3 The job particulars (15 times) Examples:
  - a Should I ask questions about the job until I thoroughly understand all parts of it?
  - b Or should I wait until I get to the department to delve into the requisites of the job?
  - c Should I try to determine my chances for advancement, and its rapidity, while I am being interviewed?
  - d Should I ask questions about the firm during the interview? Or should I know many particulars concerning the firm before the interview?

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

- 4 Nervousness (15 times) Examples
- a How can I overcome nervousness?
  - b How can I best conceal my nervousness?
  - c How can I break down the formal attitude of the interview?

### *After the Interview*

- 1 The interview itself (25 times) Examples
- a How can I judge the success of the interview?
  - b How can I tell whether the questions were answered correctly?
  - c What kind of impression did I make?
- 2 The results (23 times) Examples
- a Should I return and keep after the interviewer until he hires? If so, how soon?
  - b Should I have influential friends intercede in my behalf?

No one can offer blanket answers to these and other questions which are asked of applicants and which they ask themselves. Neither questions nor answers can be standardized. The applicant can seek the counsel of some experienced person with regard to appropriate answers to questions such as these. A discussion of the questions and possible answers will be a considerable help to many applicants. However, if the employer's question, "Tell me all about yourself," can be answered in the foregoing suggested manner, many other questions can also be answered sincerely and intelligently. All the employer's questions can be answered naturally when the applicant has developed a genuine long-term interest in the work for which he is applying. Getting a job is merely one stage in a series of efforts to become acquainted with specific kinds of vocational problems, employers, and occupational opportunities.

Some arts of personal salesmanship are helpful and many applicants can im-

prove their abilities to sell themselves through a consideration of the following suggestions

1 Think and talk *work*, not yourself. Try to think of yourself as a profitable investment to the employer, not of what the job means to you.

2 Consider getting a job as an investment—not an expense. Spend some time and money in getting a job. If necessary, borrow money to get the job you want.

3 Develop confidence in yourself by first studying your prospective employer's product or service.

4 Plan your campaign and follow the plan each day. Do not go about it in a hit-or-miss manner. Know where you want to apply each day for the next month until you get a job.

5 Consider it a sales proposition. If your first and second prospects do not want you, keep on trying. The fiftieth prospect may be just the one who needs you.

6 When asked to fill an application blank, fill it completely and cheerfully. Put a check mark in the blank spaces not applying to you. Then the interviewer will know you did not overlook any items.

7 Convince the employer you did not stop studying when you left school or college. Show him you are studying your work by means of books, magazines, and night-school or correspondence courses.

8 No one can write a good letter of application for you—you must write it yourself. You must "feel" what you write, then your letter will carry conviction. Study good letters of application, but write your own. If you really feel you are good for something, your letter will show it.

9 Have several friends criticize your letter. You'll probably revise it at least five times before sending it.

10 Always give your complete record and full information when asked to do so. Do not omit your activities of certain months or years.

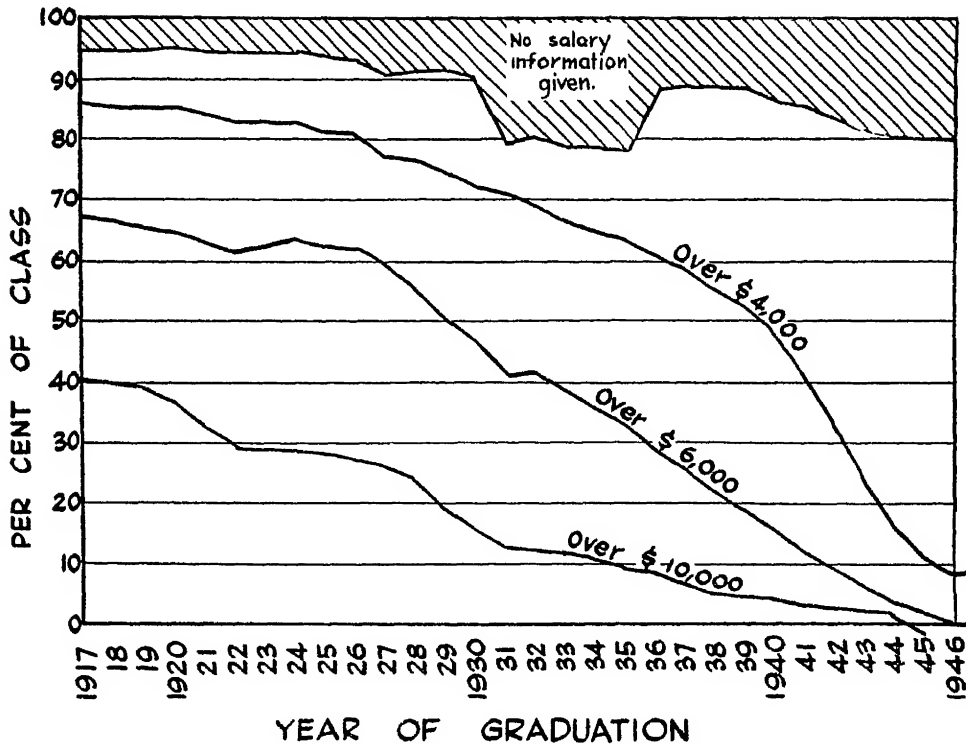
11 When sending a photograph, send a good one. If the job is worth applying for, it is worth having a special picture taken for it.

12. When discussing salary, state what you

## getting a job and gaining advancement

have been getting and what you believe yourself worth to the employer. Do not haggle over salary too much, but if the employer is one of the kind who wants to pay less than people are worth, refuse his offer. The fellow who wants something for nothing is not the kind of man you want to work for. Of course,

is willing to hire you but needs a "push" in your direction, you can help him by saying, "When would you want me to begin work if you decide to hire me?" The date of beginning work is a minor point but once the interviewer decides on the minor point he also usually hires you.



IN THE SPRING of 1947 a short questionnaire was mailed to the 6,000 graduates of the College of Commerce and Administration of the Ohio State University. The graph above shows income distribution by year of graduation—Chart supplied by Armand C. Stalnaker, College of Commerce and Administration, The Ohio State University. Letter dated January 23, 1948.

he has a right to pay you a small salary until he knows what you are really worth to him. If you are a college graduate, your alumni secretary can probably give you some helpful figures on average or customary salaries of your fellow-alumni. See chart on this page.

13 When you and the interviewer have discussed the vacant job to mutual satisfaction, the interviewer may hesitate to say, "Yes, you are the man we want." Many interviewers need subtle help in making decisions. If you feel that the interviewer really

### Gaining promotion

From time to time *Fortune* magazine makes surveys of the extent to which workers in America think they have chances for vocational advancement. Some of their findings from a recent survey are shown in Table 26.<sup>4</sup> The economic status and advancement of 46,000 college graduates, eight years after graduation, has been studied by Federal

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

government investigators.<sup>5</sup> This study indicated that most college graduates become employees rather than employers, hence, we shall discuss methods of gaining promotion with employers.

1. One factor that will greatly aid an employee in obtaining advancement is to work for an executive who likes him. No one can study the personnel of modern business and claim that all men who deserve to hold good positions are actually holding them. Nor do all the executives who now hold important positions deserve them. Some have gained their high executive positions by inheritance, others have married strategically, and some have fallen into their positions by a chance combination of fortunate circumstances. Many men gain their promotions simply because they are moderately capable and the man above them happens to like them. Just as the choice of a wife or a husband is the result of unconscious influences rather than scientific analysis, so are many of the manager's selections of men for promotion the results of chance personal liking. The employee who wishes to be promoted should seek the goodwill and admiration of his superior or find a new superior who does like him.

Some readers may say, "If there is anything I hate it's a bootlicker, a yes-man, or the employee who sticks around the boss." Yet, we should not accuse the retailer of being a fawning flatterer because he dresses up his windows to attract those who are his logical buyers. The merchant merely utilizes some concrete advantages of his wares. Likewise the corporation employee should try to attract the prospective buyers of his services by appealing to his buyers in a way that can be understood.

2. The corporation clerical worker, salesman, or junior executive may be asking himself, "Why doesn't someone notice me?" If he is, he can answer his own question by asking himself, "What have I done that should bring about recognition or a raise?" "What new systems or methods have I devised that will make more money or decrease costs for the employer?" The alert employee who seeks methods of making money or cutting costs often is surprised to find some good ideas which others have overlooked or "kicked around." It is well to pick them up, polish them, try them out, and present them to superiors with a description of their values and limitations.

In some cases the general manager and the unhappy forty-dollar clerk have the same grade of brains. But the clerk tends to think in forty-dollar channels—of his own needs, grouches, enmities, and desires for luxuries. How can he expect to merit a raise when his brain cells are working overtime on personal matters, while those of the big men in the company are active on company problems of volume production, sales resistance, net profits, and lower costs? When the employee does find a good idea for his employer, he should collect some facts and figures to prove it. His suggestions should be shown to some of his trusted fellow employees, and, before they are presented to the "big boss," a sales talk of the values should be prepared.

3. If an employee is holding a mediocre job and the general manager does not know him, then he should not jump over the heads of his superiors in trying to get recognition from the key man of the company. He must always remember that chances for promotion are determined by his supervisory executive, be-

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

cause the "big guns" of the company consult their department heads before raising the pay or the job of an employee. This means that it may be necessary at times to neglect one's own "show-case" and help to trim that of one's superior. This is merely a part of the game of business.

4. A fourth possible way of advertising one's ability is that of making special reports on existing conditions of the business or conditions which may affect the business. Some executives have a fetishlike admiration for reports that present column after column of figures. Sometimes reports of this sort are not

TABLE 26

### ESTIMATED CHANGES OF ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Question (*asked of men only*) Do you think your opportunities to succeed are better than, or not as good as, those your father had?

Better	69.8%
Not as good	12.5
The same	12.6
Don't know	5.1

Question (*asked of employees only*) Which one or two things would you say gives a person the best chance to advance at the place where you work?

	<i>Professionals and Executives</i>		<i>Salaried Employees</i>	<i>Factory Workers</i>	<i>Union Members</i>
	<i>Total</i>				
The quality of his work	47.0%	63.7%	50.6%	43.4%	35.4%
His energy and willingness	44.5	55.7	41.5	42.3	39.1
How well he gets on personally with his immediate bosses	17.5	12.1	16.6	18.7	21.2
How long he has been with the company	11.9	5.4	10.9	16.6	19.4
Whether he is a friend or relative of a high official	5.6	3.4	6.6	7.6	9.7
How good a politician he is	5.5	6.0	7.0	3.5	6.6
Don't know	10.4	6.0	5.2	10.5	11.1

Question (*asked of employees only*) Do you feel personally that if you work harder on your job than the others around you do this will pay off in promotion or advancement for you, or wouldn't it make much difference?

	<i>Professionals and Executives</i>		<i>Salaried Employees</i>	<i>Factory Workers</i>	<i>Union Members</i>
	<i>Total</i>				
Will pay off	47.0%	58.3%	49.3%	39.9%	37.8%
Will not pay off	40.5	30.2	39.7	49.3	51.7
Don't know	12.5	11.5	11.0	10.8	10.5

When people are asked an objective question about the best way to get ahead where they work, most of them give conventional answers. But when they are questioned as to whether more effort would pay off in their own cases, responses are less sure. Since the lack of incentive among factory workers and particularly among union members seems to be accurately reflected in today's output figures, the problem ranks as a primary concern of the U. S. economy today. In contrast to those employed in factories, other wage earners are considerably more convinced that they would profit by working harder. Reprinted from the *Fortune* Survey, January 1947, by special permission of the Editors of *Fortune*. Copyright, *Time*, Inc.

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

read, but they usually create a favorable impression at the time. A consultant related an experience in a concern where he was to study certain conditions. At the end of his job he gave the manager a complete report of the situation. Several days later, the manager told him that he had read the report with much pleasure, but that it failed to show him what to do in the future. The writer took the report from his desk and turned to the thirty-six pages where the details which were thought to have been omitted were given. As a matter of fact, the manager had not read the report. He just glanced through it and judged it very largely on the basis of its external appearance—its size, typing, charts, and quality of paper. The standards which he used in evaluating hours of mental toil gave a shock and a lesson which indicated that it is well to spend a large amount of time on the artistic aspects of reports. The colored charts may be unintelligible to a genius, but they should be beautiful enough to decorate the walls of an office carpeted with oriental rugs.

5. Another aspect of the report as a means of gaining recognition is that of the trade journal. Many office men think that it is necessary to be a professor of English or to use a Harvard accent to be able to write an article for a trade journal. Such is not the case. The trade journals are interested in shop talk, and any systems or ideas which have been of value to men in their field will be of interest to their readers. The good ideas should be described in as pleasing a manner as possible, but efforts should be concentrated on the ideas rather than the form. The editors will revise the article to fit the vernacular of the publication. Of course, one must be careful not

to divulge information that should remain in the files of the employer. If in doubt on this matter, the manuscripts can be submitted to the proper authorities of the company before they are sent to the publisher. The average executive will probably be pleased to know that someone in his organization writes arti-

TABLE 27\*

### TUITION REFUNDS—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

<i>Practice</i>	<i>For Salaried Employees</i>	
	COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent
Does company refund tuition payments for approved educational courses taken by employees at outside institutions (whole or in part)?		
Yes	166	35 0
No	301	63 5
Not shown	7	1 5
Total	474	100 0
Amount of tuition refunded		
50%	49	29 5
50% to maximum of \$25	1	0 6

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office" (Revised), *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

cles for his colleagues and competitors to read.

6. If possible to do so, it is well to attend some of the conventions of associations that influence the business. A good rule is never to attend a convention without making a report of valuable facts to the management. One may neglect to do this because the speeches will be printed and sent to the company later on. This fact should not deter one from making a report, because a delegate should study the undercurrents of the conferences and pick up valuable points that are not evident in the published reports. This is

## *getting a job and gaining advancement*

especially true of trends or tendencies of the times, which are seldom described in words but which the experienced technician uncovers when he meets experts in his field. The management should be given the benefit of the meetings attended even though the employee has to pay his own expenses to the convention.

7. To gain promotion, it is important to associate with the men and women who have demonstrated their abilities. The old-timers in the business world can

TABLE 28\*

VOLUNTARY AFTER-HOURS EDUCATIONAL COURSES  
—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Salaried Employees	
	COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent
Does company conduct voluntary after-hours educational courses for salaried employees?		
Yes	82	17 3
Yes, occasionally	13	2 7
Total, Yes	95	20 0
No	379	80 0
Total	474	100 0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office" (Revised), *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948

give valuable pointers. Membership in pertinent trade associations will stimulate the employee to work and give him valuable contacts.

8. Work for an industry, or at least a firm, that is growing. Industries and companies are like individuals—they go through periods of development, rapid growth, normal growth, stability—and then either into a decline or into new development. All other factors being of equal influence, the man who works for a company whose growth has reached stability, or is declining, can hardly ex-

pect to advance to the same level or at the same rate he would in an industry that is in a stage of rapid growth or new development. See chart, "Growth Curve of Industries" as seen by the editors of *Babson's Reports*. Growth, these editors point out, is frequently as much a matter of management as it is of the industry, and companies that lead in engineering and market research have the best chances for survival and growth. An outstanding characteristic of growing companies is a continuing and aggressive search for new markets, new methods, and new products.

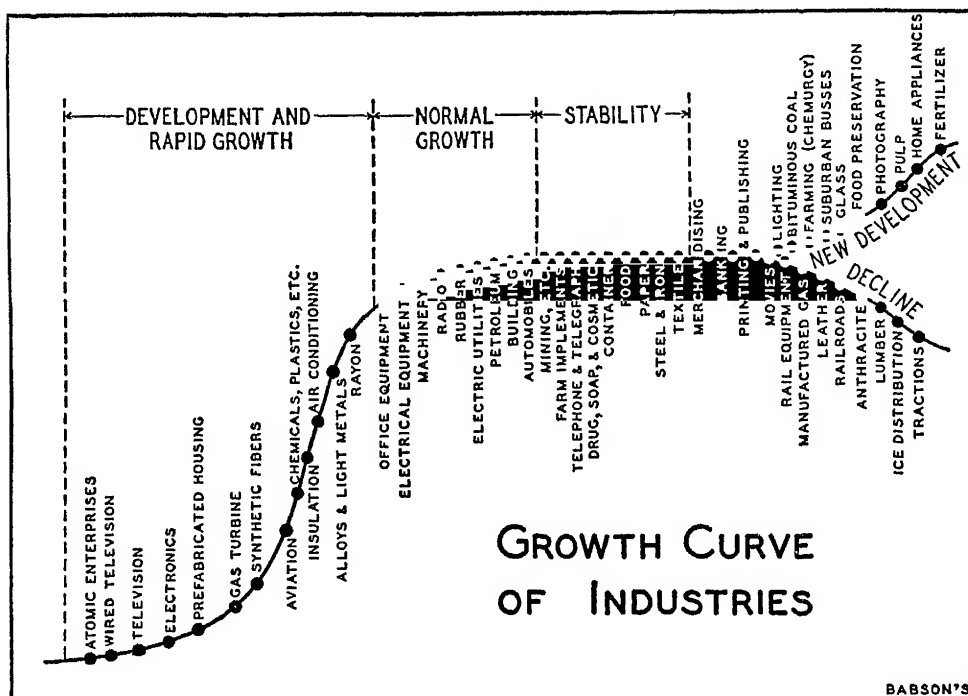
9. In the early years, seek work that gives good basic training in the fundamentals of the business, even though the pay may be lower than in other types of jobs. Many a young man graduating from college must decide whether he shall take a high-paying job, such as factory labor, or a low-paying job, such as the executive training squad. Trainees are normally paid less than many other employees of the company, but the trainee should, all factors considered, advance more rapidly than the nontrainee. The chances for advancement to superior positions are so good in certain positions in companies that the ambitious, able beginner can well afford to work for a low beginning rate until he proves himself. A recent survey of plant managers and superintendents of the du Pont Company revealed that 46 per cent started as chemists, analysts, or technicians; 14 per cent as engineers, and the remaining 40 per cent as operators, laborers, clerks, office boys, and the like. Approximately 77 per cent are college graduates.<sup>6</sup> A study of 50 of the largest businesses in America (based upon an analysis of assets in the years immediately preceding the war)



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showed that of the 143 executives who comprise top management of these companies, one started work for \$1 50 a week, 11 others for less than \$5 a week, 43 others for less than \$10, and 81 others for between \$10 and \$25 a week. Only 7 re-

cent occurrence. A certain department head operated his department with the same equipment bequeathed him some years before by his predecessor. The executive knew that his equipment and methods were slightly obsolete, but he



THE PROSPECTIVE GROWTH CURVE of 53 industries as seen by the editors of *Babson's Reports*. Imagine that the seed of an industry is sown sometime toward the left of the first vertical dotted line. Consider also that the eventual extinction of an industry takes place at the extreme right of the chart beyond the end of the curve. Industries, like individuals, go through periods of development, rapid growth, normal growth, stability—and then into either a decline or new development. Here, in the opinion of the editors of *Babson's Reports*, is the present status of several dozen industries (Courtesy of Babson Statistics Organization, Inc. From *Babson's Reports*, July 18, 1949)

ceived more than \$25 a week—the highest getting paid \$69 23 a week. "When you think of the head of a big business, think of a young man who once drew an envelope at the end of the week with \$13 40 in it.<sup>7</sup>

10. A final suggestion for the employee's advancement is illustrated in a re-

thought that he was saving money for his employer by laboriously plugging along. He hated to ask his employer to spend money for needed machinery. The general manager finally decided that this department was too antiquated for the rest of the organization, fired the department head, and put a new man in charge.

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The new man, realizing that he had to dress up the windows, at once spent all the money he could possibly get in making the department ultra modern. The new equipment could be seen and admired by his employer. It was tangible evidence of ability. Of course it cost a lot of money, but it was worth it. The new department head acquired the reputation of using progressive methods, and he was promoted again.

The advancement of any man in business depends upon his ability to please others. The owner of a business must please his customers. The employee of a corporation must please the man who is responsible for his efforts. His question should be, "What does this man want me to do?" not "What should I do for my best interests?" If the boss wants his men to come to work at seven o'clock in the morning, then seven o'clock is the proper time to start work. If he dislikes men who wear mustaches and part their hair in the middle, then the employee should go without a mustache and comb his hair in a satisfactory manner. If an

employer is whimsical, it is vastly easier to please his whimsicalities than to try to change him. Boss management is almost as important as scientific management. If adjustment to a superior's peculiarities is too difficult or degrading, then a new employer should be sought.

Of course, every employer really wants results above all things else. If a special kind of bolt is needed for an emergency, it does little good to telephone all the local sources of bolt supplies and find that no one in the city can furnish the needed bolt. Excuses will not satisfy. The bolt must be obtained in another city or made to order. Most of the personal factors that produce results are not the work of genius but of habits of persistence and character in doing well the routine tasks of the job. However, an employee of a large corporation may be doing good work but the right executives may not realize it. Just as advertising is necessary in selling goods, so legitimate presentations of one's good works may be helpful to personal advancement in the large corporation.

### COURSE RECOMMENDATIONS BY BUSINESS MEN AND COLLEGE PROFESSORS

Some interesting data were recently released in a two-year study made by the Society for the Advancement of Management. Questionnaires were mailed to 5,000 heads of businesses and top executives as well as 500 deans and professors of collegiate schools of business administration. Reports were received from 954 business men and 200 college professors. The purpose of the study was to.

1 Ascertain the degree to which the present training for business management offered in collegiate schools of business administration meets the needs of those who are the employers of graduates of such schools.

2 Investigate the opinions of professors in such colleges as to the adequacy of present curricula.

3 Seek the cooperation of other interested organizations toward adapting programs and curricula to present and future needs.

Forty-four subjects in the business college curricula were debated upon in the poll, with many marked differences of opinion emerging between the two groups. In fact, only four of the listed subjects are considered essential by both college professors and business executives. These are, in the order of their rank: English Composition, Literature, and Public Speaking, Economics; General Accounting, and Types of Industrial and Business Organization. The subject on which there appeared to be the widest margin of disagreement was statistics. Only 32 per cent of the businessmen chose it, but 78 per cent of the professors deemed it essential.

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Oddly enough, despite the fact that the export trade of the United States is larger than before the war, neither professors nor businessmen felt that study of foreign trade or foreign languages was particularly necessary for the student. Only 14 per cent of the businessmen and 19 per cent of the professors felt that foreign trade was a vital subject, but 12 per cent of the executives and 15 per cent of the educators thought that the study of foreign languages was desirable.

The following percentages indicate the diversity of opinion between what the professors on the one hand and the businessmen on the other believed essential for the student to know for business success.

	<i>Business- men</i>	<i>Pro- fessors</i>
Salesmanship	62%	27%
Sales promotion	54	22
Techniques of leadership and teamwork	54	23
Public relations	49	23
Commercial and industrial law	53	78
Employee training	42	18
Budgetary control and procedure	50	27

A major finding of the poll was the unanimity of agreement between professors and businessmen on the desirability of having more businessmen serve as advisers in the development of college business courses. According to the survey, 83 per cent of the professors and 95 per cent of the businessmen thought that greater participation by industrialists in college training is one of the important ways to improve college courses. But neither businessman nor professor favored changing colleges into vocational schools.

One question in the poll asked was "What is your main criticism of college graduates

entering business or industry?" The survey "summarized and interpreted" the responses thus:

"[Recent] college graduates do not have the right attitude toward their jobs or their business associates, as expressed in lack of industry and initiative, delusions of grandeur and inability to get along with people. They want to start at the top and 'advance from there.' They want a lot of money but don't want to work or get their hands dirty earning it." [It is important to note that this poll was taken in a relatively high-wage-earning period.]

Some businessmen further declared that college graduates lack the fundamentals of arithmetic, spelling, writing, and so on, and are incapable of "thinking straight."

For a well-rounded preparatory course for a business career, the businessmen suggested the following 28 subjects: English composition, literature, and public speaking, Economics, General accounting, Types of industrial and business organization, Relation of government to industry and business, Labor relations and labor laws, Commercial and industrial law, Government, Corporation finance, Cost accounting, Production methods, Psychology, Case problems in management principles, History of industrial development, Advertising, Distribution methods, Budgetary control and procedures; Taxes, Public relations, Marketing research, General chemistry; Physics, Algebra, Geometry, Calculus, Industrial psychology, and Personnel selection and placement. (*Management Education*, a report on the survey among business and educational leaders made by Society for Advancement of Management, Committee on Relations with Colleges and Universities, 1948. See also, *Modern Management*, November 1948.)

### PROJECTS

1. Select a business or industry which interests you vocationally, and gather the following data about it:
  - a. Names and location of the leading firms
  - b. Important individuals in the field
  - c. Names of trade associations related to the business or industry
  - d. Trade journals and associated periodicals
  - e. The closest local branches of the leading firms—the men in charge, and something about them personally
2. From the list of questions on page 249 and any others you may care to add, select those that you have encountered most

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frequently yourself Prepare a well-thought-out procedure for use in your next interview

- 3 Listen to a radio employment program where applicants give their qualifications over the air Take notes on each of several cases and suggest how the applicants could improve their cases
- 4 Collect a number of unconvincing "situation wanted" ads from a newspaper or trade journal Diagnose the difficulty in each case and rewrite the ad for effective results
- 5 Name some specific "showcase" items that you can utilize in your present work or in a position with which you are familiar. Analyze the probable effect of each
- 6 Write a letter of application for a position you would like to have Include a personal data sheet and a list of specific skills, or things you could do at once for an employer while working toward the type of position you are aiming at Use the following check list and add to it any items you think would be helpful

### *Men*

Operate an engine  
Repair automobiles  
Do concrete-mixing  
Do physical labor  
Collect bills  
Run errands  
Be a gas station attendant  
Repair radios

### *Women*

Sew  
Cook.  
Take care of children  
Do housework  
Be a telephone operator  
Do filing  
Take care of the sick  
Design clothes

### *Both Men and Women*

Do typing  
Do bookkeeping  
Do selling  
Do clerical work  
Be an office machine operator  
Operate semi-automatic machines  
Do showcard writing  
Write a good letter  
Drawing, sketching  
Do window dressing  
Repair machinery  
Say a pleasant "Good morning"  
Make a good first impression  
Use strategy in buying  
Know the rules of etiquette  
Talk interestingly  
Speak several languages  
Speak in public  
Invent new devices  
Invent new systems

Versed in current events  
Do statistical work  
Write legibly  
Be an information clerk  
Drive a car  
Sort mail  
Be a cashier  
Be a sales clerk  
Be a helper to a skilled worker  
Drive a car safely  
Persuade others  
Act as a group leader  
Make many friends  
Supervise others  
Sell goods  
Use good English  
Invent unusual phrases  
Write  
Do research work  
Develop new services  
Manual dexterity

- 7 Outline a program for obtaining a position Include an unsolicited letter of application, trade journal advertisement, list of firms where you might apply, and a written description of the facts about yourself that you would try to present to the prospective employers.
- 8 Prepare a graphic presentation of your past history. Use an outline map to show the places where you have worked in the past

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## I3 Adjustments in courtship and marriage

*The movies, novels, songs, and comics proclaim romance as a power that overcomes all obstacles. In these fictions, marriage is pictured as a continuous state of ecstasy. Actually, marriage is like work and other important arenas of life. It is an arena where we have special opportunities to learn to enjoy emotionally satisfying experiences such as companionship and to interpret life in new and exciting ways.*

ONE INTERESTING WAY TO LEARN HOW adjustments affect the lives of men and women is to study couples during their courtship and marriage. In the case of a young couple courting each other, we can try to understand what each means to the other psychologically. Also, the college student usually knows his own parents well enough for him to appreciate, to some extent, what each probably meant to the other at the time of marriage and to observe some of the ways in which each parent's adjustment has affected his marital life. The college student who gains even a limited insight into the psychological factors involved in the courtship and marriage of other couples should have a somewhat improved perspective for the more intelligent direction of his own courtship and marriage. Certainly marriage itself cannot be the

starting point for a discussion of the factors in a successful marriage

### ***Adjustment patterns that can be recognized in the behavior of couples***

Almost all psychological adjustment patterns occur in the lives of persons, married or single. Some patterns, however, are especially influential in the choice of mate and the success or failure of the marriage. An objective awareness of these especially influential patterns can be acquired by any intelligent person who studies clinical findings, particularly those which are the mainsprings in the personality developments that lead to marital discord.

One of the first discoveries about marriage on the part of the psychological investigator is the fact that a boy and girl do not fall into love as a result of deep

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unfathomable forces. Rather, they fall into love with each other because each answers, or appears to answer, some of the dominant psychological needs of the other. A conventional example is the studious introverted boy, socially awkward, who is anxious to enjoy the company of a girl of his own age. He meets an extraverted girl, a poor student, who is vivacious. She helps him to enjoy himself socially. Perhaps she also builds up his feelings of self-worth because she tells him about her own shortcomings as a student and expresses admiration for his intellectual achievements. If he also has feelings of rejection by his parents and she mentions the ways in which her parents do not understand her, he may develop feelings of psychological kinship toward her and identify himself with her, thus forming ties that are likely to lead to further courtship and eventual marriage.

The individual's frustrations often find expression in the choice of the mate. The boy who was dominated by a stern parent or an older brother may prefer the company of a weak submissive girl because he can dominate her by telling her what clothes to wear, where she may go, and what she may or may not do. She, in turn, may enjoy his domination because her father was a tyrant over her. Her boy friend's tyranny allows her to live in terms of her earlier conditioning, but she likes the boy friend's domination better than her father's because she interprets the suitor's domination as proof of interest in her, not mere domination without sufficient interest.

Compensations are frequently demonstrated in the choice of a mate. The girl who feels that her family is socially inferior may prefer a mate of her own social

class or she may seek one who appears to her to be of a higher class. If she feels inferior because her father was a plumber, she may prefer a bank clerk as a suitor even though he makes only half as much money as a plumber.

The girl who was reared too leniently or by parents who were inconsistent in their discipline may have pronounced feelings of emotional insecurity. She is not sure that she can depend upon anyone. Hence she may choose a man who has many fixed ideas, likes mathematics, lives his life in accordance with his formulas, is a firm disciplinarian and an army officer. His apparent self-assurance, even though it may actually be defensive on his part, is comforting to her. Actually, the two may be a well-mated couple.

Adjustments in courtship often demonstrate the previously stated principle (Chapter 2) that some persons react to an earlier environmental influence by antagonism toward it, others by adopting it. This is particularly evident in the case of a mother's domination of her son. One son may rebel against his mother's over-attentiveness and want to get away from home as soon as he can. He usually wants a mate who reminds him very little of his own mother. On the other hand, the son who enjoys his mother's attentiveness wants to remain with his mother as long as possible. If he does seek a mate, he is apt to seek a girl of the mother-image type. If he finds her, his courtship is likely to be of a vacillating kind because he finds his mother's company after all more comforting than the girl's.

Certainly every girl should know enough about the mother-fixation pattern to recognize it when she sees it. If she fails to appreciate its power for ill in married life and marries the man with

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an Oedipus complex, she is likely to find that his mother's apron strings become a noose around her life. Any bride who finds that her husband's comment about the pie she baked for him is: "Why don't you bake the kind of pies my mother baked?" should know enough to answer: "This is the kind of pies I bake for you. From now on you are going to eat 'em and like 'em!"

Every college man of courtship age ought to be able to recognize the behavior patterns of neurasthenia and functional invalidism when they are evident in the girls he dates. If he does not know enough psychology to recognize such adjustment patterns when he sees them, he will be lucky if he marries a well-adjusted girl. If he has enough insight to recognize patterns of serious maladjustment in a girl but decides to marry her regardless of such syndromes as neurasthenia or invalidism, he should appreciate the nature of the burden he assumes for life. Any hope he may have of curing her is just about as justifiable as that of the girl who marries a man in spite of the fact that she knows him to be a chronic alcoholic.

The adjustment mechanisms at work in the choice of the mate may be fairly obvious or very subtle. It is impossible to predict with one hundred per cent accuracy whether a given personality pattern on the part of a man will result in compatibility or incompatibility when matched with a specific pattern of a woman. We can predict only with greater or less likelihood of validity that two patterns may or may not result in a lasting marriage. Several psychologists and other researchers have investigated factors which indicate likelihood of success or failure in marriage.

### **Quantitative studies of marital success and failure**

Different criteria for adjudging marital success or failure have been employed by different investigators. Clarence W. Schroeder used divorce as the criterion of failure in marriage in his study *Divorce in a City of 100,000 Population*.<sup>1</sup> Factors which he found to be positively correlated with marital success were: parents' marriage reported happier than average, parents not divorced or separated, sex instruction from mother or from books, education beyond high school, attendance at church three or more times a month, attendance at Sunday school beyond 18 years, and being reared in country or small town.

L. M. Terman<sup>2</sup> used the scores that 792 husbands and wives made on a marital happiness scale as the criterion of marital success. He found that the following factors were positively correlated with marital happiness: rated marital happiness of the parents, rated happiness of childhood, no conflict with mother, firm but not harsh discipline in the home, amount of attachment to father and mother, no conflict with father, frank attitude of parents toward early sex curiosity, relative mental ability where the husband is not inferior (with the wife's happiness) and where the husband is not much superior (with the husband's happiness); absence of severe and frequent childhood punishment, absence of disgust and aversion toward sex in premarital attitude of the subject; and, in the case of wife, absence of passionate longing.

Clifford Kirkpatrick<sup>3</sup> found that: (1) "in the case of women there is a marked tendency for greater intimacy with one

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or the other parent to be unfavorable to marital adjustment," and (2) "in the case of the males an excess or deficiency of friendship with the opposite sex is unfavorable to marital adjustment."

Hornell Hart, assisted by Wilmer Shields, used divorce as the criterion of marital failure.<sup>4</sup> He found that the optimum ages for entering marriage were twenty-nine for bridegrooms and twenty-four for brides. Men who were married when they were less than twenty-four years old, and women who were married when they were less than nineteen, were found to have a greater proportion of unhappy marriages than any other age groups.

In order to obtain objective information regarding the reasons for success or failure in marriage, Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. made a statistical and case history study of 526 married couples.<sup>5</sup> Their major findings were as follows:

- 1 Contrary to prevailing opinion, American wives make the major adjustment in marriage.
- 2 Affectional relationships in childhood, typically of the son for the mother and the daughter for the father, condition the love-object choice of the adult.
- 3 The socialization of the person, as indicated by his participation in social life and social institutions, is significant for adjustment in marriage.
- 4 The economic factor in itself is not significant for adjustment in marriage, since it is apparently fully accounted for by the other factors (impression of cultural background, psychogenetic characteristics, social type, and response patterns).
- 5 With the majority of couples, problems of sexual adjustment in marriage appear to be a resultant not so much of biological factors as of psychological characteristics and of cultural conditioning of attitudes toward sex.

- 6 Prediction before marriage of marital adjustment is feasible, and should and can be further developed through statistical and case-study methods.

Particularly important was their finding that similarity of cultural background was found to be of greater importance in a good marital adjustment than was similarity of economic background.

Burgess and Cottrell assembled the data obtained from their study into tables, formulating a separate table for each of the 111 factors which was statistically analyzed. Information of interest to many students is quoted below, but it is suggested that interested students consult *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* for details regarding other important factors.

TABLE 29\*

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE AND  
ADJUSTMENT

Age at Marriage	Marital Adjustment			
	Poor (per cent)	Fair (per cent)	Good (per cent)	Num- ber of Cases
<b>Husband</b>				
17 to 21	38.5	32.7	28.8	52
22 to 24	17.3	33.9	48.8	127
25 to 27	24.6	29.5	45.9	122
28 to 30	18.8	20.3	60.9	69
31 and over	28.8	24.2	47.0	66
No reply				90
Total				526
<b>Wife</b>				
16 to 18	46.9	34.4	18.7	32
19 to 21	28.5	29.2	42.3	123
22 to 24	20.9	29.1	50.0	148
25 to 27	22.5	27.5	50.0	80
28 and over	17.7	24.2	58.1	62
No reply				81
Total all cases	28.5	28.3	43.2	526

\* Burgess and Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, Table 69 (Chart 16)



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TABLE 30\*

DIFFERENCE IN AGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE AND ADJUSTMENT

<i>Difference in Age</i>	<i>Marital Adjustment</i>			Number of Cases
	Poor (per cent)	Fair (per cent)	Good (per cent)	
Same age	13 1	39 1	47 8	46
Husband older				
One to three years	21 4	31 0	47 6	168
Four to seven years	35 4	26 4	38 2	110
Eight years or more	31 1	17 8	51 1	45
Wife older	23 2	23 2	53 6	56
One or both, no reply				101
Total	28 5	28 3	43.2	526

\* *Ibid*, Table 89 (Chart 36)

TABLE 31\*

DURATION OF KEEPING COMPANY AND ADJUSTMENT

<i>Duration of Courtship</i>	<i>Marital Adjustment</i>			Number of Cases
	Poor (per cent)	Fair (per cent)	Good (per cent)	
Under three months	39.3	28 6	32 1	28
Three to 11 months	42 9	23 8	33 3	105
One year to three years	28 9	31.8	39 3	201
Three to five years	12 6	30 6	56 8	111
Five years and over	17 2	27 6	55 2	58
No reply				23
Total	28 5	28 3	43 2	526

\* *Ibid*, Table 91 (Chart 38)

Burgess and Cottrell<sup>6</sup> found that those who had the highest scores based on premarital background items, that is, those who seemed to have the most factors favorable to a successful marriage, actually did have more successful marriages. They found that there was an increase in the number of divorces and separations as the prediction scores became lower. There was also an increase in the number of those who had *contemplated* divorce or separation as the scores became lower. It would therefore appear that it is possible to predict with some reliability the chances of success in marriage if certain factors are taken into consideration.

### *Factors in divorce*

Divorce, although not actually encouraged in our culture, is condoned. In recent years, the number of divorces granted annually in the United States has ranged from 400,000 to 610,000. In addition, there were about 750,000 homes from which the husband was absent and more than 300,000 homes from which the wife was absent. This may not mean that more ill-advised marriages are being undertaken than heretofore, but that people are more anxious to be released from the marriage contract if they are disappointed in it. It appears that, in

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general, the longer the duration of a marriage, the greater is the possibility of its being permanent. The first six years of marriage are the crucial ones. There are more divorces during the third year of marriage than during any other, but the divorce rate remains high during the first six years of marriage.<sup>7</sup>

In connection with his study of psychological factors in marital happiness, Terman statistically evaluated domestic grievances of the 792 married couples who constituted his experimental group. Findings by Terman\* with regard to the grievances that are considered most important and least important are stated as follows:

Consider first the grievances that rank highest for seriousness. These are all personality faults of the complainant's mate, not the external circumstances or conditions of marriage. This holds for the entire first 20 in the husband's list, and for 19 of the first 20 in the wife's. A majority of the faults are of the kind commonly thought to be indicative of emotional instability, neurotic tendency, or marked introversion, as these terms are used in the current literature of personality psychology. Their position here lends support to the theory that one of the greatest dangers to marriage is the all-around unhappy temperament of one or both of the spouses. . . .

Most serious for husband's happiness are, in order: wife's nagging, lack of affection, selfishness or inconsiderateness, complaining, interfering with his hobbies, slovenliness of appearance, quick temper, interfering with his discipline of children, conceit, insincerity, too easily hurt feelings, criticizing, narrow-mindedness, neglect of the children, poor housekeeping, argumentativeness, annoying habits and mannerisms, untruthfulness, interference with his business, and spoiling the children.

Most serious for wife's happiness are, in

order: husband's selfishness or inconsiderateness, lack of success in business, untruthfulness, complaining, failure to show his affection for her, unwillingness to talk things over, harshness with the children, touchiness, lack of interest in the children, lack of interest in the home, lack of (general) affectionateness, rudeness, lack of ambition, nervousness or impatience, criticizing, poor management of income, narrow-mindedness, unfaithfulness, laziness, boredom when she talks to him about her everyday life.

Only 6 items are found in the first 20 of both husband's and wife's lists. "not affectionate," "selfish and inconsiderate," "complains too much," "criticizes me," "is narrow-minded," "is not truthful."

Consider next the grievances that are least serious as causes of unhappiness. Here the spouses are in closer agreement. Of the 10 lowest in the respective lists, 7 are found in both.

The 10 things in order of least importance for the wife's happiness are that: husband is older, smokes, differs from her in tastes in food, is younger, differs from her in education, drinks, swears, is late to meals, is jealous, differs from her in religious beliefs.

The 12 least serious to husband's happiness are as follows in order of least seriousness: the wife is younger, drinks, smokes, is older, differs from him in tastes in food, is a social climber, works outside the home, swears, differs from him in education, is a poor cook, differs from him in religious beliefs, is unfaithful.

This list of things that are relatively so unimportant to the husband's happiness is one of the most interesting outcomes of our entire study. The striking fact about the list is that it is composed so largely of things which have long been regarded as among the most essential conditions of a happy and successful marriage.

Divorce is indisputable evidence that one or both marriage partners have failed to adjust to the other, and to the institution of marriage. We have seen what

\*By permission from *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, by Lewis M. Terman, Copyrighted, 1938, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., pp. 101f.

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some investigators believe to be factors militating for success in marriage, but the factors that contribute to a maladjustment, as in divorce, are perhaps even more difficult to ascertain

One statistical finding about divorces is that a childless marriage has about 70 chances in 100 of ending in divorce, one with children has only 8 chances in 100.<sup>8</sup> This means that a childless marriage has almost nine times as great a chance of culminating in divorce as does a marriage with children. The fact that no children are involved in most divorce cases may mean that these mates are selfish—so selfish as to be unwilling to make the adjustments necessary to a successful marriage. On the other hand, the fact that they have no children may mean that it is easier for them to consider divorce than it is for people with the responsibility of children. Regardless of the reasons, however, the fact remains that adjustments of the requisite number and scope are not made so that the marriage may be enabled to grow.

Terman, in his study of 792 married couples who had a mean length of marriage of 11.4 years, found that 8.8 per cent of the men and 11.5 per cent of the women had seriously contemplated divorce at some time during their marriage. When these 792 couples rated themselves as to the degree of happiness achieved, 95.5 per cent of the men rated their happiness from "about average" to "extraordinarily happy." Only 4.6 per cent of the men rated their marriage "somewhat less happy than average" to "extremely unhappy." Of the women, 94.4 per cent rated their marriage as "about average" to "extraordinarily happy," and 5.6 per cent rated their marriage "somewhat less

happy than average" to "extremely unhappy."<sup>9</sup>

Husbands of good health make better adjustments than those less healthy. The health of the husband is shown to be more important than that of the wife, probably because of economic necessities.<sup>10</sup>

The person who adjusts best to marriage is the socialized person. Through his experiences with people in various groups he develops differently from the individual who participates but little in group organizations. He is more apt to be a stable personality and thus better suited to marriage.

Our choice of mates is restricted in our society by certain barriers that limit our acquaintances and friends. Although these barriers are not insurmountable, they are worthy of consideration.

*Religion* is one of these restrictive factors. While intermarriages do occur and many of them turn out happily, it is generally found that Catholics marry Catholics, Jews marry Jews, and Protestants marry Protestants. Many parents indoctrinate their offspring with the importance of marrying "their own kind" for their own good. Serious friendships with young people of a different religious faith are usually disapproved. When two people of different religions do fall in love, however, and consider marriage, problems arise, particularly if the couple intends to have children. The question of which religion the children will be encouraged to adopt is a question that must be answered by the parents. Some couples feel that they cannot assume the responsibility of making such a decision and do not marry because of the difference in religion. Other alternatives are. one may

## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

decide on conversion to the faith of the other, both may dismiss the problem of choice between two religions by subscribing to neither, each partner may retain his own faith. Another solution, more idealistic than practicable, is the adoption of the attitude that because of a mixed marriage the parents have something extra to add to the child's development—an appreciation and understanding of two religions instead of one only.

It is a fact that couples having church connections have more stable marriages than those with none. The accompanying chart, based on a survey by the American Youth Commission, shows the relation between religious affiliation and broken homes.

Finding a church home is an important part of building a marriage between people with religious needs and interests. Couples oftentimes would like to have a church home but after their marriage, especially if they come from different religious backgrounds, they find it difficult. He isn't at home in her church, nor is she in his, and so they settle it by having no church affiliation at all. This rarely solves the problem because most peo-

ple need a larger interest outside themselves if they are to be happy. When trouble comes, that need becomes acute. You can feel terribly alone and helpless when a crisis comes. There is a desolation about death, sudden impoverishment, severe disappointments, and many family problems. At times like these, as well as in day-by-day living, religion is often a real source of comfort and support.

Finding a church home usually begins before marriage. When plans are being made for life together you talk about the church in which you will make your home. You visit each other's church if you have not grown up in the same one. Together you plan for your joint membership. If the decision has been postponed until after your marriage, it is wise not to put it off longer.

Religious ceremonies at the time of the marriage, the dedication of the home, the christening of the children, the celebration of holidays, and in the everyday life of the home add richness and a sense of permanence to a marriage.<sup>11</sup>

### *Intelligent dating*

Dating is a getting-acquainted period. High school and college students rate the ability to date successfully as a kind of

RELIGION AND BROKEN HOMES

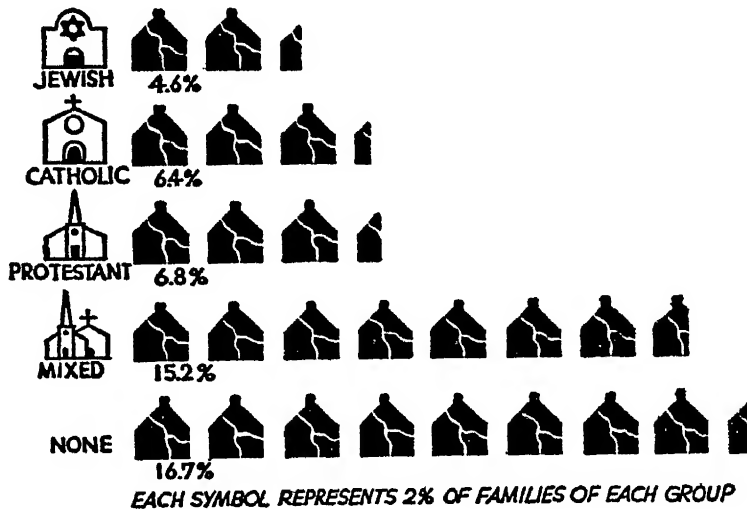


Chart by Graphic  
Associates for Public  
Affairs Committee,  
Inc.

## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

status-gaining procedure. On some campuses, dating is largely an end in itself rather than an approach to courtship and marriage. College students, in most cases, must postpone serious thoughts of marriage until they complete their education and earn a livelihood. Dating enables the students to enjoy the company of the opposite sex and to engage in normal social functions until they reach the stage of educational and professional attainment which allows them to have more definite plans for marriage. Dating offers these young people excellent opportunities to note and evaluate the personality characteristics of the opposite sex and to surmise which ones would, as marital partners, be successful or unsuccessful.

The student who is psychologically alert should not go on a date and attempt to make amateur psychoanalytic interpretations of the dated partner and explain them to him (her). Such practice on the part of many college majors in psychology is evidence of immaturity. The mature student of psychology does not "psychologize" his friends and discuss his interpretations with them. Rather, he notes the cues to each friend's adjustment patterns, constantly adds to his understanding of the friend, increases his respect for him, and makes himself a better companion. Such a companionship is on a high level of mutual respect for the personality integrity of the other person. Dating experiences offer the student the opportunity to do some intelligent "field work" in the attainment of this high level of companionability and psychological insight.

Young people on dates often discuss their own childhood histories, their frustrations, resentments, disappointments,

hopes, and other influences in adjustment. The alert listener can, in his own mind, note the patterns of behavior that control the other person's personality. The psychologically intelligent male student on a date will note significant factors in the adjustment development of his girl friends, such as the following:

1. *Her barriers:* Problems of health, physical appearance, limitations in mental capacities, births of other children in the family, parental frictions, neurotic relatives, impatient teachers, domineering associates, *et al.*

2. *Predisposing influences:* Cultural influences, standards of conduct insisted upon by parents, and especially her affect evaluation of herself when she was a small child. Did she, for example, behave as though she were the center of attention of the family; feel unwanted in the family, denied her rights, ridiculed, disciplined severely, or feel that she was helpless, sickly, and deficient as a child in comparison with other children?

3. *Precipitating influences:* recent factors such as failure, insult, loss, disappointment, fatigue, or success.

4. *Direct-attack adjustments* which she made or might have made.

5. *Positive substitute activities:* What means of adjustment were made of a positive, personality-strengthening nature, such as studiousness, in adjustment to real or imagined social failure or physical unattractiveness?

6. *Evasive or retreat adjustments:* What personality-weakening adjustments has she made, such as withdrawing from social contacts, habitual attendance at the movies, excessive alcoholism, constant fault-finding, exhibitionism, untruthfulness, wishing for death, or other negative-value activities?

## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

If the dominating adjustments have been positive and personality-strengthening, she will need little aid from a future husband other than normal human companionship and consideration. If many dominating adjustments have been of an evasive nature and personality-weakening, she may require a great deal of helpful insight from a husband in order to make her happy or to enable him to be happy with her.

If she exemplifies the very common adjustment pattern of the child who felt inferior intellectually (barrier), was reared by doting parents who made her the center of attention (predisposing influence), now keenly enjoys being well dressed and pleasing others in social situations (positive value adjustment), she is very apt to continue the pattern after marriage. Her husband, in turn, will react to the pattern favorably or unfavorably, depending upon his own adjustment tendencies. If he has developed strong tendencies in the direction of stinginess in buying clothes and has little desire to have his wife impress others in social affairs, he is likely to find her behavior annoying. On the other hand, if he likes to spend money to buy nice things for his wife so that she becomes an ornament that impresses other people, he is likely to find her behavior quite gratifying to him.

Marriage does not change adjustment patterns. The individual takes into marriage the same patterns and techniques that he used before marriage. The girl who resorted to illness as an escape from difficult situations before marriage will also resort to illness as an escape after marriage. The youth who ran to mother

for comfort or resorted to drink in emotional crises before marriage is likely to resort to the same techniques after marriage. But the patterns that one man needs in his mate may be quite different from the patterns that will complement the adjustment needs of another.

The one stage in boy-girl relations where our culture provides opportunity for the boy and the girl to evaluate each other objectively is the dating period. Once their relation reaches the courtship stage, almost all objectivity in personality evaluation disappears. Evaluations of the other person in courtship are mere rationalizations.

### *Adjustments after marriage*

Immediately after marriage the honeymoon takes place. This custom enables the young couple to get away from old environments, relatives, and friends. Marriage requires the changing of many habits, and the honeymoon provides the newlyweds some opportunity for learning how to live together in the first stages of their home life. As stated by Paul H. Landis \*

"The first month isn't easy, you know," is a comment frequently heard from newlyweds. Being happy as man and wife does not come to most couples as a matter of course, but like success in any cooperative enterprise it comes only after considerable experience.

The readjustments of habits that marriage requires are sometimes disturbing, but, to establish any type of home routine, many habits accepted prior to marriage have to be readjusted to suit the new family situation. Habits of rising and retiring, the time of eating, likes and dislikes in foods, and numerous activities that make up daily living have to be adjusted. Failure of either member to make certain concessions is apt to become a source of friction.

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## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

Good husbands and wives are not born that way, nor is the transformation caused by courtship or the marriage ceremony. Some old folks on their golden wedding anniversary make flowery statements about never having disagreed on anything. The likelihood is that they have forgotten many things. Actually most couples disagree on certain points, and these differences may come to light early in married life.

Unfortunately, most courtship is carried on during leisure time so the young couple have opportunities to see each other only when they are in the best mood. During courtship they usually engage in pleasant activities. This is suddenly changed by marriage, when for the first time the marriage partners share every relationship of life: work, trouble, the daily grind of life, responsibility, duty, worry about finances, and all the other normal responsibilities that are a part of adulthood, as well as the leisure time and recreational periods.

During the early months of marriage much of the exaggerated romance wears off as the couple settles down to washing dishes, scrubbing floors, commuting, paying bills, and sharing the remnants of their days with one another. The young man and young woman come to see each other as human beings rather than as the idealized gods they appeared to be in the highly romantic phase of courtship. There was a tendency during courtship to oversell one's best traits to be sure of winning the other party. Now in day-to-day living both best and worse traits gradually appear.

Successful couples work out their disagreements or learn to accept and tolerate each other's differences in point of view. It would be unusual to find any relationship in which two people agreed on everything. Marriage is no exception. Few people like all of their own personal traits. It is unlikely that they will find everything exactly as they wish or had expected in the person they marry. Actually life would for many be a little dull if they always saw eye to eye.

The fact that a man and woman marry and live together for many years may or may not indicate a happy marriage.

Sooner or later, every marriage necessitates numerous adjustments on the part of each mate to the other. In our American culture, the husband usually expects his wife to be the dominant personality in regard to the home and the children. The wife expects the husband to be the dominant personality in regard to the earning of the income, the geographical area where they live, and the purchase of the home.

In the purchase of many commodities for the home, the home is a mutually operated enterprise, as indicated by a consumer survey conducted by a leading advertising agency. When 225 husbands and their wives were interviewed separately regarding the influence of each sex in the purchase of fifteen commodities and in certain other aspects of family life, each mate answered the questions independently. The questions were the same except for the slight change in phrasing to fit the sex. The answers to questions on buying habits indicated that all aspects of merchandising, decision to buy, the kind and brand, are likely to be decidedly influenced by both husband and wife unless the article is a low-priced one, such as a dessert, or one logically controlled by the wife only, such as table silver or electric irons.

In the table shown below, the figures in the column marked "Women" indicate the women's own answers regarding their buying habits. The figures in the column marked "Men" indicate the men's opinion when they were asked the corresponding questions. Certainly these findings<sup>12</sup> point out the fundamental principle that the American home is a mutually operated enterprise—both husbands and wives are managerial partners when purchases are made.

## adjustments in courtship and marriage

TABLE 32

MUCH BUYING IS OF A COOPERATIVE NATURE

		<i>As Answered By</i>	
		<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
		(per cent)	(per cent)
1 Do you buy any particular brands of foods such as coffee, cereals, salad dressing, etc., because your husband prefers them to others?	Frequently	67	65
	Occasionally	24	30
	Never	9	5
2 Do you ask your husband's advice in selecting your outer clothing?	Frequently	27	31
	Occasionally	38	38
	Never	35	31
3 Do you ever return merchandise you have selected independently because your husband is not enthusiastic about it?	Frequently	8	8
	Occasionally	30	42
	Never	62	50
4 Do you shop together for your husband's clothes, such as suits and overcoats?	Frequently	42	50
	Occasionally	32	29
	Never	26	21
5 Do you shop for your husband's shirts, socks, ties, etc.?	Frequently	64	57
	Occasionally	26	29
	Never	10	14

When it comes to determining what shall be bought, husbands and wives put their heads together more often than not. This is especially true when the item under discussion is of comparatively high cost, such as a refrigerator, a washing machine, or the family automobile. The purchase of toasters, electric irons, and, of course, cosmetics is usually decided by

the wife. Again, there is close agreement as to which or whether both decide, as illustrated by Table 33.<sup>13</sup>

The extent to which the American home is a jointly operated enterprise is further indicated by the data from a mail survey of masculine readers of *The American Magazine*. Of the 2,003 men who answered the questionnaire, 94 per cent shop, or at times help to shop, for groceries. The majority, 63 per cent, prepare their own breakfasts. Eighty per cent claimed that they do some dishwashing, 62 per cent that they scrub out the bathtub, and about half that they scrub floors and wash windows.<sup>14</sup>

Few couples are so perfectly mated that no frictions arise. Marriage calls for continuous adjustments as well as the performance of home responsibilities of good citizenship and parenthood. The fact that it is easy for any interested observer to go into a restaurant and to differentiate the married couples from the unmarried does not mean that every young married

TABLE 33

Item	Who Decides	As Answered By	
		Women (per cent)	Men (per cent)
Automatic refrigerator	Both	88	88
	Men	3	6
	Women	9	6
Home deep freezer	Both	78	78
	Men	10	12
	Women	12	10
Automobile	Both	56	57
	Men	41	42
	Women	3	1
Electric iron	Both	24	29
	Men	1	4
	Women	75	97



## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

couple need look forward to boredom or eventual separation. Nor should either party expect a completely problemless existence.

Sometimes a frank disagreement or emotionalized "spat" may clear the atmosphere and remove the unspoken grievances that have accumulated. Disagreement is a part of the process of marital adjustment. It helps to improve the unity of the family if it is a phase in the further adjustment of persons who are basically well adjusted in other respects. If the one partner always avoids open disagreement and merely suppresses his own feelings of frustration, the frustrations will in time affect his personality. He must make some kind of adjustment, such as burying himself in his work. In that case he is likely to suspend his identifications with his mate, and their relationship becomes a conventional one. Success in his work, however, may give him feelings of adequacy that enable him to aid her by treating her objectively.

Most couples want to make their marriages successful. Marriages rarely become truly successful unless both, or at least one partner, is sufficiently well adjusted to facilitate the psychological well-being of the other. Both can grow best when they respect each other's personality and want the partner as well as the self to enjoy married life on its highest level—creative love.

The love life of the average individual passes through four stages. love of self, *babyhood*, love of parent, *childhood*, love of chum, *early youth*; and love of mate, *adulthood*. When the individual's love-object remains on the first level, self-love, he is an example of *narcissism*; when on the second level, attachment for a parent, the terms *Oedipus* or *Electra*

*complex* are used to describe it, and when fixated on the third level, attraction for persons of the same sex, the general term *homosexuality* is used. The last term is often used in a broad general sense and is contrasted with *heterosexuality*, attraction toward individuals of the opposite sex, but neither of these last two terms necessarily implies perversion or a specific sex relation.

The best-adjusted persons also attain a fifth stage of love-life, *creative love*. Each identifies his personality with that of his mate in absorbing tasks of rearing children, developing a happy home life, and pursuing successful vocational activities. Biologically, creative love is most commonly expressed in the rearing of children.

### *Sociological changes*

From the sociological standpoint, American family life is changing in line with the influences of a changing society. Families in the United States in comparison with those of other countries have certain differential characteristics. These differential characteristics are largely in terms of process rather than of structure. One of the most distinctive trends is greater *urbanization*. The proportion of families living in cities and near-by urban areas has increased. Furthermore, rural families have adopted the urban way of life.

*Instability* is greater, as indicated by the increase in divorce. This instability within some families is set in sharper focus by the increased trend toward companionship, common interests, and emphasis on democratic relations. Ernest W. Burgess has described this aspect of the family in a changing society as follows:

## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

The American family, both in its apparent variety and in its essential unity, needs to be viewed in the perspective of social change. It is in transition from older rural institutional forms to a democratic companionship type of family relations adapted to an urban environment. This great change in the mores is a vast social experiment, participated in by hundreds of thousands of families under the collective stimulation of the American ideology of democracy, freedom, and self-expression. This experimental situation places the emphasis upon the adaptability rather than upon the rigid stability of the family.<sup>15</sup>

Margaret Mead, anthropologist, has described further this aspect of the contemporary American family

Great readjustment which is occurring in the family pattern is the terminability of American marriage. As the old religious sanctions which enjoined fidelity until death, regardless of such ephemeral considerations as congeniality or "happiness," have faded for large sections of the population and have been powerless to save many more marriages from dissolution, new ways of holding marriages together are developing. The life of a family is coming to be seen as a ship which may be wrecked by any turn of the tide unless every member of the family, but especially the two parents, are actively and co-operatively engaged in sailing the boat, vigilantly tacking, trimming their sails, resetting their course, bailing in storms—all to save something which is worth their continuous care. This new ideal, in which all the members of a family work together to keep alive an ever changing relationship, may in time provide us with the necessary new ethical sanction within which to give our changing family dignity and safety.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Family life education and family counseling services***

Married people should be educated to take advantage of the social service institutions provided to aid those with personal marital problems. There should be

no stigma attached to visiting a marriage clinic or family service agency, as there should be no stigma to visiting a psychiatrist. An interview with a qualified counselor who can see the problem objectively may save many a failing marriage, or assure a successful one. The American Institute of Family Relations of Los Angeles can supply a list of more than forty regional consultants in family life education located in twenty-six states. The Institute also publishes a monthly service bulletin, "*Family Life Education*," edited by Paul Popenoe. In this country there are relatively few marriage clinics as such, but there are two hundred and forty family service agencies affiliated with the Family Service Association of America.<sup>17</sup>

Luther E. Woodward, Field Consultant of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has stressed the need for more family counseling services that are educative and preventive:

It is seventy years since the first family society was organized in America, and in many of our cities family services have been operating continuously for forty to fifty years. That seems too long a time to go on correcting family difficulties without making concerted efforts on the preventive side. If leaders in the public health field had been as slow to undertake the education of the public in health measures many of us probably would have been victims of one or another epidemic. In the case of family and community pathology people do not die so quickly. But that is no justification for failing to educate for family living with a view to preventing serious family difficulties. The wisdom of a preventive program is apparent; yet after seventy years of family service extremely little education for family living is being undertaken by the staffs of family agencies.

This reminds me of a sanity test that the Cornwall coast natives are reputed to have

## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

used for a long time. Anyone suspected of mental imbalance was brought into a room where water was flowing from a faucet into a bucket. The patient was given a cup and asked to bail the water out of the bucket. If he first turned off the faucet before he began dipping, he was considered sane. If he proceeded to dip the water out while the water poured in from the open faucet, he was considered insane. Our neglect of education for family life hardly justifies a judgment of national insanity, but the point seems clear. To go on bailing out a third of the marriages through the divorce courts while a constant stream from the same potentials flows in hardly seems like good sense. . . .

As a result of his years of experience in the field of family counseling, he has also submitted a "Decalogue for Marriage":

I submit it not as the last word on psychological insight, but simply as evidence that the basic concepts of family life and of interpersonal relations in the family can be stated simply and succinctly enough so that hopefully they may be transmitted somewhat from mouth to ear. The whole story cannot be told in these simple epigrammatic statements, but they are, I think, suggestive of the kind of insight and understanding that can be fostered through education for family living. It can hardly be gainsaid that persons who acquire an appreciation of the truths embodied in these ten brief statements would, through such appreciation, greatly strengthen their own family life.

### *Decalogue for Marriage*

1. Happy homes do not just happen. They are made by the understanding and co-operative zeal of the people who live in them.
2. Sex is as God-given and worthy as sight, hearing, or speech and like these is to be used intelligently and artfully for the enrichment of life.
3. In marriage all things add up: congenial conversation, sexual harmony, shared in-

terests, practical helpfulness, and worship in spirit and truth are interrelated and strengthen each other.

4. Love fully and well, but make not a bond of love, for love is a quality of free spirits, and while love is the foundation of marriage and the home, demand not its constant expression for no one loves anyone 100 per cent all of the time.
5. As mates you need many interests in common which you share in the doing and others which you pursue separately and share only in the telling. Let each of you fully respect the individuality of the other for mates are not as two peas in a pod.
6. Live fully today and mar it not by undue thought of tomorrow's difficulties, and "Let not the sun go down on thy wrath." Wrath there will be occasionally but let it not be stored up and carried into the morrow.
7. Strive for the grace of full acceptance of your mate notwithstanding his (her) shortcomings for these are likely then to disappear. And remember that while marriage and family living usually result in personality growth, obvious efforts to educate or "reform" one's mate are seldom successful.
8. Dwell upon the virtues and strengths of your mate and let them be praised to her (him) and to others, for we are all so made that we respond favorably to positive attention but are driven away or confirmed in our folly by criticism and nagging.
9. As the springs and tires on the family car take up the occasional bumps in the road and make them of little account, so members of a family must absorb and make of no account the occasional hostility and bad temper which one or another may show. To respond in kind is to make the road more bumpy.
10. Learn to share your feelings frankly be they feelings of affection, perplexity, or irritation, and be equally ready to accept those of your mate, for marriage can survive many troubles but cannot endure sham and pretense. Its greatest security is in being genuine and real.<sup>18</sup>

## adjustments in courtship and marriage

### Ask Yourself "AM I WELL-BALANCED?" \*

Your answers to these questions are a good indication of your emotional maturity, and so of one aspect of your fitness for marriage. Read each question carefully before you answer "Yes" or "No." Refer to Appendix for scoring.

- 1 Do you greatly dislike very bossy people?
- 2 Do you like to write personal letters?
- 3 Do you like people who are more clever than you?
- 4 Is it hard for you to like "yes" people?
- 5 Do you like to entertain friends at home?
- 6 Do you usually plan your work in detail?
- 7 Do you have great confidence in yourself?
- 8 Do you like Bible study or religious reading?
- 9 Can you usually cheer up a depressed person?
- 10 Do you ever rewrite letters before mailing them?
- 11 Will you fight to get your own way?
- 12 Does praise or blame affect you very much?
- 13 Has anyone ever given you a very "raw deal"?
- 14 Do your friends think you are conceited?
- 15 Is it annoying to you to lose an argument?
- 16 Do your friends often talk about you behind your back?
- 17 Is it hard for you to keep your temper in check?
- 18 Do you dislike cautious and conservative people?
- 19 Do you believe in a double standard of morality?
- 20 Do you frequently feel miserable or grouchy?

### PROJECTS

1. Make a list of the members of the opposite sex who have especially appealed to you as a possible marital partner. Then list some of their outstanding psychological characteristics. Can you note any significant factors in their appeal to you, factors that tie into your psychological background and needs?
2. In Dr. G. V. Hamilton's study of *What Is Wrong with Marriage* (A. & C. Boni, 1929), he asked 200 normal, intelligent married men and women the question "If by some miracle you could press a button and find that you had never been married, would you press the button?" Thirty-five per cent said "Yes" or hesitated.
3. Observe women who are strangers to you. A good place for your observations is a bus or railroad station. Study the expression on each woman's face and decide whether she is married or single. After you have made your "guess," note whether or not she is wearing a wedding ring. Keep a record of your "hits" and "misses." Analyze your own criteria as to whether a woman "looks" as though she were married or single.
4. The chapter on counseling presents some

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## *adjustments in courtship and marriage*

suggestions for the person who must continue to live with an irritating personality, such as a boss or a neurotic mate. It is easier to live with a difficult boss than with a difficult mate because the identification with the mate is much stronger than with the boss. Irritating experiences with a mate break the ties of identification so frequently that the irritated partner must depersonalize the relationship. In such cases, the stronger partner may look upon the weaker person as a kind of "patient."

This kind of adjustment enables many couples to remain married even though the relationship has lost its former mutuality. The stronger partner looks after the weaker one with a great deal of in-

tellectual consideration but very little feeling of identification.

What are some of the desirable and undesirable aspects of this kind of adjustment on the part of many American couples?

- 5 Clinical studies of marital relations indicate that many wives resent the husband's comment, "That's woman's work!" This resentment is especially pronounced in regard to the physical care of the baby. When a husband helps to take care of the baby, does dishes, and scrubs the kitchen floor, is he being unjustly domineered or is he really participating in the home responsibilities for the bringing about of a well-integrated home life?

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# 14 Facilitating the child's adjustments

*The ability of the adult to deal effectively with behavior problems in children depends to a large extent on the adult's own adjustment to the problems in his personal experience. Is the adult strong enough to withstand the emotional shocks and attacks that he meets in children's disobedience, lying, stealing, sexual demonstrations, and defiance? The adult's social relationships with others, his sources of personal satisfaction, his strivings for recognition, his acceptance of authority, and his adjustment to love and sex life—all influence his ability to deal constructively with children and their problems*

THE STUDY OF CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR IS important to the student of psychology for many reasons. Their behavior often exemplifies in clear-cut manner the adjustments discussed in previous chapters. Any person who wishes to understand adult behavior can go some way toward it by observing children's problems and their adjustments to them. Indeed, one of the most helpful questions in the understanding of many an adult is, "What would this man's behavior mean if it were that of a small boy?"

Furthermore, most college students would be helped immeasurably in their own adjustments if they were to arrive at a better understanding of those of their own parents. A goodly percentage of students, for example, have been

reared by the type of mother who was emotionally insecure and anxious. She found it necessary to protect her child from all sorts of real or fancied dangers, would not allow her child to play actively lest he become overheated and catch a cold, wanted to make sure that he ate enough of the right foods, and insisted that he wear rubbers and take his raincoat. At the same time that she fussed about her child's welfare, she also complained that she was a "slave" to her family and was unappreciated by her husband and children.

The person who has learned to view his parents' adjustment patterns in a clear-cut perspective is well on the way toward a clearer understanding of his own personality characteristics.

## *facilitating the child's adjustments*

Later, when the student becomes a parent, he has the advantage of greater insight and intelligent control of his methods in rearing his own children. If, for example, he has developed strong adjustment tendencies in the direction of dealing with his daily problems by means of formulas for behavior, strict rules of conduct, and mathematically exact answers, he should expect that he will seek a knowledge of *rules* for the rearing of his children. Once he has learned a rule, he will be apt to apply it with mechanical rigidity. Of course such a father is likely to develop either a pathetic duplicate of himself or a rebellious child.

Formulas and rules for child training are less helpful to the parent than an open-minded perspective toward typical childhood behavior and an intelligent ability to project oneself into the child's life. The clinically trained psychologist has these mental perspectives and abilities to feel as the child feels, many intelligent parents also acquire the same psychological acumen.

The parent who appreciates adjustment tendencies and feels himself into the growing child's mental life has a marked advantage over the parent who is psychologically obtuse. The latter may, sooner or later, discover that his child is a serious problem to him. If, for example, a ten-year-old boy fails to go home when he should because he finds the company of neighbors more satisfying than that of his parents, the father who lacks insight into childhood behavior may decide that punishment will induce more desirable conduct. It may not. The child may persist in his misconduct. In desperation the father may consult a person trained in child guidance. Perhaps he will be told that the boy feels rejected because of the recent birth of a baby

sister. He may be advised to overlook some of the boy's bad behavior, become a better companion to the boy, and encourage him to participate in the family life. After pursuing the prescribed treatment for a day or two, the parents may decide that the boy is more mischievous than ever. The father reports that the recommended treatment is a terrible failure.

In such a case the contribution of psychology to the aid of the parents appears to have failed, but only because they lacked a proper appreciation for childhood adjustments. The father should gain an understanding of the adjustment concept as expressed by his son, so that he will have some basic principles of child training—a kind of working philosophy. If he does, he will persist in the application of these principles, because he will realize that no one can expect a child to change his deep-seated adjustment patterns suddenly. The patterns are too deeply ingrained. The father must appreciate that the boy continues to feel rejected and needs long-term assistance in developing the feeling that he is loved and wanted.

The mere application of rules for child training helps few problem children overcome their problems. The greatest aid to the parent is an intelligent insight into the dynamics of the problem child's behavior.

### ***Predisposing influences in childhood adjustments***

Parenthood increases each parent's responsibilities, involves some changes in standards of living, restricts freedom of certain movements, and compels each parent, particularly the mother, to perform many additional tasks at regular intervals. It also brings about important

### *facilitating the child's adjustments*

changes in the affectional relation between husband and wife. The new baby may become, in some ways, a rival for the affection of the mate. If the new father is lacking in his personality maturity, he may reject both the role of father and the child. Cases of such extreme rejections are not unusual in our clinics. Far more common, however, are the cases of children who realize that they were or are unwanted and develop feelings of rejection. Children who feel rejected tend to develop detached, seclusive personalities and to have few friends.<sup>1</sup> Many are unable to respond to the affection of others. Some are hyperactive, aggressive, rebellious, or resentful of authority. Rejected children are reported to show relatively a very high susceptibility to behavior disorders and delinquency.<sup>2</sup> Some of them develop characteristics with constructive value, at the high cost of being rejected, evidently as defense or compensation. Many seem able to survive rejection without serious personality damage.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most important predisposing influences in the life of the child is the attitudes of the parents toward each other. The broken home and the home filled with marital discord are statistically associated with the behavior of problem children.<sup>4</sup>

When the family atmosphere is congenial because the two parents are well adjusted and identify themselves with each other in the family relationship, few problem children occur—because in such an atmosphere a child feels secure, wanted; and is given consistent encouragement and discipline. He is likely to be given a share in making family decisions, a most important factor in happy character development.<sup>5</sup>

Several studies have shown that poor

adjustments on the part of parents, with interparental frictions, tend to produce tensions in the next generation. The mental attitudes of husband and wife toward each other and their home are far more significant in the child's environment than their formal education, such as whether the wife has training in home economics.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the child's infantile experiences and tendencies have no noticeable bearing on the adult personality, but the majority of emotional disturbances found in adults arise from simple beginnings in early childhood. Appropriate changes in the home environment and skillful handling of the child, especially the child with a difficult problem, will enable him to attain satisfactory and even excellent personality maturity. If the parent is warned in advance about likely shifts in the child's behavior, he can improve his competence in meeting these developments.<sup>7</sup>

One of the major influences in the intellectual approach to the child on the part of the American parent of today is the emphasis on democracy in our government and culture. We believe in individual freedom, equality, and the right to pursue happiness, but such privileges for the child require a high level of emotional maturity and psychological skill on the part of the parent. Very few parents who believe in democracy in government and freedom for the individual have as yet learned how to conduct weekly house meetings which help to give each member of the family a feeling of belonging and of having an essential, respected part in making decisions about the home life. Once this practice becomes an integral part of our culture, many cases of problem children will be corrected.<sup>8</sup>



## *facilitating the child's adjustments*

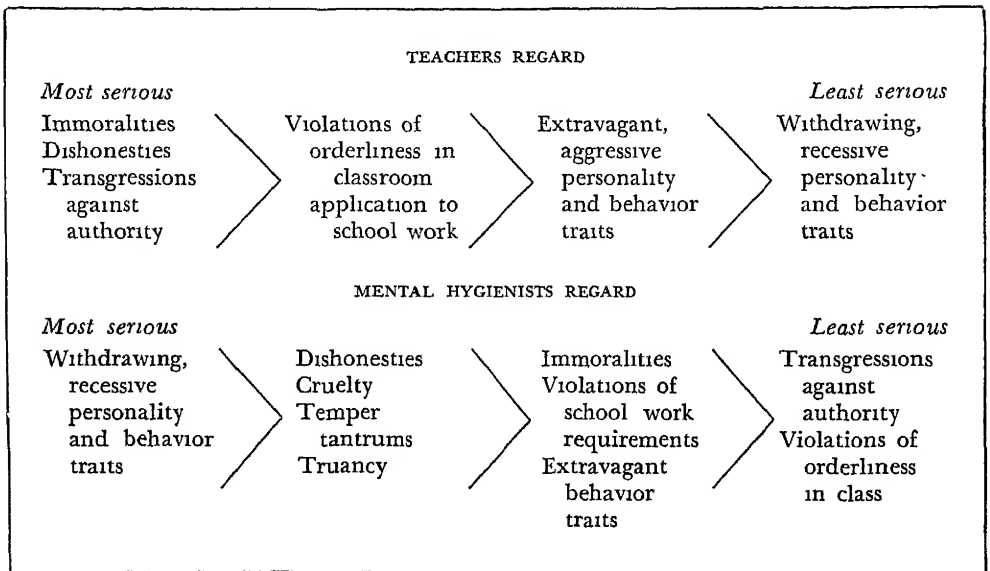
The indirect influences of the parents' adjustments, expressed by their suggestions and examples, are less easily recognized than the direct influences learned from books and other formal instruction and expressed in the verbalized procedures. The former are acquired through each parent's adjustments throughout his life and are a basic part of his personality. The latter influences are intellectual and less basic, but can be discussed and acquired, as indicated by the large amount of published material now available for the treatment of childhood problems.

### BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN

Teachers and mental hygienists differ markedly in their evaluations of the seriousness of children's behavior problems. When 500 public school teachers and thirty mental hygienists rated the seriousness of behavior problems, the direction of the ratings for the seriousness of the problems differed as indicated by this summary.<sup>9</sup>

The most striking difference between the teachers' and the mental hygienists' ratings is to be found in the comparative estimates of problems describing the withdrawing, recessive personality and behavior traits. Whereas teachers considered shyness, sensitiveness, unsocialness, fearfulness, dreaminess among the least serious of all problems, the mental hygienists ranked them, together with unhappiness, depression, easy discouragement, resentfulness, cowardliness, suggestibility, and overcriticalness, at the very top of the list as the most serious problems. These items in the mental hygienists' ratings completely replace the problems relating to sex, dishonesty, and disobedience, which the teachers ranked as most serious.<sup>10</sup>

Investigation of the records of a child guidance clinic, the Institute for Child Guidance, New York, showed that the most frequently mentioned "complaint problem" toward children referred by social agencies, schools, and parents was "disobedience, negativism, stubbornness,



## *facilitating the child's adjustments*

and rebelliousness." This specific kind of complaint was made about 12.7 per cent of the 3,599 children studied.<sup>11</sup> The classes of problems in which child guidance services in this institute were believed to be most helpful were:

1. Problems of socially unacceptable behavior, such as temper tantrums, disobedience, fighting, and rebellion against authority.

2. Problems manifested in personality reactions, such as timidity, seclusiveness, unhappiness, unpopularity with other children

3. Problems in habit formation, such as thumb-sucking and eating difficulties.<sup>12</sup>

### ***Hewitt's three patterns of maladjustment in delinquents***

Three major patterns of maladjustment were revealed in the statistical analysis based upon 500 case records of children examined at the Michigan Child Guidance Institute by Lester Eugene Hewitt. This study presents one of the most thorough reports available in regard to the dynamics in the origin of fundamental patterns of maladjustment of the varieties found in child guidance clinics.

Hewitt's study revealed the three types of behavior syndromes or patterns of maladjustment *I, overinhibited behavior syndrome; II, unsocialized aggressive behavior syndrome, and III, socialized delinquent behavior syndrome*. Psychiatric interpretations were made by Richard L. Jenkins<sup>13</sup> as follows.

In Type I we see an individual who has an excessive development of the shell of inhibition. As a result of this the primitive impulses are denied adequate expression. Tension mounts within the personality and strong pressures develop in the struggle be-

tween the primitive impulses and the repressive forces. This individual is chronically in a state of internal conflict. Here we have the overinhibited individual likely to react to these internal conflicts by developing terror dreams or anxiety attacks, or to solve them by developing physical symptoms or illness, by conversion hysteria, or to defend himself from them by compulsive rituals. We do not as a rule see such well-developed neurotic symptoms in the child, but we see the milder overinhibited symptoms of shyness, seclusiveness, fears, clinging, tics, sleep disturbances, nail biting, and other common evidences of tension and anxiety with which the child guidance worker is familiar. The essential points are to recognize that the person with severe internal conflict is, as a rule, the overinhibited individual.

Type II represents the opposite of Type I. Type II represents the individual with an inadequate shell of internal inhibitions. As a result the primitive impulses come not only into consciousness but into expression very directly, providing there are no external pressures which constantly check them. Such an individual is unsocialized and aggressive in his actions and is continually coming in conflict with others—the authorities and the police—as a result of his freely giving vent to his primitive impulses. This represents a type of personality totally different from Type I, although many workers who use terms loosely will speak of this unsocialized, aggressive type of individual as neurotic.

Type III represents a more nearly normal type of personality structure than either of the foregoing. There is a normal shell of inhibition toward members of an in-group. Toward members of any out-group there is a deficit in the inhibitions, no sense of obligation and a free expression of the primitive impulses. In child guidance we see here the pseudo-social boy, the loyal gang member, the good comrade of the delinquent sub-culture who is socialized—often highly socialized—within a delinquent group and regards the rest of the world as fair prey.

According to the findings from this study, the *overinhibited personality* (Type I) typically develops in an atmos-

# BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS CONCEIVED AS EVASIONS OF SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS\*

EVASIONS BY WITHDRAWAL		REQUIREMENTS IMPOSED ON INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR BY	EVASIONS BY ATTACK	
Fearfulness		FAMILY	Temper tantrums	
Sulkiness			Disobedience	
Dreaminess			Overactivity	
Shyness		NEIGHBORHOOD	Aggressiveness	
Dependency on adults			Defiance to authority	
Cowardliness		COMPANIONS	Fighting	
Unsocialness			Delinquency	
Dependency on routine		CHURCH	Rejection of routine	
Pedantry			Pursuing own methods of work	
Solitariness		SCHOOL	Wanting to direct	
Fear of criticism			Breaking conventions	
Suspiciousness		TRADITIONS	Antagonistic attitudes	
Inability to carry responsibility			Exploitation of own authority	
Inefficiency		CUSTOMS	Contentiousness	
Social inadequacy			Egocentricity	
			CONSTRUCTIVE ATTACKS	DESTRUCTIVE ATTACKS
REGRESSIVE ESCAPES	PRODUC- TIVE ACTIVITY	LAW	Competitive sports	"Psychopathic" tendencies
Neurotic complaints	Invention	INDUSTRY	Exploration	"I won't work"
Economic dependency	Research		Industrial exploits	Crime
Alcoholism	Science		Social and politi- cal reforms	
Drug addiction	Literature			
Functional insanity	Art			
Suicide				

\* From E. K. Wickman, *Teachers and Behavior Problems*, The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1938.

THE DIAGRAM on the opposite page roughly illustrates two characteristic methods by which the individual evades behavior requirements imposed by social forces

The requirements set up for the individual, first as a child in the home, then in the school, and later as an adult in the greater social order, are represented in the central portion of the diagram. The two methods of evading requirements are shown in the columns to left and right.

There are listed only the more extreme examples of attacking and withdrawing behavior which may be observed to occur at various stages of individual development, lesser degrees of these evading tendencies may be detected in most individuals. There is no intention to attach moral or ethical values either to conformity to or evasion of requirements.

Behavior development leading to adult social maladjustment of the attacking or of the withdrawing type does not proceed along pure or regular stages as the diagram might suggest. Though there is a tendency for an individual to learn to respond characteristically by attack or by withdrawal, both kinds of behavior often occur together in the same individual. Early habits of evading requirements may work themselves out to constructive or productive ends and in that case they may modify the social requirements. Though art, literature, science, political and social reforms may represent evasions of social requirements in individual cases, the inference is not to be drawn from the diagram that such activities are always the product of conflict with social influences or social forces.

It is psychologically unsound to make fine distinctions between withdrawing and attacking forms of behavior, inasmuch as both represent individual modes of response to frustrations experienced on encountering social requirements. The distinctions between them are sharply made, however, by social attitudes toward the individual who responds in a manner that is interpreted as attack or withdrawal.

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phere of parental repression in which the parents are cold and unsocial. Frequently the mother compensates for some rejection in her own life by overprotecting and over-restricting the child, and the father is perfectionistic and intolerant. Frequently there is jealousy of siblings. Illness is apt to be prominent in the environment and background of the child. The overinhibited child with parents who are cold, restrained, and unsocial, whose approval and acceptance can be gained only through strict conformance with their standards, learns to fear rejection consequent to any violation of the strict parental taboos. Security can be attained by such a child only through very good, very much inhibited behavior. He therefore thwarts his primitive impulses, causing an acute internal conflict which may be relieved by neurotic disorders.

The *unsocialized aggressive* child (Type II) is the product of a background of overt, parental rejection, particularly maternal rejection from the time of his birth. He feels cheated, and expresses open hostility, bitterness, and aggressiveness. His hostility may be thought of as arising from three sources: from lack of love and acceptance, from the lack of conscience that has not been able to develop, and from the selfish and inconsiderate behavior which is this child's background of experience. It makes him feel insecure and anxious, and impels him to act in a hostile and uninhibited fashion.

The *socialized delinquent* (Type III) exemplified by the loyal gang member, is well adjusted to his own immediate associates or fellow gang members. It is only when his relationships with the larger social group in society is consid-

ered that he is maladjusted. In contrast to the unsocialized aggressive child, the socialized delinquent has had the benefit of an adequate relationship with his mother but not with his father, and it is the failure of the paternal relationship, coupled with neighborhood deviation pressures, that puts the child into a delinquent group for his adolescent socialization.

The method of psychotherapy used to alleviate these behavior problems depends on the dynamics of the particular behavior. Psychoanalysis is recommended for overinhibited children in order to engender feelings of security and reduce repressions. However, the unsocialized aggressive child needs outside pressure to help him build a stronger shell of inhibitions, which will stimulate socially acceptable behavior. The socialized delinquent or pseudo-social child needs help in enlarging his concept of the in-group. For treatment to be effective it is necessary to separate the child from his associates, to neutralize their influence, or to treat the whole group.

Children who are referred to child guidance clinics fortunately are in the minority. Most parents need seek only the kinds of understanding which are essential in the common problems of sibling rivalry, thumb-sucking, and discipline.

### *Sibling rivalry*

The only child can be made to feel that he is a functional part of the family set-up, but his integration is upset at the birth of an interloper called "your baby brother" or "your baby sister." Both mother and father of necessity must direct greater attention toward the new baby. Under these circumstances the

## *facilitating the child's adjustments*

older child resorts to aggressive or regressive tactics in order to regain a lost sense of significance or even to avenge his displacement<sup>14</sup>

His attempts to regain his lost importance may be expressed in vocal form as "Throw the baby away," in bodily attacks on the baby, or in ignoring its presence. Sewall's<sup>15</sup> analysis of jealousy took as subjects a group of seventy small children consisting of one third nursery school children and two thirds clinical or "problem" children. Of the seventy children who had younger siblings, thirty-nine were reported to be jealous and showed their jealousy in the following ways:

1 Bodily attacks on the younger sibling	26
2 Ignoring the presence of the sibling	2
3 Denying having a younger sibling	2
4 No outward manifestation toward the sibling, but definite personality changes at the time of its birth	9

The last-mentioned group of cases showed a wide variety of personality changes, such as more temper tantrums, more destructiveness, changes to withdrawal types of behavior—daydreaming, shyness, or timidity. Sewall found that when the ages of the children at the birth of the youngest child were studied "Jealousy seems to be associated with an age difference of from eighteen to forty-two months, for two-thirds of the children of that age difference were jealous, as compared with one-third of all the children whose age differences were greater or less than that amount."

This finding may indicate that when children are closer together in age than eighteen months they share the same interests, and that children more than four years apart in age have interests that do

not clash. If the younger child is sufficiently younger, the older child may not arouse enough competitiveness to cause resentment.

Additional findings from Sewall's study indicated that four fifths of the children whose mothers were oversolicitous were jealous. Similarly, four fifths of those subjected to inconsistent discipline were jealous. When the families were divided into two categories, well adjusted and poorly adjusted, it was found that ten per cent of the children in the well-adjusted homes and sixty-three per cent of the children in poorly-adjusted homes were jealous. "The inference seems justified that there is a tendency for jealousy to develop in an atmosphere of maladjustment, such maladjustment often meaning an overprotective mother, a negative father, some marital or other discord, and inconsistent discipline."

As Murphy and Newcomb concluded, after summarizing several investigations of jealousy in children:

... a background of maladjustment is apparent against which jealousy stands out, not as the inexplicable fruit of a field devoid of other personality difficulties, but as a growth well nourished by the soil in which it and its ilk are found.

From such studies as these it is clear that competitiveness, standing up for one's right in the family groups as elsewhere, is normal and within limits acceptable to adults, that when it begins to make trouble either because of its intensity or because of inept or troublesome expression it is given the name of jealousy and becomes "problem behavior."<sup>16</sup>

Intelligent parents prepare the older child for the birth of the younger before it takes place. They prepare him for the inevitable change in his status.

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It is better for the child to know ahead of time that a baby is expected so that he can get used to the idea gradually. This helps less than an adult would expect because the small child's imagination may not create anything like the reality. He may visualize an animated doll to tote around or a full-fledged companion. Even if he knows and loves a neighbor's baby, he is apt to find that his mother's baby evokes entirely different feelings. Most professionals in the children's field feel that the child should know that the baby is growing within the mother's abdomen. This is not primarily for the sake of abstract honesty but because it is known that many children beyond the age of 3 and some under 3, suspect the truth anyway, through a combination of shrewd observation, slips in the conversation of adults, and perhaps a touch of intuition. One supposedly innocent 3-year-old will call attention to his mother's changing girth with hints, partly questioning, partly accusatory. Another will suddenly hit at her abdomen as if already jealous of what he suspects is there. The child who is hesitantly coming to his own conclusion that the new baby is growing in the mother is likely to become troubled. It is not that he cannot take the truth. What worries him is his mother's evasion in continuing to talk about the stork theory or the hospital theory in an unconvincing tone when he is pretty sure the baby is coming from elsewhere. Many parents refrain from telling the child the truth for fear that it will open the door to other embarrassing questions. This is an unjustified fear. The child before the age of 6 years will not put his parents on the spot to explain conception. The likely question will be, "How did the baby get in there?" to which at this age the most understandable answer is that the baby grew from a seed which was there all the time. To the question, "How will it get out?" the answer might be, "Through a special place." Incidentally, parent should be warned against predicting the sex of the baby ahead of time since a wrong guess may lead to long-lasting disappointment.

Some mechanical readjustments in the household are usually necessitated by the arrival of a baby. Wherever possible these

should be made several months before the baby's birth and presented to the older child as evidence of growing up. If he is to move into another room or into a big bed, he should graduate to them because he is a big boy and not be dispossessed by the rival in person. If he is to enter a nursery school he should become well established there before his mother's confinement. Then when the baby arrives, even though the older child feels somewhat slighted at home, his satisfying life at nursery school will help to ease the pain. If he is sent off to nursery school after the baby's arrival, he may resent it as banishment, resist going, resist fitting in.

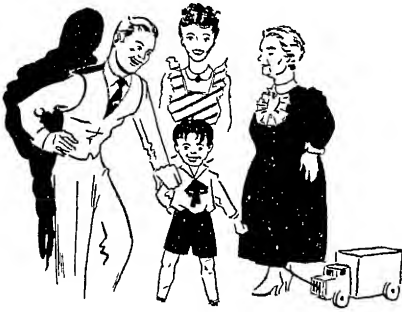
It is vital, particularly when the older child is in the neighborhood of 2 years, that he feel comfortable and secure with the adult who will care for him while his mother is in the hospital. If a relative or maid is coming into his home, she should either be someone whom he knows well and loves, or she should come two or more weeks ahead of time and take over his care gradually. When a very young child is abruptly left in the care of a stranger, he may behave well while his mother is away, but when she returns all his latent anxiety suddenly comes to the surface. Such a state may last for many months and make even more difficult his other problem of adjusting to the baby.

First impressions are most important. When a mother and father bring the new baby home from the hospital there is usually a great deal of hectic confusion for at least an hour. The older child is lost in the shuffle. No one has time to fuss over him and he stands by, looking wretched. If possible he should be off on an excursion during this time and come home when his mother is able to take him in her arms and give him her undivided attention.

Now that the baby is at home what are the parents' cues? The first principle is to play down the importance of the baby. This means talking about him as little as possible, enthusing over him as little as possible, taking care of him casually when the older child is around. The hardest thing for many children to take is seeing the baby nursed, especially when this is at the breast. Often the older child will want a bottle, too, and it is

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### TYPICAL ADJUSTMENTS OF A FIRST-BORN CHILD TO THE BIRTH OF A SECOND CHILD



1 The first child is in a pleasant state of ongoing activity. He is the center of attention.



2 After the baby appears, he loses the center of attention. He has a problem barrier, and will make an adjustment as 3, 4, 5 or 6.



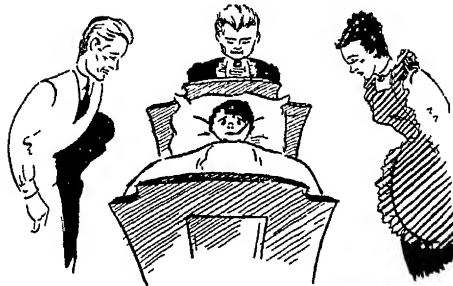
3 Direct attack in the form of helping to take care of the baby will give him new recognition.



4 Positive substitute activities, such as reading or games with playmates is a more likely adjustment than direct attack.



5 Substitute activities of negative value, such as "naughtiness," are very likely to appear.



6 If adjustments exemplified in 3, 4 and 5 do not produce satisfaction, he can still resort to a powerful method of regaining attention—invalidism.



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a wise mother who cheerfully provides it. If this is well handled the child will not repeat the request often since he finds that the bottle is not really a delight.

Even though one advises the mother to feed and care for the baby as much as is practical when the older child is preoccupied with other activities, she should, of course, be equally warned against shutting him out of the nursery whenever he has the desire to see what is going on there. If there is a relative or nurse helping out in the early weeks, it is usually best to have this person taking care of the baby, allowing the mother to give as much attention to the older child as she used to.

Then there are the other relatives. When the father comes home from work he should resist the natural impulse to greet the older child in the front hall with the question, "How's the baby been today?" but should stop to play with him for a while before he drifts in to see the newborn. When Aunt Nellie telephones to arrange a visit to the baby, the mother can remind her that the older child is still counting on being her favorite and will appreciate a present much more than the baby will.

So often Aunt Nellie in her thoughtless enthusiasm greets the older child with the breathless question, "Where's that darling baby sister of yours? I have brought her a present." For these situations the mother might have a box of ten-cent store toys from which to produce a gift each time one arrives for the baby.

Many parents have already heard of the value of letting the child share in the ownership and care of the infant. It is fine for the older child to bring the bottle from the ice-box or the towel to the bath provided he enjoys this work and does it spontaneously. Another child will overcome the feeling of being an outsider by an elaborate care of her doll which follows her mother's care of the baby to the last detail.<sup>17</sup>

When the older child feels that he is really secure again in his family constellation, wanted and loved by his parents, he usually loses his more severe sibling jealousies. Sibling rivalry probably never

entirely disappears, but the relations between siblings may develop into rich companionships. Most siblings soon learn to protect each other in the impacts with neighborhood gangs and school factions. They learn to share each other's persecutions and conspiracies. Their mutual problems and interests should help them to develop a better sense of belonging to both the family and the community, especially when the parents appreciate the drastic adjustment required on the part of the older child on the arrival of a rival.

### *Disciplining the child*

Children neglected because of a broken home, disinterested parents, or other abnormal conditions are likely to misbehave, but most children are reared by parents who try desperately to make their children "good." These latter parents often seek counsel in their child training, and many of their questions center around discipline. To them, "discipline" means punishment. Actually, it means to learn.

Some parents who believe in rigorous discipline do have children who are "good" in the sense that they have withdrawn into themselves to so great an extent that they cause the parent little trouble. Almost any parent of low intelligence and strong muscle can have a well-behaved child of the fearful, subdued type. Severe bodily punishments are employed by parents who are either too lazy or too dull to learn how to use more intelligent methods in guiding the child. Case studies of children who have a decided withdrawal pattern of behavior show that very many have suffered from abusive treatment: physical punishment, loud scoldings, and threats. Per-

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sistent states of fear have been developed that cause the child to react fearfully in many later situations.

As pointed out above in the discussion of sibling rivalry, if the psychological atmosphere of the home is positive, guiding the child becomes relatively easy. The parental example is one of the strongest influences on the child's developing patterns of behavior. However, parents may be unusually well-balanced emotionally, highly intelligent, and constructive in their techniques, and still have many problems in child training. One kind of problem is exemplified by the parent who says "Why is my toddler good as gold for a while and then suddenly becomes perverse and puzzling?"

An explanation of basic significance is available from the years of systematic research by Dr. Arnold Gesell and his associates of the Yale Clinic of Child Development.

Gesell has found that children do not grow in a mechanically steady manner. Children grow by shedding old habits and taking on new ones. The child's mind grows by making forward "thrusts." During a "thrusting" period the child is in disequilibrium, discarding old ways and reaching for new ones. In such periods, he is in a state of confusion and instability. As he gradually masters new patterns, his equilibrium improves, and a period of stable behavior continues until another forward thrust brings about disequilibrium with its problems for the parent.

Stages in stable and unstable equilibrium are likely to occur in a typical infant at more or less alternative ages: sixteen weeks, relative equilibrium followed by a transitional period in which he shows a dawning sensitiveness to

strangers. By twenty-eight weeks he is again more composed and in a state of balance. Periods of lessened equilibrium and reorganization recur at the age of two and one half, three and one half, and six years. Children who are confused by their inner drives need added love and security, not spankings.

Periods of reorganization are usually characterized by negativism in the pre-school child. He will not do what he can do, and he cannot do what he wants to do. When the two-and-a-half-year-old child seems particularly perverse, it should be remembered that his mental life organization is poorly developed. This also accounts for the regression in toilet habits which frequently occurs at about this age. Even though he knows what is expected of him, the child's inner confusions inhibit his behavior and make him appear to be obstinate. Sometimes there are extraordinary factors, such as illness or emotional crises, which may be influencing the child's behavior. If present, these factors should be investigated, however, if no factors which would be expected to militate against the child's good behavior are present, general health-preserving care is indicated.

In addition to the typical negativism of young children, all children suffer frequent frustrations and may adjust to them by aggression. This may happen when adults impose their wishes, often unreasonable to the child, at times when he is already in a state of mental uncertainty. The average parent regards the misbehaving frustrated child merely as disagreeable or naughty, and punishes him. If the parent could only appreciate the fact that the frustrated child has a problem, he could help the child make

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adequate adjustments through expressions of understanding, examples of what to do, and encouragement in doing the right thing<sup>18</sup>

### ***Thumb-sucking***

Some of the "bad" behavior of children grows from the effects of previous mishandling by the parent. Thumb-sucking is an excellent example.

Levy's investigations convinced him that the main reason for thumb-sucking was the infant's dissatisfaction with the amount of sucking he was getting from breast or bottle. His studies showed that babies who finished their bottles in the shortest periods of time were more apt to suck their thumbs than babies who took longer to complete their feedings. These latter, satisfied with the amount of sucking they got in the course of their feeding, did not resort to thumb-sucking. He also found that those babies who had infrequent feedings were more apt to suck their thumbs than those who were fed more frequently. Puppies, too, require a certain minimum of sucking satisfaction, when they are fed through a medicine dropper, they compensate for their deprivation by sucking on parts of their own and each other's bodies.<sup>19</sup>

If the infant's dissatisfaction with his quota of sucking is the reason for his thumb-sucking, he should be provided with longer and more frequent nursing periods. The breast-fed baby should be allowed to nurse as long as he desires, rather than being forced to stop after an arbitrary number of minutes. The bottle-fed baby should be provided with new nipples for his bottles, as the chances are that the holes in his old nipples have become enlarged with age.

If the baby is just beginning to suck his thumb, but is ready in other respects

to be taken off the 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. feedings, the incipient habit may be discouraged by retaining the old feeding schedule to guarantee the continuance of at least as much sucking satisfaction as he has been getting. If thumb-sucking continues despite these measures, his instinct should not be thwarted by physical means, such as "thumb guards."

When thumb-sucking still persists at one year, it can be assumed that it is no longer a satisfaction for the sucking instinct, but a comfort in fatigue, frustration, or boredom. Therapy is therefore different. Parents should make sure that the child feels secure and happy, and that he has enough play space, playthings, and playmates to keep him absorbed in his daily activities. Ordinarily the child gives up the habit as he acquires inner security and interest in the world as he learns to know it. If parents are dismayed to find the habit persisting despite all these measures, they will be well-advised to follow a laissez-faire policy, since the child will eventually outgrow it, and nagging, physical restraints, and moral intimidations are futile.

Children of older ages as well as toddlers are constantly undergoing mental reorganization. Many college students can recall "thrusting" stages in their development. The adolescent's typical drives are toward complete independence. He wants to make his own decisions without interference from his parents. He wants to decide when and where he will go and when he will return. He likes to belittle his parents and their ideas. Even the furniture at home and the clothes of the parents are ridiculed. In certain stages of adolescence the child can just barely tolerate his parents.

When the adolescent boy reaches the

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quiet secretive phase of development, he does not want his father to be a pal. He wants pals of his own age. "At this stage of his son's adolescence, the wise father will begin to fish and to golf alone again—or with pals of his own age." <sup>20</sup>

In a later stage of adolescence, the young person tries to improve his adjustments by intellectual analysis of himself and the world. He believes that he could construct a much better social and economic order than the one in which he lives. He has ready solutions for many of the problems that have bothered the great thinkers of his age!

Stages in development are obvious in the life of the toddler and the adolescent. These stages tend to produce confusion for the child and the parent. Furthermore, the parent's confusion is often accentuated by the child's ambivalent behavior.

Ambivalence, or manifestations of double feelings toward the same person, refers to reactions in which opposing trends of emotion appear simultaneously. Almost all children show ambivalence by statements such as, "I am going to kill my daddy." Such feelings are most pronounced in the affectional relations of children, but also appear in adult behavior, as exemplified by the sweetheart who says to her suitor whom she really loves, "I hate you." Reactions such as these are normal and do not merit a reprimand on the part of the suitor or discipline of the child by the parent.

### ***Behavior problems of the aggressive and withdrawal varieties***

Almost every child resorts to temper tantrums when thwarted. If the outburst gives him some satisfaction, even though the satisfaction entails severe punishment by the parents, he may continue

the practice of defiance. The punishment suffered may be endured willingly in order to enjoy annoying the parents. Increasing the severity of the punishment may cause the child to increase his endurance and resistance, or to withdraw into himself, an adjustment practice more dangerous than aggression.

Adjustments of the hostile aggressive variety are exemplified in disobedience, fighting, rejection of routine, delinquency, contentiousness, and refusal to cooperate. Clever parents and teachers avoid open conflict and try to direct the established tendencies into competitive sports, exploring the world of pets, or other interests. The parent who remains calm when faced by defiance and rage can often relieve the situation through humor, or through actively participating with his child in some diverting activity. A funny story or an appeal to take part in some interesting sport will help the rebellious child far more than the use of brute force.

*Withdrawal* adjustments are closely related psychologically to aggression, in the sense that both represent hostile modes of response to the social situations. Hostility may be expressed by overt aggression or by passive resentment. Parents, teachers, and other adults evaluate the two modes of response quite differently, imagining that the passively hostile child is a "good" child. The child who deals with his problems by means of withdrawal—fearfulness, sulkiness, daydreaming, shyness, solitariness, fear of criticism, and overdependence on adults—is usually liked because he does not annoy others. He is, however, very unhappy within himself. After attaining adulthood, he is apt to be beset with nameless fears and acute anxieties. He is likely to nourish his suspicions and to

## *facilitating the child's adjustments*

develop neurotic complaints. Of course, many people who adjust by withdrawal reduce their tensions in the course of development by seeking relief in the quiet nonsocial activities of reading in libraries, enjoying laboratories, doing art work, or inventing. Unfortunately, some also develop escapes from reality in the forms that lead to alcoholism, drug addiction, and insanity.<sup>21</sup>

Obviously, the child who adjusts to his social situations by withdrawing into himself needs systematic and continued encouragement and invitations to participate in normal social activities. He may still need discipline from time to time, even though his withdrawal stemmed from former discipline. However, he especially needs discipline in the spirit of, "This act is wrong, but I love you." The wise disciplinarian can discipline the child for his wrong acts, others merely discipline the child.

To most parents and teachers, discipline is a personal issue rather than an objective procedure. This results in causing the child to feel that the disciplinarian does not like him. Effects of this harmful procedure are revealed when the child says, "My dad doesn't think very much of me," or, "Nothing I do would ever please my mother." Discipline should not humiliate the child. He ought to feel that he is still loved and that the discipline was fair.

When discipline is needed we should not think of children as "good" or "bad," but as "learning." They need constructive discipline. The child gets a sense of security when he has consistent discipline that teaches him the limits in his behavior. The pressures exerted by intelligent loving parents give him patterns for his conduct. If he knows and

obeys the rules of society, he will feel more at home in his society.<sup>22</sup>

Recent investigations by mental hygienists of the values of discipline refute the erroneous inference that the "new psychology" advises parents to let children do as they please. Rather, parents who use no discipline and no restraint tend to rear playboys, delinquents, and psychopaths.<sup>23</sup>

Parents who abdicate their authority and allow the child to run wild lose the child's respect and fail to give the child the development necessary for orderly happy living. Nor should the parent utilize pleasant rewards only to bring about desired behavior. Good conduct purchased by means of frequent rewards is only a veneer because it does not arise from an inner conviction on the part of the child.

### ***How to interpret the child's behavior to the child***

College students and parents who have taken a few courses in psychology are apt to attempt psychological analysis of the child to the extent that they become amateur practitioners of psychotherapy. Such practice is dangerous. Dr. Rudolf Dreikurs, Professor of Psychiatry, Chicago Medical School, offers an excellent explanation of what the parent should and should not do in regard to interpretation.

Psychological interpretation should not be confused with attempts to analyze, to pry into the unconscious, to dig into deep sources of motivation. We do not advocate psychological analysis on the part of anyone who is not thoroughly trained and qualified to conduct psychotherapy. But we must distinguish between *psychotherapy*, which is a tool of psychiatrists and trained psychotherapists, and *interpretation*, which everyone

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who is dealing with children should be able to make. The main distinction between the two is the kind of psychological mechanisms and problems which are examined and analyzed, only psychotherapy can reveal the *past* development, the formation of deep-seated concepts, of the life style of the person, child, or adult. Interpretation, on the other hand, is concerned solely with *present attitudes and immediate purposes*.

Every parent and educator should have some psychological knowledge and some understanding of the probable nature of a child's personality. In difficult cases, this knowledge may be obtained through the services of a psychiatrist or trained child psychologist. But analytical knowledge should never be used for conversations between you and your child, it can serve only as a guide for your general management of the child. You must take cognizance of the child's actions and attempt to influence them. Discussing the questionable action with a child is one of the most successful ways of changing it. An effective discussion, however, should never investigate *why* a child acted in a certain way, but only explain *for what immediate purpose* he did that. The distinction between "why" and "for what purpose" may seem, superficially, to be insignificant. However, it indicates the complete difference between emphasis on the past and on present goals. There may be a thousand reasons which led to a present attitude of a child, but there is only *one* purpose possible for his actions. The search for the "why" is, for the untrained person, mere guesswork, the recognition of the purpose indicates understanding.

The child responds in a different manner to an explanation of *causes* than to an explanation of *the goals* of his actions. Explanations such as jealousy, lack of self-confidence, feeling of being neglected, dominated, or rejected, feelings of guilt or self-pity, regardless of how accurate they may be in explaining the child's behavior, are accepted by the child at best with friendly indifference. It tells the child only what he is. His reaction is quite different when told what he *wants* to get attention, to show his superiority, to be the big boss, to demonstrate his power, to get even or to punish others.

Such interpretations of his true intentions, when correct, evoke immediately a very definite and characteristic reaction on the part of the child. This reaction is immediate and automatic, a "recognition reflex," and indicates the correctness of the interpretation. It consists of a roguish smile and a peculiar twinkle of the eyes, characteristic of the cat who swallowed the canary. The child need not say one word, or he might even say, "No", but his facial expression gives him away. This discernment of his psychological attitude generally leads to an immediate change in the particular behavior, especially in a young child. Even very young children, as soon as they comprehend the meaning of words, that is, at two years of age, are capable of conscious understanding of their intentions and are inclined to change their attitudes when they are made aware of them. That does not imply a complete change of the life style, but it may lead eventually to a change of basic concepts in relationship to other people.

Even psychological interpretations must be used with care. If repeated or overdone, they no longer are revelations. They should never have a humiliating or belittling effect and should never be translated by the child as fault-finding and criticism. It is generally advisable not to make a definite statement, "You do that because you want to . . ." Much better are remarks of vague conjecture, "I wonder whether you don't want to . . . ? Could it be?" Such discussions never can do any harm. If you are on the wrong track, you just do not get any reaction. Then you can make another conjecture and the child's reaction will indicate which one was correct.

Two boys, nine and ten years old, annoyed their mother by using bedtime for fighting in their beds. Mother could not stop it and did not know what to do. I had a talk with the boys. I asked them why they went on fighting after going to bed. I did not expect the correct answer to this question, but wanted to hear what they had to say. They both explained that it is so much fun to fight in bed when it does not hurt to be thrown down on the pillows. That was their rationalization.

I asked them whether they would mind if

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I told them the real reason. Of course, they wouldn't mind. Then I ventured, "Maybe you do it just so that mother will come several times to remind you to be quiet." The younger one said indifferently, "It could be." The older one said nothing, but beamed. One should know that the older one was the favorite of the mother and depended upon her, while the younger one felt somewhat excluded and relied upon himself for his position in the world. Generally, the younger was the one who started the fights, but in this particular situation the older brother obviously had instigated the fights for the sake of getting his mother's attention, bringing her back to the bedroom every so often. Nothing more was said or done about it, but after our short discussion the evening fights stopped and never were resumed. That does not mean that the older boy suddenly became independent of his mother. But this particular method was no longer useful once he recognized his purpose.<sup>24</sup>

No parent should expect a child to answer correctly the question, "Why did you do that?" The child cannot be expected to know why he behaves in a certain way. He needs help in order to understand himself and the purposes of his conduct. The wise parent does not try to give the child such understanding immediately after some act of misconduct. Nor should the parent be angry or excited at the time.

Child training is one of the great arts of mankind. Few peoples and few persons have mastered it. Our modern scientific investigators have developed many principles of value for the present-day parent. A very brief summarization of some of these findings for the benefit of the modern parent indicate that the child needs.

1. Full satisfaction of his sucking instinct. Not only must sucking periods be of sufficient length and frequency to satisfy the infant, but they must be administered while the mother gives her close attention so that both mother and child may exchange warmth and affection.
2. Unhurried training of the functions of excretion. Toilet training should not be pursued militantly. Socialized habits cannot be taught until the child is physically and emotionally ready.
3. A long period of consistent mothering by one individual, which satisfies the child's psychological and biological needs. This stimulates mutual growth and gratification of mother and child.
4. Parents who are so well-adjusted to each other that they may be capable of setting a consistent pattern for his love development.
5. Absence of harsh disciplinary measures at his infantile manifestations of sexuality. He can learn effectively what is expected of him by parental example and societal attitudes.
6. Treatment commensurate with his position as a person of some importance of his own. He should be credited with needs, rights, and feelings, and should be given adequate explanations of parental authoritative measures.
7. Truthfulness, honesty, and sincerity, which are essential in dealings between parents and the child.

### PROJECTS

1. Discuss reasons why many children will not go to their parents to discuss problems. What are the characteristics of par-

ents that encourage, and what of those that discourage, the child in the bringing of problems to them?

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- 2 Why do children react disdainfully to the parent's assertion, "When I was a child . . ."? What can the child do about it when the parent harangues him about what *he* did as a child?
- 3 Certain effects are likely to show up in the personalities of children who were reared too leniently, as well as in the personalities of those who were reared too strictly. List some of the likely later problems or characteristics of children reared under each of the two extremes
- 4 Discuss techniques of reprimanding the child in the spirit of, "The act is wrong, but I love *you*," versus, "I am punishing you for what you did"
- 5 What are the effects on the child's psychological development when he is punished by the "silent treatment"—when the parent will not speak to him for several days?
- 6 How can the child be integrated into the life of the home through the performance of chores? What chores or tasks can the city child be required to do?
- 7 What is the effect on the child when the parent almost never gives a definite "no" or "yes" to the child's request for permission to do something which he is uncertain about? Also, what is the effect when the parent habitually withholds permission for several hours or days before granting it?

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***PART FOUR · INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY***



# 15      Hiring the employee—the interview

*Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., General Motors chairman, in an annual report (1946) to stockholders stated "In our existing industrial economy the only difference of fundamental nature between one business and another operating in the same general field is people. The same sources of raw materials are available to all. The same equipment will be furnished to anyone who may buy. The existing standards of technology are largely a matter of common knowledge. The same markets are available with the same instrumentalities to capitalize them. The same reservoirs of capital are available to those who can qualify. All these means are open to everyone, and generally speaking, on equal terms. The one major difference is people. . . . Management is a most consequential problem as affecting the long-term interests of any business."*

OF ALL THE METHODS USED TO APPRAISE an individual's qualifications for a job, interviewing is the oldest and most widely used. It is an art which many persons, particularly employment interviewers, believe that they can practice with a high degree of reliability. Actually, studies by psychologists some decades ago indicated that when two or more interviewers conduct the experiment of appraising the same applicant, their appraisals often do not agree.

One of the earliest experiments of this kind was made by H. L. Hollingworth,<sup>1</sup> in his experiment fifty-seven applicants for sales positions were interviewed in-

dividually by twelve sales managers. Each interviewer conducted his interview in the manner that he wished. At the end of the interview, the sales manager assigned each applicant a rating with respect to his suitability for the position in question. These ratings were recast so that it was possible to assign each interviewee a rank ranging from one to fifty-seven. The results revealed very little agreement on the part of the interviewers. One applicant, for example, was rated as first by one interviewer and fifty-third by another.

When Walter Dill Scott<sup>2</sup> had six sales managers interview thirty-six applicants,

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the results showed that in the case of twenty-eight of the thirty-six, the interviewers disagreed as to whether the applicant should be rated in the upper or the lower half of the group

In addition to the proved unreliability of the traditional interview as usually conducted, the validity of interviewers' judgment is also dubious. And yet many employment interviewers believe that their interviewing experiences give them an ability to judge people more accurately than inexperienced interviewers can. Some even imagine that their abilities are uncanny, as expressed in this statement.

Not every man has a head for mathematics, and not every man has a sense of logic necessary for the practice of law. Just so, not every man has what I might call the "sixth sense" necessary to judge what I truly believe is a series of psychic waves which flows from one man to another when in conversation.

Psychologists have been unable to find anything that would correspond to "psychic waves." It is possible, but has never been demonstrated in the laboratory, that the facial expressions, general bodily movements, bodily posture, and changes of pitch, intensity, rapidity, and inflection in the voice are noted by those who have daily contacts with people and analyze their motives. Some executives have said that they tend to suspect the man who makes a statement and then leans back. Others have claimed that, when a lie is told, the speaker catches his breath. Salesmen say that they know when the prospect is sold by the fact that he leans toward the salesman. The writer decided to test the theory that experienced interviewers can detect false statements more accurately than inexperienced interviewers. Arrangements

were made to have eleven experienced credit men and fourteen experienced employment interviewers, eighteen inexperienced men students and seven inexperienced women students, interview several hundred college students. These students who were to be interviewed were instructed to answer all the questions that any interviewer might ask, but to answer some truthfully and some falsely. The interviewers had the privilege of cross-examining the students.

The questions varied in nature, but were of the kind that could be answered in a definite manner, such as, "How old are you? How long have you been in college? How much money did you earn during your summer vacation? What were your grades in your college courses last semester?" Both the interviewer and the interviewee kept a written record of the questions and the answers, so that it was possible to record the interviewer's accuracy in judging the answers to each question. Records were tabulated of the interviewers' estimates of 3,205 answers to questions. Of the four classes of interviewers, the experienced credit men were wrong in 34 per cent of their judgments; the employment men in 42 per cent, the inexperienced men in 34 per cent, and the inexperienced women in 47.5 per cent.

A careful analysis of each interviewer's judgments showed that some of the interviewers were better detectors of false statements than others. The experiment indicated the following points of note:

1. The experienced interviewers were unable to detect false statements when the "applicant" wanted to lie. His detection was largely a matter of chance.

2. An interviewer should depend upon records and objective information in evalu-

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ating statements of applicants rather than upon his "hunches" or "feel" or "atmosphere" or the movements of lips and hands. One interviewer claimed that he could detect false statements from the movement of the lips. The results showed that he was one of the poorest interviewers in the group.

3 The individual interviewers who made the best records in judging the statements of the students were those persons who had had previous experience in interviewing students and knew the general facts of student life. This indicates what one would expect an interviewer should be acquainted with the facts concerning the type or class of people whom he interviews.

4 The individual interviewers who made the poorest records seemed to be the "fatherly" trusting type of person who did not cross-examine the applicants. Conversely, the interviewers who made the best records were those who cross-examined the applicants, looked them in the eye, and pursued a policy of compelling the applicant to prove his statements.

5 The best of the interviewers made bad mistakes in their judgments of statements made by students who were adept in talking with strangers and who wished to baffle the interviewer. The experiment clearly demonstrated that, if a person wished to falsify his statements, the interviewer could not differentiate the false from the true unless he could check the statements objectively.

When interviewers depend upon their impressions, without reference to records of the applicants' past behavior, they succeed more often than they fail, because the majority of applicants want to tell the truth rather than not.

Several investigations of interviewing have shown that interviewers disagree among themselves regarding the same applicants, that some interviewers vary in the consistency of their judgments and in their ability to judge the applicants accurately. Many experienced employment men realize that they cannot judge applicants with any great degree

of accuracy on the basis of the interview alone. They try to obtain dependable information from former employers or to hire the applicant for a probationary period. In spite of the unreliability of the interview, it will continue to play an important part in modern hiring. Somehow human beings want to see each other even though the meeting may not elicit valid information. They want to find out whether or not they would like to work with each other. Furthermore, studies of the interview—the conversation with a purpose—prove that interviewing ability can be improved. Improvability varies with the kind of interview used.

The various kinds of interviews for employment are the following:

### *1. The free interview*

This is the customary informal interview as practiced by the average employment interviewer, a man who has had approximately two years' high school education. He worked as a clerk for some years and was transferred from record-keeping to interviewing.<sup>3</sup> This type of interviewer has had no systematic training for his work and no constructive coaching. He has read no books on interviewing techniques. He has no understanding of basic psychological concepts, such as the adjustment pattern. He follows no organized plan and asks whatever questions come to his mind. He himself may have emotional maladjustments that cause him to be biased and lacking in objectivity in his judgments. He is a likely victim of common pitfalls in interviewing such as the following:

a. *Personal bias* Each of us, in the course of our psychological development, collects certain likes, dislikes, prefer-



FORMER DOCTOR

Salesman A started with company 8 years ago after struggling for years to make a living as a doctor in a low-income town. Age, 45. Married. 4 children. Lives in a rented house. Has thorough knowledge of the physiological causes of the malady to be helped. Keeps up-to-date on medical advances. Extremely interested in the clients, maintains close contact with them.



SMOOTH OPERATOR

Salesman E has sold everything from can-openers to vacuum cleaners. Knows all the tricks. Worked for competitor for 3 years. Widower for many years, no children; lives at hotel. Is active in local sales organization. Good dresser; big spender. Not receptive to directions, likes to do things his own way, resents criticism of any kind.



SOCIAL REGISTER

Salesman B has been with the company for 3 years. College-educated, social background. Member of country club, alumni association, and political party. Married, 1 child, lives in own house, has independent income. Came to the job through a personal friendship with the president. Formerly worked in bank. Seldom mingles with other salesmen in the company. Said to be snobbish.



ROSE FROM RANKS

Salesman F has been with the company ever since he first started to work. Began as clerk, rose steadily if not rapidly. Asked for opportunity to enter selling 6 years ago. Married, 1 child. Interested in advancing. Studies and takes courses regularly. Carries heavy life and accident insurance. Intense hobby, stamp collecting.



HAD OWN BUSINESS

Salesman C formerly owned his own drug business Wiped out when large chain moved into the neighborhood Came to the company 6 years ago Has wide acquaintance in the community Is well liked Is known as a mixer, active in church Married, no children Middle-aged Lives in rented house Supports parents High-school education Is a poor manager with regard to money Harassed by debts



VETERAN

Salesman D came to the company after discharge from the army Wounded in action No visible sign of disability Held rank of corporal Age 25, college graduate, single Had no previous experience in business Father who worked for the company had recently died Now helps to support his mother, lives at home, is youngest member of big family Ambitious and anxious to learn



FORMER FAILURE

Salesman G had a bad record when he came to work 5 years ago He never seemed to last on a job, couldn't seem to figure out why. Hired as a favor to a friend. Financially burdened Supports wife, 2 children, and his wife's parents Usually in debt and beset by home and family worries Well-liked by other salesmen, but not by clients



OLD-TIMER

Salesman H knew the current company president when he was a "pup," the sales manager when he was just another salesman Married, father and grandfather A little wary of new methods, but excellent with people Still in fine health, has good record on absenteeism Good humor and spirit Never forgets a client's face, name, or history



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ences, and beliefs that in our more objective moments we recognize as unfair or unjustified. Prejudices are an important factor in personal bias. If the employer recently has hired a man who once sold cash registers but failed on the job under consideration, he is apt to be prejudiced against all men who have sold cash registers. One executive claimed that all men who had mustaches had failed him. Dozens without mustaches, whom he had hired, had failed him too, but he still believed that a mustache was an indication of poor material for his organization. Some executives dislike applicants who have red hair or bad teeth, or wear bow ties, green socks, derby hats, and so on. It is fortunate for applicants that executives differ in their prejudices, because if one employer rejects them they can always go to some other employer who may like the very trait for which they were previously rejected.

Some sales personnel men never hire a man who has worked for a competitor. They believe that the man who has been trained under one set of conditions will cling to those former beliefs and habits and refuse to become a teamworker in a new organization. Some managers will not hire salesmen who have had a systematic training course where they had to learn a standardized sales talk. On the other hand, one life insurance company found that 20 per cent of the men who had had previous life insurance selling experience turned out to be successful.

Other executives do not hire recent college graduates because they believe that college men require three years in which to orient themselves. In this view college men are believed to want immediate promotions and to loathe doing

routine work. In college they studied international problems, the progress of civilization, the boundaries of the universe, great social forces, and historical movements, hence small wonder that they are bored when they must spend hours checking detailed bills in a butter-and-egg firm. Once a college graduate finishes about three years of floundering, these executives will hire him without very much quizzing about his past failures. It is believed that he is then ready to fit himself into the business picture without demanding a front seat.

One executive claims that young single men succeed better than young married men. He assumes that the young married man is either too greatly interested in his wife to study his job or he is ambitious to buy his wife expensive articles for her adornment.

One executive may take applicants for important positions to dinner and gauge their ability by their table manners. Another may argue with the applicant to discover how he conducts himself toward an unruly stranger. The empirical rules for hiring vary with the executive. Most of these rules are merely the result of a few dramatic instances. Many are without sound statistical basis.

Prejudices often affect findings from interviews that are supposed to be so systematic as to overcome subjective influences. Rice<sup>4</sup> made an analysis of the findings of twelve trained interviewers as to the cause of the downfall of 2,000 vagrants who had applied for free lodging. The interviews were standardized, but different investigators obtained different results. One interviewer, a socialist, reported that 39 per cent of the men were down and out because of industrial conditions, and 22 per cent

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because of excessive use of alcohol. Another interviewer, an ardent prohibitionist, attributed but 7 per cent of the failures to industrial and economic conditions and 62 per cent to drink. Prejudices were even more significantly revealed when we note that, according to the socialist, the *vagrants themselves* gave as the cause of their downfall industrial conditions, 60 per cent, drink, 11 per cent. But according to the prohibitionist, the *vagrants themselves* blamed industrial conditions in 42.5 per cent and drink in 34 per cent of the cases. Obviously, each interviewer influenced the interviewees to give answers in line with his own biases.

The interviewer should note and compensate for his own prejudices, such as likes or dislikes for applicants who have mustaches, use lipstick, reveal tobacco-stained fingers, or belong to certain racial classes. He should hire people who do good work rather than those who satisfy his own idiosyncrasies. Of course, if the interviewer is hiring applicants who are to be supervised by department heads, the interviewer must hire in accordance with the idiosyncrasies of each department head.

b. *Pseudo-sciences*. These are phrenology, palmistry, numerology, astrology, and physiognomy. The ideas that a low forehead, receding chin, large ears, or any other physical features indicate certain mental traits or behavioral tendencies are merely blithe assumptions, like the myth that shifty eyes betoken dishonesty. Investigation indicates that college students have some tendency to be influenced in their estimates by the physical factors of appearance, such as the wearing of glasses. Wearing glasses tends to cause persons to be rated as

more intelligent and more industrious, but not more honest.<sup>5</sup>

c. *The illusion of previous experience*. Most interviewers tend to assume that the applicant who has had previous experience on a similar job is bound to be a better employee than any other applicant who may have superior potentialities but lacks experience. When a secretary is desired, the interviewer chooses the applicant who claims secretarial experience in preference to the stenographer, who may actually be brighter and more competent.

Actually, previous experience when taken in conjunction with other pertinent factors is an extremely valuable indicator of future performance, *but it is not, of itself, a guarantee of ability to do a job well*. Mediocrity is tolerated in much of the world's work, and *experience* too often cloaks such mediocrity. There is danger, therefore, in making a criterion of the fact that an applicant has done similar work in the past. The applicant who is willing to accept a job on the same level as his previous one is as likely to be below average in performance as above average. The tendency to *over-value* previous experience in weighing qualifications should be discouraged, for it may be costly to a company in terms of valuable talent lost and of commonplace or inferior performance perpetuated.<sup>6</sup>

The list of pitfalls in the free interview can be increased by observing any interviewer who is untrained in his art. He may use the interview as a means for expanding his ego by talking to impress rather than analyze the applicant. He even may be so inept as to suggest the answers desired to his own questions or to hire the people who need jobs rather than the ones who can do the work.

### 2. The area interview

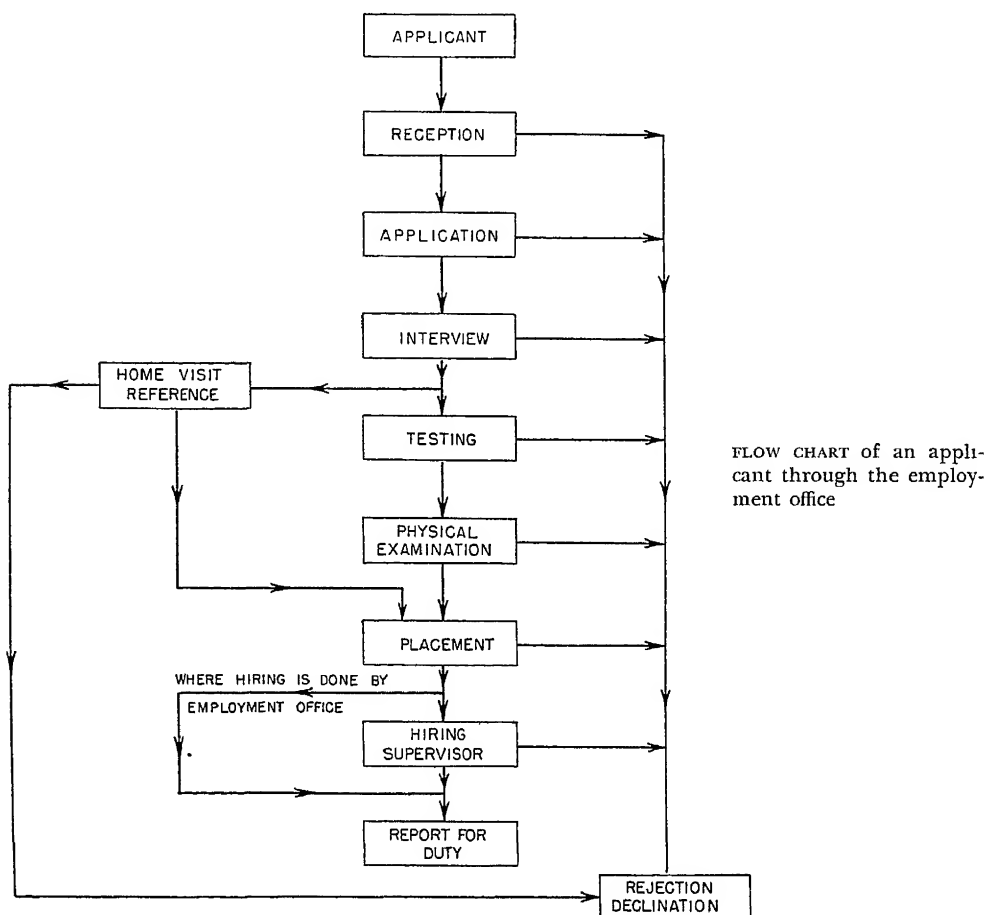
Some free interviewers discover that certain areas of the applicant's back-

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ground and personal characteristics are more significant in predicting job success or failure than other areas. They gradually learn to ask more and better questions about the important areas

The questions are asked not haphazardly but according to an organized procedure. The interviewer is guided by an interview blank and jots down answers as given, thus making a record of the results of the conversation with the applicant. He tries to ask questions that require factual answers as given, thus

making a record of the results of the conversation with the applicant. He tries to ask questions that require factual answers rather than opinions. In some cases he adds some problems which are of a semi-trade nature. The questions in *The Interviewer's Guide*, opposite, were prepared by a group of employment men and executives who wished to have a list of definite questions to guide them. The thirteen suggested questions may be used in conjunction with the usual employment blank. The questions may be



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phrased to suit the interviewer and the applicant, but it is essential that the interviewer ask each question and record the answer while he is conducting the interview. If he does not adhere to a definite procedure, he is apt to let the interview become a hit-or-miss procedure—a conversation that will not give

### THE INTERVIEWER'S GUIDE

Name ..	Address ..	
Position wanted . . .	Date ..	Interviewer ..

- 1 Give me the names of your past employers. Begin with the last employer and go backward for the last five years.
- 2 Describe the work you did for each.
- 3 What did you do in your spare time—evenings, Saturdays, and Sundays?  
(Look for side lines and hobbies, reading of trade journals, clubs.)
- 4 What general education have you had?
5. What technical education have you had?
6. What is state of your health? How much time have you missed from your work because of sickness during the past two years?
- 7 For what other jobs have you applied with other concerns recently?
- 8 What is your financial condition—savings accounts, life insurance, investments, speculations, own home?
9. With what merchandise firms do you have credit accounts?
- 10 What are your plans for the future, vocationally?
- 11 What suggestions have you made regarding improvements in operations for your former employers?
- 12 Why do you want to work for us? Interviewer's deductions
 

Be near friends ..	Just need a job
For home reasons	Seems restless
Likes the community ..	Floater ..
Regularity of work	Family reasons
Self-expression	More pay ..
More prestige . . .	For opportunity
Union reasons . . .	Other reason
- 13 What pay do you expect?
 

Overestimates his worth
Underestimates his worth
Fair estimate ..

#### DECISIONS FOR THE INTERVIEWER TO MAKE DURING THE INTERVIEW

14 Would his personality fit our organization? . . .	
15 Is applicant eager for the job? .	
16 Does the applicant fit the job that is open? .	
Too good for the vacancy .	Undoubtedly satisfactory
Not suited to vacancy . .	Probably a safe man to hire
Unable to do the work . . .	Hire, if no better applies . . .
17 Remarks . . . . .	
. . . . .	

# hiring the employee—the interview

INTERVIEWER'S EVALUATION OF APPLICANT		
NAME OF APPLICANT: <i>Allen Francis Davis</i>		DATE: <i>6-27-44</i>
JOB CONSIDERED FOR: <i>Telephone Operator</i>		LOCATION: <i>1631 Arch St., Phila.</i>
INTERVIEWER: <i>Stella Burrows</i>		
AREAS TO CONSIDER	FINDINGS	INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS
<b>I VOICE MANNER &amp; APPEARANCE</b> 1 VOICE AND SPEECH PLEASANT CLEAR DISTINCT NO ACCENT 2 MANNER COURTESY SPEECH GESTURES FACIAL EXPRESSIONS 3 APPEARANCE POISE DRESS CLEANLINESS FEATURES 4 PHYSIQUE WEIGHT HEIGHT REACH STRENGTH HANDINESS 5 VISION AND HEARING 6 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS (COOPERATIVENESS FRIENDLINESS ADAPTABILITY TEMPERAMENT AGGRESSIVENESS NERVOUSNESS)	<i>Voice clear, tone pleasing, enunciation good</i> <i>Manner courteous, responsive, and composed</i> <i>Well groomed and dressed in good taste</i> <i>Slender, average height, no noticeable defects of sight or hearing</i>	<i>Meets voice requirement for operating</i> <i>Conversational ability and attitude should result in satisfactory customer contacts</i> <i>Size satisfactory</i>
<b>II WORK HISTORY</b> 1 KIND OF JOB OR HOME DUTIES (APTITUDES SKILLS AND COOPERATION REQ'D) 2 WORKING CONDITIONS (HOURS HAZARDS SURROUNDINGS SUPERVISION) 3 REASON FOR LEAVING JOB (INCOMPETENCE INSTABILITY TEMPERAMENT FRUSTRATION WITH SUPERVISION LAY OFF) 4 ATTENDANCE RECORD 5 MILITARY EXPERIENCE (DATES OF SERVICE BRANCH STARTING AND FINAL RANK DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES KIND OF DISCHARGE) 6 EMPLOYER REFERENCES (DATES OF EMPLOYMENT TYPE OF WORK PAY WOULD HE RE EMPLOY)	<i>One month in insurance office, filing forms and correspondence</i> <i>Hours: 8:30 to 5:00, Saturday 8:30 to 12:30</i> <i>Supervisor close, helpful and considerate, co-workers congenial</i> <i>Temporary job; during school vacation only.</i>	<i>Filing experience, not significant for operating, but might help in CTS</i> <i>Work has confirming, better hours, would do close supervision.</i> <i>Apparently, got along well with supervisors and co-workers. May be co-operative.</i> <i>Employee left job to return to school.</i>
<b>III SCHOOLING</b> 1 FORMAL SCHOOLING (AMOUNT AND KIND DATES) 2 SPECIALIZED TRAINING OR ON JOB TRAINING 3 MILITARY TRAINING 4 BEST AND LEAST LIKED SUBJECTS (IN SCHOOL) 5 REASON FOR LEAVING SCHOOL 6 ATHLETIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES (SPECIAL INTERESTS (IN SCHOOL)) 7 SCHOOL REFERENCE REPORT (STAND AND TESTS CLASS STANDING ATTENDANCE PERSONAL RATING)	<i>Two years high school. Liked English, Math, History, Latin, reading assignment and book reviews. Favorite subject: English.</i> <i>Lt school to aid family financially.</i> <i>Honor student, elected to student council.</i> <i>Engaged in gym, soft ball, tennis.</i> <i>Never late - attendance good.</i>	<i>Meets educational requirements. Liked for English and reading. Should insure good usage of English in customer contacts.</i> <i>Financial need may assure motivation and permanence.</i> <i>Intelligence probably adequate.</i> <i>Physically active, healthy, co-operative.</i> <i>Probably dependable.</i>
<b>IV SPARE TIME ACTIVITIES</b> 1 HOBBIES 2 CHURCH ACTIVITIES 3 COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES 4 TYPES OF READING 5 SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT FACTOR (Gregariousness Seclusiveness Parties Social Habits)	<i>Write for Red Cross, sells War Stamps and Bonds.</i> <i>Two nights a week at neighborhood movie.</i> <i>Sings in church choir.</i> <i>Reads biography and fiction.</i>	<i>Interest in helping others. Likes contact work. Co-operative.</i> <i>Conduct wholesome.</i> <i>May indicate desire for self-improvement.</i>

COURTESY OF N A Moyer, The Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania, from his article "Non-Directive Employment Interviewing," *Personnel*, American Management Association, March, 1948, p 379. The two exhibits, "Interviewer's Evaluation of Applicant," and reverse side, are from the same article

## hiring the employee—the interview

AREAS TO CONSIDER	FINDINGS	INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS
<b>V HOME &amp; FAMILY BACKGROUND</b>		
1 CHILDHOOD AND ADULT FAMILY LIFE (CONDITIONS EXPOSED TO AND ADJUSTMENTS MADE)	<i>Five other children, one in Navy, four in school</i>	<i>Co-operative attitude required</i>
2 FINANCIAL STATUS (APPLICANT'S STAND- ING, INDENTEDNESS, SOURCE OF INCOME)	<i>Father, claim adjuster for many years</i>	
3 FAMILY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD TELE- PHONE COMPANY AND JOB	<i>Good home and religious training</i>	<i>Good conduct and integrity likely</i>
4 HOME VISIT REPORT (FAMILY CONSISTS OF ATTITUDE OF FAMILY TOWARD JOB AND COMPANY, ADJUSTMENT OF APPLI- CANT IN THE HOME, OTHER INFORMATION)	<i>Parents favorable to Company</i>	<i>Parents will help insure permanency and effort</i>
5 CREDIT INVESTIGATION REPORT		
<b>VI HEALTH</b>		
1 HEALTH AS A CHILD AND PRESENT STATE OF HEALTH	<i>Childhood diseases measles, mumps and whooping cough</i>	<i>Health satisfactory</i>
2 WIFE OR HUSBAND'S AND CHILDREN'S HEALTH (IF MARRIED)	<i>Family incurs good health habits</i>	
3 OPERATIONS (SERIOUS ILLNESSES OR ACCIDENTS (IF ANY))	<i>Family healthy</i>	
4 HEALTH AS INDICATED BY DRAFT STATUS OR MILITARY DISCHARGE (IF DISCHARGED FOR MEDICAL REASON)		
<b>EVALUATION OF FINDINGS*</b>		
<b>JOB QUALIFICATIONS</b>	<b>JOB SPEC.</b>	<b>EVALUATION</b>
<b>COMMON QUALIFICATIONS (ALL JOBS)</b>	<b>I II III IV V VI</b>	<b>I II III IV V VI</b>
AGE (SATISFACTORY)	✓	✓
GOOD HEALTH AND APPEARANCE	✓	✓
COOPERATIVENESS	✓	✓
PERMANENCY (DESIRE FOR)	✓	✓
GOOD CONDUCT	✓	✓
INDUSTRY	✓	✓
DEPENDABILITY	✓	✓
INTEGRITY	✓	✓
MOTIVATION	✓	✓
<b>SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS</b>		
<b>PHYSICAL</b>		
A APPEARANCE (PLEASING)		
B STRENGTH		
C SIZE (WITHIN NORMAL LIMITS)		
D VOICE (PLEASING NO DEFECTS ETC.)	✓	✓
E HEARING (NORMAL)	✓	✓
F VISION (NORMAL ACUITY)	✓	✓
G RIGHT HANDED	✓	✓
H ARM REACH (SATISFACTORY)	✓	✓
<b>WORK EXPERIENCE (STATE)</b>		
<b>EDUCATION KNOWLEDGE AND PROFICIENCIES</b>		
<b>MINIMUM FORMAL EDUCATION OR EQUIV. IN SCHOOL YEARS</b>		
A EDUCATION OR EQUIV. IN SCHOOL YEARS	✓	✓
B MATHEMATICS	✓	✓
C PHYSICS		
D PRINCIPLES OF ELECTRICITY		
E HANDWRITING AND PRINTING (NEAT)	✓	✓
F TYPING		
G STENOGRAPHY		
H MECHANICAL DRAWING		
<b>APTITUDES:</b>		
A INTELLIGENCE		✓
B PLANNING		
C ANALYSIS		
D OVER ALL PHYSICAL COORDINATION		✓
<b>PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS:</b>		
A EASE AND QUALITY OF CONVERSATION		✓
B EMOTIONAL STABILITY OR TEMPERAMENT	✓	✓
C ADAPTABILITY	✓	✓
D TACT		
E INTERESTS (STATE):		✓
<b>INTERVIEWER'S RECOMMENDATIONS</b>		
<i>Appears to meet all requirements of job. Unable to verify school history at moment because schools are closed.</i>		
CHECK OVER ALL CLASS FOR SPECIFIC JOB		
1 WELL QUALIFIED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
2 INTERMEDIATE <input type="checkbox"/>		
3 POORLY QUALIFIED <input type="checkbox"/>		

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

him complete information. Of course, the interview may be ended long before the last question if the applicant is obviously unfit

Some area interviewers develop special sets of questions that apply to the personality and aptitudes of the applicant as revealed during the interview. Examples of two sets of area questions, developed by R. S. Uhrbrock, for use in interviewing recent college graduates are the following

*Is he keenly analytical?*

- a What college courses demanding analytical ability has he taken?
- b. What special problems has he worked on that required careful analysis?
- c Has he taken many "cinch" courses?
- d What special reports, term papers, etc., has he prepared? To what extent do these deal with numbers and statistics?

*Initiative and originality*

- a Did he try to interview the interviewer?
- b Did he ask any questions, or make any observations that distinguish him from the ordinary run of applicants?
- c Did he ever make tentative plans for a new mechanical device that he thought might be patentable?
- d Did he ever undertake to sell any article? If so, with what degree of success?

If the interviewer is unusually able and scientifically trained, he may even make statistical studies of his questions of specific areas, as exemplified by the "Diagnostic Interviewer's Guide" developed by Hovland and Wonderlic.<sup>7</sup> If he does make such a study, he raises his interview to a higher scientific level and probably uses the patterned or standardized interview.

The area interview may be conducted in the manner of a free association, with the questions arranged under certain headings. Or it may be a phase of the

most advanced variety of the patterned or standardized interview

### **3. The nondirective interview**

This kind of employment interview stems from the nondirective counseling interview developed by Carl R. Rogers<sup>8</sup> and his disciples. The few employment interviewers who use it claim that an applicant's story can best be obtained through a conversational type of listening when the interviewee is relatively free from direction by the interviewer. The applicant is encouraged to talk without constraint on whatever subjects interest him. It is believed that the applicant will spontaneously cover most of the topics of interest to the interviewer.

In the early stages of the interview, the interviewer may stimulate the applicant by means of conventional questions about his work history, or by. "We are interested, as we assume you are, in finding the job for which you are best suited. Instead of my asking you a lot of questions, why don't you tell me the story of your background and experience in your own words?" N. A. Moyer,<sup>9</sup> of the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania, has described the technique in detail. To keep the applicant talking he recommends suggestions such as the following:

Give entire attention to the applicant

Listen.

Never argue

Do not interrupt or change the subject abruptly

Use questions sparingly

Allow pauses in the conversation

Phrase responses briefly

The last-mentioned admonition is explained in a manner that exemplifies the nondirective interviewer's typical responses:

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

Responses should be brief and should refer to the applicant's interests or feelings. It is often helpful to repeat the last few words of the applicant's statement, make a short comment, or ask a brief question, such as

"Tell me more."

"That's interesting."

"What were the circumstances?"

"What happened then?"

"Exciting, wasn't it?"

"... until 11 00 P.M.?"

"You say, 'It's not worth the effort?'"

"H-hm."

Even though the nondirective interviewer appears to function in a free manner, he actually structures the interview to some extent. Furthermore, his final evaluation of the applicant also is influenced by findings from home visits and investigations of school and employer references. The evaluation form itself is quite detailed and involves an extensive and systematic investigation of the applicant's characteristics. See pages 308 and 309.

Some specific values reported, in part, from a nondirective interviewing program are the following:

1. The percentage of turnover cases which could be ascribed in whole or in part to faulty selection, while the labor market was growing tighter, has declined steadily.
2. The department supervisors say that they are getting people better fitted for the work. Follow-up studies bear this out.
3. Interviewers who have used both the questionnaire and nondirective method say the latter enables them to make more effective appraisals.
4. Applicants frequently tell interviewers they liked the interview because it did not seem like an interview. They had expected to be asked a lot of questions, instead, they just had a pleasant chat.<sup>10</sup>

#### **4. The patterned or standardized interview**

This type of interview usually requires the following: careful preparation of

questions, the use of printed forms that contain specific items to be covered, a uniform method of recording information and making judgments, prepared manuals that describe the procedures to be followed and the use of directions for interpreting the applicant's responses. One of these instruments, called the "Diagnostic Interviewer's Guide," was developed by Hovland and Wonderlic as part of a selection program of the Household Finance Corporation, a large personal loan organization.<sup>11</sup>

TABLE 34\*

#### PATTERNED INTERVIEW RESULTS

Percentage of Individuals (1) Still on Job, (2) Resigned, and (3) Dismissed in Various Categories of Scores on D I G

Classification	Scores on D I G				
	0-10 %	12-16 %	18-22 %	24-28 %	30-34 %
On Job	38.9	42.9	47.2	48.6	59.2
Resigned	22.2	25.7	29.2	29.4	34.7
Dismissed	38.9	31.4	23.6	22.0	6.1
Number	18	35	89	109	49

\* From C. I. Hovland and E. F. Wonderlic, "Prediction of Industrial Success from a Standardized Interview," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, American Psychological Association, Vol. XXIII (October 1939), pp. 537-546.

The general construction and layout of the D.I.G. blank can be seen from the accompanying illustration (page 312) showing the first of four general areas of the applicant's background and personal characteristics. (1) work history, (2) family history, (3) social history, and (4) personal history. It will be observed that at the top of each section there are a series of standardized questions which the interviewer asks the applicant.

After the interviewer has collected the significant information, he asks himself certain specified questions about the ap-



## hiring the employee—the interview

plicant and assigns prescribed values to his judgments. A quantitative score is obtained for each area, and the sum of all the scores for all areas yields a total score for the applicant. The validity of the D.I.G. is indicated by Table 34.

This table for 300 individuals shows that "there is a progressive increase in

the percentage of applicants who are still on the job the higher the score on the D.I.G. at the time of employment. More striking is the progressive decrease in the percentage of individuals who are dismissed as the scores increase."

Robert N. McMurry has published some of the results of his experience with

+18

**DIAGNOSTIC INTERVIEWER'S GUIDE**

NAME Harry R. Johns DATE 8/25/37  
 ADDRESS 812 Cherry St. INTERVIEWER E. F. U.

The interviewer should begin each interview with this statement to himself, "This applicant will impress me according to my past experience with persons who remind me of him. Consequently I must be on my guard against such prejudices which may naturally arise on account of this. I must keep a record of the fact and judge the applicant on the basis of the facts only. The applicant is a blank to me now." (Interviewer should write out information received as answers to the questions in the space left for that purpose.) If extra space is needed use separate sheets of paper. All of this material should be included with the blank itself when returned to the personnel department. The questions which are listed below for the interviewer to ask the applicant are suggestive. Other queries pertinent to the applicant's history will naturally suggest themselves to the interviewer as he contacts the applicant.

*Please read special instructions on last page before interviewing*

**WORK HISTORY**

Interviewer says—

- 1 Give me the names of your past employers. Begin with the last or present employer and go backward. Tell me:
  - (a) How you got the job. *Smith Hardware Co*
  - (b) What you did, and. *Job through uncle.*
  - (c) Why you left. *3 mos - counter clerk & delivery boy*
- 2 How did your previous employers treat you? *fine - no complaints*
- 3 What experience of value did you get from each job? *meeting people*
- 4 Did you do work of such quality that your employer would be glad to recommend you? *yes - Expecting a raise*
- 5 Were you ever criticized for the kind of work you did? Give me some examples of mistakes or failures. *Once for waiting too much time talking with customer*
- 6 Can you give me any example of success in your experience, particularly in handling people? *Sold large order of goods to hard-to-sell customer during spare time. \$5.00 extra commission*
- 7 What kind of work did you enjoy the most and seem to progress the best in?—
  - ✓(a) Mechanical work?
  - ✓(b) Clerical and detail work?
  - ✓(c) Contact work?
  - or (d) Do you know?

+4  
-4

When the interviewer has secured as much information as it is possible for him to get concerning every phase of the applicant's work history, he should ask himself the following questions:

- 1 What kind of work history does the applicant have? *(-) Poor — Fair — Good — Excellent (+)*
- 2 Has it been the type of work which has required meeting and handling different types of people? *(+) Yes — No (-)*
- 3 Has the applicant indicated ability to work consistently? *(+) Yes — No (-)*
- 4 Has the applicant indicated a serious and sincere attitude toward the work he has been doing? *(+) Yes — No (-)*
- 5 Has the work been such as to necessitate the development of habits of persistence and aggressiveness? *(+) Yes — No (-)*
- 6 Has the work history indicated a capacity for growth? *(+) Yes — No (-)*
- 7 Does the work history reveal habits or attitudes which would make it easy for the applicant to adjust himself to the policies and procedures of this company? *(+) Yes — No (-)*
- 8 Is this man a good soldier as evidenced by good team-work? *(+) Yes — No (-)*

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## *hiring the employee—the interview*

the patterned interview and has shown that interviewers trained in the use of this kind of interview tend to obtain reliable and valid results. Table 35 depicts the relationship between interviewers' initial ratings and those made by foremen one and one-half years later with 407 cases still on the job.

On the basis of three separate studies in the hiring of metal workers, truck drivers, and workers in the needle trades,

employers, schools, etc.) and already knows a great deal about the applicant. Fifth, he has a series of clinical concepts—e.g., that of emotional immaturity—which provide him with a yardstick for interpreting and evaluating the information obtained from the candidate. Sixth, the interviewer himself has been carefully selected to assure that he has adequate intelligence and is emotionally well-adjusted.

Moreover, it is not necessary that the interviewer be a psychologist or psychiatrist to obtain good results. Actually, if he makes full

TABLE 35  
COMPARISON OF INITIAL INTERVIEW SCORE WITH SUCCESS RATING  
(Men and Women Combined)

	<i>Interviewer's Ratings</i>			
	1	2	3	4
<i>Foremen's Success-on-the-Job Rating</i>				
Outstanding	6 (35.3%)	8 (47.1%)	3 (17.6%)	
Above Average	2 (1.2%)	88 (53.0%)	75 (45.2%)	1 (.6%)
Below Average		13 (6.6%)	175 (88.8%)	8 (4.6%)
Very Poor			4 (14.8%)	23 (85.2%)

In the table above, as may be seen, the relationship is unusually close. The Pearson coefficient of correlation is  $.68 \pm .02$  (From Robert N. McMurry, "Validating the Patterned Interview," *Personnel*, American Management Association, January 1947, pp. 263-272.)

McMurry concluded that "a properly conducted and evaluated *planned* interview is a statistically reliable selection instrument." He has described the advantages of the patterned interview:

The *patterned* interview endeavors to overcome the weaknesses of the ordinary employment interview in several ways. First, the interviewer works from definite job specifications, he knows what qualities each job requires. Second, he has a plan, he knows what questions to ask. Third, he has been trained in the techniques of conducting an interview—i.e., he knows how to put the candidate at ease, how to make him talk, and how to extract pertinent information. Fourth, prior to the interview, he has checked with outside sources (previous em-

use of all available techniques for assembling relevant facts about the applicant, in nearly every case the final decision concerning his qualifications can be made on strictly common-sense grounds.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the statistically demonstrated values of the patterned interview, certain critics object to it on the grounds that some interviewers will follow the pattern slavishly and without insight into the dynamics at work in the applicant's personality. This objection is overcome of course when interviewers are properly trained for their work as recommended by McMurry. Properly handled, the patterned interview draws out the applicant's prejudices, motives,

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

drives, and adjustment history more clearly than the unpatterned interview.

### **5. The probing interview**

Questions of a probing nature are used by psychologists for two different purposes: as tools used by a clinician in his attempts to discover the underlying drives in the psychodynamics of the interviewee's personality, and as a kind of performance test in the selection of men in industry. Examples of the first type of probing are the questions "If a former high school principal were to ask you to address the school's assembly of students, what do you think your subject or topic would be?" and, "When you have children of your own, how do you plan to raise them, in comparison with the way you were reared?" Answers to questions such as these tend to reveal some of the individual's fundamental reactions to his school and home situations.

The second type of probing interview, as practiced in industry, usually involves the asking of related questions that are slanted so as to force the applicant to reveal his attitudes, judgments, and knowledge of procedures as applied to typical job situations. More particularly, it affords an opportunity for the interviewer to judge how effectively the person can deal with others in face-to-face situations, as indicated by his speech, mannerisms, persuasiveness, enthusiasm, and so forth. An example of a probing question used in selecting first-line supervisors is

*If you had a worker who wouldn't do something you asked him to do, what would you do?*

Probing *What if he still wouldn't do it? What if he said union rules forbid it?*

Another probing question, used with applicants for selling, is

*Suppose a salesman has a customer who seems interested in buying, who needs the product, but who seems to find it impossible to make up his mind. How should the salesman handle the customer to make a sale?*

Probing Question 1 *What if he still wouldn't sign the order?*

Probing Question 2 *What if he said, "Come back next week"?*

Probing Question 3 *What if he said, "I want to think about it some more"?*

When selecting applicants, the interviewer should use the probing interview before he has learned anything about the applicant's background or experience. To avoid bias, the interviewer should not ask questions about the applicant's personal history nor see his application blank previous to the interview. A committee of several interviewers should conduct the interview, and each interviewer should make an independent rating of the applicant. The interview should last at least twenty minutes.<sup>18</sup> Care must be taken to obtain rapport with the applicant, and he should be told that the interview is only part of the selection procedure. The interviewer should note the applicant's emotional reactions as well as the content of his statements.

Inasmuch as the probing interview is still a relatively new technique in industry, reports concerning its validity are not as yet in published form. The interviewers who have used it in selection practice like it because it seems to indicate what the applicant is likely to do in actual work situations. To some extent, it is a kind of performance test that appears to be particularly useful in selecting salesmen and supervisors.

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

### **Practices that improve the interview**

A good interviewer has a plan. He knows, before he talks to the applicant, the kind of information he wants and the methods he intends to use to obtain it. Furthermore, he has in his own mind some basic framework, such as the adjustment concept (Chapters 2 to 6), for interpreting the information that he obtains. He has developed skill in stimulating the applicant to talk freely. He tends to follow practices such as the following.

1. He puts the applicant at ease in a natural manner. If the applicant has filled in an application blank, the interviewer may use some fact recorded on the blank as the basis for his first comments. Examples are former places of employment or recreational activities. If the applicant is obviously tense, the interviewer may give him time to pull himself together by picking up the application blank and saying: "Do you mind if I look at this so that I need not ask you questions that you have answered on the application form?"

Some interviewers facilitate the applicant's adjustment to the interview by purposely asking a question that makes the applicant feel a bit better informed than the interviewer. An example might be: "I see that you come from Blank City. Several years ago, I spent two days at the main hotel—it had an Irish name. Was it the Hotel Murphy?" When the applicant answers, "You must mean the Casey House, because that's the main hotel there," he is more apt to feel that he has established his adequacy in the interview situation.

2. He asks many open-end questions, especially in the early stages of the interview. Direct questions are avoided. In-

stead of saying, "What was your job with your last employer?" he may phrase the inquiry in a less directive manner as, "Tell me about your last job and the kind of work you did there." After the applicant has answered the question, the interviewer can elicit further revealing responses by saying, "Tell me, how did you feel about that job?"

3. When open-end questions have not revealed a clear picture of the applicant's work record, the interviewer asks questions of a specific nature, such as, "In your job with the XYZ Company, just exactly what did you do? Please tell me in detail."

4. When the applicant stops talking, the interviewer asks exploratory questions that keep the conversation moving in the direction desired by the interviewer. Examples are "Of all the jobs you have held, in what ways did any of them give you chances to develop your abilities?"; "Compare the last two jobs that you had. Tell me some of the things you liked better about the one than about the other"; and, "In what ways do you think that you bettered yourself when you changed some of your jobs in the past?"

5. The good interviewer avoids or has few questions of the following kinds:

*a.* Questions that can be answered with an unqualified "Yes" or "No."

*b.* Questions that invariably elicit the same answer from all applicants. Example: "Do you drink liquor to excess?"

*c.* Trick questions that compel the applicant to defend a former statement or admit an error in an earlier statement.

*d.* Leading questions, such as "You finished high school, I assume?"; "Did you make good grades in college?"; "Would you be willing to work in an

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

office where most employees are much older than you are?"; "Were you an accountant or a bookkeeper on your last job?", and, "Don't you agree that the job I described would be very interesting?"

6. The good interviewer carries on a conversation which results in true exchanges of ideas on the part of both the interviewer and the applicant. He does not dominate the applicant but encourages him to describe his actual feelings, preferences, hopes, abilities, and inabilities. This kind of exchanging of ideas means that the interviewer's statements consume less than 50 per cent of the interviewing time, preferably less than 25 per cent.

7. The good interviewer evaluates his own techniques by means of moving picture and sound recordings of some of his interviews. These objective records enable him to observe his characteristic mannerisms. He can note whether or not his facial expression is friendly, his tone of voice encouraging, and his manner one that gives the applicant a favorable impression of the company. Furthermore, the recordings will give him evidence as to whether he spends too much time talking to the applicant or in inducing the applicant to do most of the talking. Is he stimulating applicants to express themselves so that their abilities can be judged accurately, or is he merely delivering unimpressive monologues to strangers?

8. The good interviewer recognizes that the employment interview has two major divisions or phases: the appraisal of the applicant before accepting him for employment, and, if the applicant is hired, the accepting phase.

In the appraisal or sizing-up phase, the interviewer controls the situation in a manner which causes the applicant to

realize fully that he is being appraised rather than hired. The careless interviewer is apt to allow the applicant to assume that he is being hired by an overly friendly manner or by the way he asks the applicant to take various tests or questions him about the amount of pay he would expect if hired. As a result, the applicant gets an emotional jolt when he discovers that he has not been hired.

The good interviewer, on the other hand, keeps the applicant subtly aware of the fact that he is still being appraised and that no decision about his employment has as yet been reached.

Once the decision has been made to accept the applicant for employment, the interviewer begins the induction of the new employee into the company. The applicant is made clearly aware that his status has changed from that of applicant to new employee. At the same time, the interviewer gives the applicant ample information about the company and the job, thus enabling him to make his decision to work there more definite, or, as happens in some cases, to come to the conclusion that he does not want the job after all.

9. The good interviewer is a member of the management team. He not only selects employees who fit well into the organization but also prepares the new employee for the kinds of personalities whom he will meet. When, for example, the interviewer knows that the new employee's supervisor has a brusque hard-boiled manner, he explains the supervisor's personality characteristics so that the new employee can adapt himself to his new boss with understanding and develop respect for whatever admirable qualities the supervisor may have.

In reviewing the interview, we can con-

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

clude that few interviewers have developed the art of interviewing to the extent that it deserves. Anyone who studies interviewing practices is likely to conclude that modern industry has been productive in spite of rather than because of its employment procedures. Many applicants who have been hired by the present inadequate methods and become productive workers do so because most human beings are adaptable, not because they have been well chosen for their tasks. Furthermore, even though some statistical studies of interviewing have indicated that improved techniques, such as the standardized and probing interview, are better than unguided procedures, a selective interview of some kind is better than none at all, as proved by a study at the Aircraft Warning Unit Training Center at Drew Field, Florida.<sup>14</sup> About one fourth of the men assigned to this school were chosen at random to fill quotas. Thereafter, a four-week study was made to compare the success of these men with those selected by the classification interviewers. It was found that only 29 per cent of those selected at random completed the course, while 84 per cent of those selected by interview completed the courses successfully.

### *Findings from a study of 54 recorded interviews*

H. W. Daniels,<sup>15</sup> Personnel Research Institute, Western Reserve University, collected a sample of sixty interviews by recording them electronically in the employment offices of eight companies. These interviews were then timed, it was found that the average interview lasted ten minutes, of which the interviewer averaged 5.72 minutes speaking time and the applicant, 3.02 minutes. (In only one

company did the applicant average more speaking time than the interviewer.) Fifty-four of the interviews were suitable for technique analysis. The basic unit of the analysis was the "exchange", a question, statement, or other utterance on the part of the interviewer followed by a reply on the part of the interviewee. It was felt that such a unit encompassed the interaction of the two individuals, and remained objective and amenable to statistical treatment.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the analysis of the time spent in speaking by the participants in the interview, twenty-one categories were selected, each interview was analyzed by classifying each exchange into one or more of these categories. The total number of exchanges for each category then was taken as a pattern of the technique of the interviewer—in that interview. Eighteen of the most meaningful of the categories were intercorrelated, and the results showed that the method of analysis was a meaningful one. It was shown how such an analysis—with validity and reliability established by further research—would be helpful in training interviewers and in comparing the techniques of individual interviewers or of groups of interviewers. The analysis should be useful in comparing types of interviews (e.g., types of sales, counseling, or employment interviews).

Some of the conclusions reached were as follows:

- 1 The techniques most useful in obtaining volunteered information from the applicant, in order of their usefulness, were
  - a. Responses by interviewer to applicant's statements
  - b. Suggestions or advice to applicant.
  - c. Direct questioning regarding information not on the application blank

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

- d* Small talk by interviewer (chiefly used in establishing rapport)
- e* Information about the job and the company given by the interviewer
- 2 It was found that the recording of the interviews did not affect the interview, although some interviewers said they felt "nervous" at first<sup>17</sup>
- 3 The length of the interview is mainly controlled by the interviewer, but the applicant exercises some control by volunteering information. The interviewer is largely responsible for the length of the pauses
- 4 The average time per exchange was found to be unmeaningful for the purposes of analysis of the interviews in the sample. The average time per exchange is inelastic—i.e., a certain relatively constant amount of time is spent on each exchange regardless of the total length of the interview
- 5 The length of time the applicant speaks correlated .60 with the amount of advice the interviewer gives
- 6 Interviewers are consistent, i.e., those who ask many questions also give much advice and talk much about extraneous matters
- 7 About 9 per cent of the exchanges are spent in "getting down to business," and supposedly establishing rapport by inquiring after information already on the application blank. Such a method of establishing rapport is not effective
- 8 It was found that letting the applicant have his say—giving him time and encouragement to talk—produces a great deal of new information
- 9 The more information given by the interviewer about the job and the company, the more questions are asked by the applicant
- 10 Of the hypothetical "average" interview approximately half the exchanges were direct questions by the interviewer. One fourth of the interview exchanges were volunteered information by the applicant. Fifteen per cent of the interview was devoted to giving job and company information to the applicant, 12 per cent to advice to the applicant, and 12 per cent to exchanges not concerned in any way with hiring the applicant.

Once categories have been established and validated, such an analysis as that just described may be used for any interview, and standards of performance could be set. It would be desirable to compare, for example, the area interview, the probing interview, the patterned interview, the nondirective interview, and so forth.

### **Letters of application**

Our discussion of interviewing would be incomplete without some mention of the letter of application. Carefully conducted investigations show that the letter of application cannot be judged with any great degree of accuracy. If, for example, thirteen experienced employment men are asked to rank several letters of application, the letter that stands at the head of the list of one interviewer is at the bottom of the list of another. No executive has the right to assume that he can pick the wheat from the tares in letters of application. He can eliminate some of the decidedly unfit, but when he rates the remainder he is apt to commit serious errors.

Eight letters of application were received in answer to the following advertisement

"Required, Secretary to Employment Manager of Large Factory. Apply, stating particulars, to Box —."

These letters were ranked in order by thirteen experienced employment managers, none of whom knew any of the applicants personally. Half the applicants (four out of the eight) were ranked at both the top and the bottom, that is, first and eighth.

When a company advertises for applicants, no single executive should elimi-

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

nate and rate the letters of application. A group of executives or other raters should select the letters whose writers are to be investigated further.

The *weighted application blank* has been developed for the selection of salesmen, but for few other applicants. The procedure for adapting the application blank to improved salesman selection is as follows. A group of at least one hundred salesmen are divided into sub-groups such as good, average, and poor, on the basis of such factors as their sales records and supervisor's opinion. Each man's background then is analyzed by examining personnel records or by interview. The purpose is to ascertain certain facts, such as age, height, occupation, dependents, and so forth, and whether or not any particular fact or facts are significant characteristics of any particular sub-group of men. It may be found, for example, that height is positively correlated with volume of sales.

The significant items, those that distinguish potentially successful men from potentially unsuccessful men, are put on a weighted personal history blank. Usually such blanks have only from ten to fifteen items.

The Life Insurance Sales Research Bureau has a weighted personal history blank that was developed on the basis of a study of 10,111 men who had had no previous life insurance selling experience and who went into insurance selling from 1933 to 1935, inclusive. The member companies that use the form combine scores from it with scores on the personality characteristics test, also developed by the Bureau.

Weighted personal history forms are used not only in selecting life insurance salesmen. The Tremco Manufacturing

Company makes and distributes products that are used in the construction and maintenance of buildings and structures of various kinds. From the company's thirty-one-item, four-page application blank, its psychologist created a thirteen-item weighted personal history blank. The distinguishing characteristics of Tremco's successful salesmen were derived from data in application blanks and sales records collected over a period of years. As in all weighted personal history forms, a man's score is obtained by adding the weights of the various items. If the total does not amount to the minimum score decided upon as the criterion, the man is eliminated from further consideration unless there are special extenuating factors.

Before adopting a weighted personal history blank for use in selecting salesmen, a company should realize that a formula that has given good results to one company will not necessarily give good results to another. Each company has its own problems, and items that distinguish potentially good salesmen for one company may be valueless criteria for another. It is for this reason that every company must develop its own weighted blank. A comparison of items common to four personal history blanks illustrates this point. See Table 36.

The writer who combined the weighted items for the first three organizations shown in the table has also described the method and pointed out some limitations of the method.

From the standpoint of scientific method, the weighted personal history is a crude device. The best that can be said for it is that it works pretty well—which admittedly is saying a good deal, considering the poverty of so many other methods. The singular fact



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TABLE 36

COMPARATIVE WEIGHTINGS OF ITEMS ON FOUR PERSONAL HISTORY BLANKS USED IN HIRING SALESMEN

		Statistical Weightings For			
		LISRB	Phoenix	Tremco	Packaging Firm
Minimum	Under \$50 a month	1	0	Not discriminating	
Living Expenses.	\$50 to \$99	2	0		
	\$100 to \$124	4	1		
	\$125 to \$149	4	3		
	\$150 to \$174	9	5		
	\$175 to \$199	9	7		
	\$200 or more	14	9		
Amount of	\$ 0 to \$1,999	1	0	6	None = 0
Life Insurance.	2,000 to 3,999	2			Some = 4
	4,000 to 4,999	3	3	3	
	5,000 to 5,999	4	5	6	
	6,000 to 6,999	6	5	6	
	7,000 to 7,999	7	5	6	
	8,000 to 8,999	8	7	6	
	9,000 to 9,999	9	7	6	
	10,000 to \$19,999	10	7	5	
	20,000 or more	11	9	5	
Dependents:	None	3	2	3	3
	1	4	6	7	3
	2	6	7	6	1
	3	8	8	3	1
	4	8	8	0	1
	5	7	6		1
	6	4			1
Occupation:	Office worker—semiexecutive	8	6		3
	Executive	10	9		3
	Salesman of intangibles	6	6		2
	Professional	6	3		3
	Salesman of tangibles	4	4		2
	Office worker—clerical	4	3		3
	Engineer	1	4		3
	Manual Work	1	2		3
	Miscellaneous	3	4		3
	Selling a closely related product				1
Membership in Organizations	None	3	0	6	0
	1	3	4	4	3
	2	4	5	6	3
	3	8	6	3	3
	4 or more	11	7	3	3
Education	Grades 1 to 8	0	4	6	1
	9, 10, 11	0	4	3	1
	12, College 1	0	5	6	1
	College 2, 3	0	5	0	1
	College 4	0	8	5	3
Previous Income.	Up to \$100 per month	0		5	
	\$100 to \$149	0	2		
	150 to 174	0	3	4	
	175 to 199	0	4	4	

Saul Poliak, "Picking Better Salesmen," *Printers' Ink*, January 26, 1945 This article shows the weightings for the two insurance organizations and Tremco The weightings for the fourth company, a packaging firm, were supplied by Raymond A. Katzell

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

about the weighted personal history is that it works at all, for one's reaction to his first encounter with it is that it ought *not* to

The items customarily found on weighted personal history blanks bear only a superficial relationship to any qualities or characteristics that are ordinarily assumed to distinguish the good salesman from the poor or indifferent salesman. Surely they do not reveal motivation nor do they single out any pertinent tokens of ability<sup>18</sup>

### **Letters of recommendation**

An instance of the questionable worth of letters of recommendation came to the attention of the writer when employed by a rubber company. An executive had hired a secretary who was exceptionally competent but was very temperamental. On several occasions he transferred her temporarily to other executives of the company who were friends of his, told them that she was difficult to handle, and asked them to discharge her. The other men refused to discharge the girl because they did not wish to withstand her fiery temper. Finally the executive who was responsible for her employment decided to have vengeance upon a friend, employed as an executive in another concern, who had beaten him in a poker game by giving the girl an excellent letter of recommendation to him. When she applied for a position, her personality impressed the friend favorably and she was hired, largely because of the excellent letter of recommendation from her employer! This case is exceptional, but it illustrates the fact that many letters of recommendation and many references are given which do not tell the true story of the employee's past record.

One sales manager who hires salesmen in all parts of the country telegraphs his requests for information from former employers who are given as references by

applicants. He has found that he must demand about eight references and follow up each reference very carefully if he wishes to avoid hiring men with bad records. On one occasion he sent telegrams to eight references regarding an applicant whom he wished to hire. Two of the references did not reply at all, but telegrams from four were as follows:

"Glad to hear Walter K. has applied to you for a position. I can recommend him highly as regards honesty and workmanship. He is 100%. Has worked for me 3 years."

"Walter K. was with us for two months. Character and dependability very good. Would recommend."

"While Walter K. was with us he was very satisfactory."

"I recommend Mr. K. very highly in every respect."

These telegrams from the references were quite satisfying to the employment man and he was about to hire the applicant when he received a long-distance telephone call from one of the former employers. The former employer described Walter's conduct with his firm and told how he had failed even to attempt to do the work for which he was hired, had led an immoral life, owed the company money, borrowed money from customers, and had been discharged for incompetency. A few hours later, another former employer telephoned the employment man and gave a similar report of gross misconduct. These executives refused to put their reports in writing, but used the telephone in an honest effort to save time and money for a prospective employer. This employment man frequently requests former employers to telephone him at his expense if they prefer to do so rather than write or tele-

## *hiring the employee—the interview*

graph him. He claims that he has saved his company thousands of dollars by asking for telephone answers, because former employers will give more honest reports in oral than in written form.

Most executives write a general letter to a person given as reference, and the person answering usually gives a general reply, selecting those good points in the applicant's history that may be stressed without harming his chances for another job. A slightly better method is to use a special report form that asks for information on specific points, as

1. Was the applicant discharged by you, let go because of decrease in work, or did he leave of his own accord?

2. Does he owe you any money now?  
*No Yes.*

3. Would you rehire him if you needed a person for a vacancy that he had the ability to fill? *No Yes. Possibly*

4. How long did he work for you?

5. What date (month and year) did he leave your employ?

6. He states that his salary or income from you was . . . per month. Is this correct?  
*Yes No*

7. Did he use alcohol to any extent?  
*Yes. No*

8. How do you rate his moral conduct?  
*Very Good Satisfactory Questionable*

9. Do you think that he possesses the ability to fill a job with us which is . . .  
*Yes. No Don't know*

10. How would you rate his record with your firm?

- a. Very satisfactory.
- b. Satisfactory.
- c. Fair.
- d. Questionable.
- e. Unsatisfactory.

These questions should be made part of a two-page letter to the previous employer, the first page giving the name of the former employee and assuring the answerer that his report will be kept con-

fidential. The questions and answers suggested may be varied, but they should deal with objective factors rather than ask for opinions. The possible answers should be suggested on the form so that the correct answer can be checked by the

TABLE 37\*

EXECUTIVE HAVING FINAL AUTHORITY TO  
DISCHARGE—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN  
INDUSTRIES

<i>Executive</i>	<i>For Hourly Workers</i>	
	COMPANIES Num- ber	Per Cent
General (Plant, Works) manager or superintendent	121	30.1
Foreman or department head	96	24.0
General manager or superintendent and foreman or department head	50	12.5
Personnel director	48	12.0
General manager or superintendent and personnel director	33	8.2
General manager, personnel director and foreman or department head	27	6.7
Personnel director and foreman or department head	15	3.7
Plant manager and immediate supervisor	2	0.5
Committee	2	0.5
Vice president	1	0.3
Superintendent, personnel manager and labor relations manager	1	0.3
"Depends"	1	0.3
Industrial or employment manager	1	0.3
Production manager	1	0.3
Foreman and shift bosses	1	0.3
Total	400	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

writer or written with a minimum of effort. This type of letter to a reference does not allow the previous employer to select the pleasant parts in the former employee's record and ignore the bad parts. Such forms have been used by a few progressive firms, but many employ-

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ment men still accept a general letter of reply from persons given as references. They assume that, when an applicant has a bad record, the person answering will phrase his letter so that it is possible "to read between the lines" and grasp the real story. Such an expectation on the part of executives may be unfair to the applicant and it requires too much time on the part of the previous employers.

When letters are addressed to former employers of an applicant, they should be addressed to the "Employment Manager" rather than to individuals within the company. Some applicants who do not wish their real record to be revealed to prospective employers often give the name of a friend in the company as a reference. This friend is usually a person of no responsibility and his statement has no weight as a reference for a discharged employee.

*Summary* The hiring of employees is

still mostly in the hands of the empiricists of business. The old rules-of-thumb and prejudice prevail. A few progressive concerns have made statistical studies of the factors which correlate highly with successful employment records. Some have improved their hiring procedures through more systematic interviewing and the use of psychological tests to eliminate the unfit and to reduce labor turnover, but such modern aids are likely to be found in the larger and better-managed employment offices where trained experts are in charge of hiring. However, any executive or employment manager who wishes to improve his hiring techniques can do so by standardizing his procedure, keeping records of his findings, and then making statistical studies of his records. Such an attempt will yield results more valuable than the present haphazard treatment of the interview, letter of application, and letter of recommendation.

### PROJECTS

- 1 Collect some letters of application. Ask friends or executives to rank them in the order of estimated desirability of the applicants. Discuss the differences in the rankings.
- 2 The Tremco Manufacturing Company, of Cleveland, sells paints and building maintenance materials. The company sells to the industrial and institutional markets exclusively. Applicants for selling positions have their characteristics scored by the sales manager, who uses the weightings of Table 38. Score yourself according to the following table and norms. The company found it doubtful whether anyone should be hired who scores less than 60 out of a possible 92 points. Of course, the data in this table are valid only for the Tremco Manufacturing Co. and should not be used for selection purposes elsewhere.
3. Assume that you are about to establish a small manufacturing enterprise employing between 50 and 100 persons. Outline your plans for
  - a. Selecting the women you wish to hire
  - b. Making special provision in the plant and working schedule for the women
- 4 Read material concerning lie detectors and evaluate their usefulness and limitations. List other methods you have heard of for telling when a person is lying.
5. Write a *Help Wanted* advertisement to obtain women factory employees and a similar advertisement for male employees. How do they differ?
6. To prevent politics in business, some managers hire employees of all kinds of religious and racial affiliations. What "mixtures" of religions, races, sexes, etc., would you consider to be most desirable to prevent company politics?
7. Find pictures of several famous persons

## hiring the employee—the interview

of whom you have heard but whose physical features you have not seen. In which cases were you disappointed by the pictures and in which were you pleased? Give possible reasons for your reaction in each case

- 8 Collect handwriting specimens of persons whom you know. Analyze the writing according to the system of analysis presented in a book on graphology. Estimate the value of the system

TABLE 38

### SCORING WEIGHTS FOR PERSONAL HISTORY ITEMS

	Score
1 <i>Age</i>	
50 . . .	4
45-49 .	5
40-44 .	2
up-39 .	7
2 <i>Height</i>	
72"-up	7
70"-71 9	5
69"-69 9	4
up-68 9	3
3 <i>Marital status</i>	
Married	5
All others	3
4 <i>No. of dependents</i>	
4 or more	0
3	3
2	6
1	7
None .	3
5 <i>Thousands of dollars of insurance</i>	
10 or more	5
5 to 10	6
1 to 5	3
None . . .	6
6 <i>Amount of debts</i>	
None .	4
Current	6
\$500 or more	5
7 <i>Years of education</i>	
Grades 1-8	6
9, 10, 11 . .	3
12, Coll 1 .	6
Coll 2, 3 . . .	0
Coll 4, more . . . . .	5

8. <i>Number of clubs</i>	<i>Score</i>
None	6
One	4
Two	6
Three, more	3
9 <i>Years on last job</i>	
Less than 1	5
1 to 1 yr 11 mo	1
2 to 2 yrs 11 mo	3
3 to 3 yrs 11 mo	6
4 to 5 yrs 11 mo	8
6 to 9 yrs 11 mo	10
10 or more	5
10 <i>Experience in maintenance</i>	
None	3
Any amount	6
11 <i>Average No. years on all previous jobs</i>	
1-2½	3
3-6	5
6½-10	8
12 <i>Average monthly earnings on last regular job</i>	
Up to \$150	5
\$150-199	4
200-249	8
250-349	1
350-399	5
400-up	6
13 <i>Reason for leaving last regular job</i>	
Still employed	10
Job discontinued	7
(depression, company folded, also, illness and circumstances beyond man's control)	
To better self	5
(positive reasons)	
Was let go—dismissed	4
(but if because of conflict with management, score as negative reasons)	
Negative reasons	2
(friction)	

Critical Score = 62

The experience of the company is that 70 per cent of those scoring above 62 are still working, while only 30 per cent of those scoring below 62 are still employed (O. A. Ohmann, "A Report of Research on the Selection of Salesmen at the Tremco Manufacturing Company," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, American Psychological Association, Inc., February 1941.)

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## 16 Hiring the employee—the use of tests

*When psychological methods are used in an employment office, they should always be looked upon as supplementing—not replacing—other methods that are in use. No psychologist who has thought at all about the problems of modern industry would seriously suggest that present employment procedures should be eliminated. But the fact that these methods, though excellent in many respects, are still not perfect is proved by the marked individual differences among employees which any study of differential production will reveal. A considerable amount of research, both in industry and in the laboratory, has shown that still further improvements in employment methods can be attained when psychological tests and methods are used as supplements to other employment procedures<sup>1</sup>*

COMPANIES THAT WISH TO IMPROVE their hiring procedures often turn to psychological tests as instruments of prediction. A psychological test does not evaluate all of the person's ability, but merely tests parts, samples, or symptoms of ability. The psychological test is very similar in nature to the tests made by the assayer of minerals. If a man wished to purchase a vein of silver ore, he would first obtain samples of it and have these analyzed by some competent chemist. On the basis of the samples, he would decide upon the value of the ore and the price he would be willing to pay for it. Obviously he could not test all the mineral in the vein

of ore. Similarly, the psychologist tests samples of a person's abilities rather than all of them.

Psychological tests and aptitude tests are terms often used loosely by modern businessmen and even by scientists. In many cases, a businessman thinks he is using psychological or intelligence tests when actually he is merely asking a number of random questions. For example, a businessman may find that he needs a new secretary. Accordingly, he advertises in the usual manner; when he arrives at his office the next morning he may find an applicant there. He then opens his morning mail, chatting with her while

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he takes a casual glance at the letters which await his attention. Then, deciding that it would be well for him to “test” the applicant, he picks up one of the letters which he must answer and dictates a reply. The applicant types the letter and gives it back to him; he examines it for errors and appearance. He then dismisses the first applicant and awaits the coming of the second one, at which time he answers another letter—an entirely different one. In this manner, he “tests” five applicants, after which he makes his decision. He thinks he has given each one of the applicants a psychological test. As a matter of fact, he has not done so at all. If he were to develop a psychological test for the hiring of stenographers, certain factors would have to be standardized for all applicants, namely.

1. *Materials* The same letter and appliances must be used for each person.

2. *Instructions* Each applicant must receive the same instructions regarding speed and accuracy. Instructions should be read.

3. *Technique*. The speed of dictation, enunciation, and so forth must be kept the same.

4. *Conditions* Distractions should vary as little as possible.

5. *Interpretation of score*. The score of each applicant must be compared with that of other stenographers of high, medium, and low ability.

Any test, to be of value, must fulfill three requirements. It must be *objective*, so that personal opinion is held to a minimum in the scoring; it must be *valid*, that is, it must test the trait that it is supposed to test; and it must be *reliable*, that is, it must give the same results on repetition, regardless of the particular individual who administers the test. Many

of the tests that are published in magazines do not fulfill these three requirements. Such tests are still in the experimental state. They may have promise of future results, but they should not be used as a basis for hiring until their predictive value has been statistically determined.

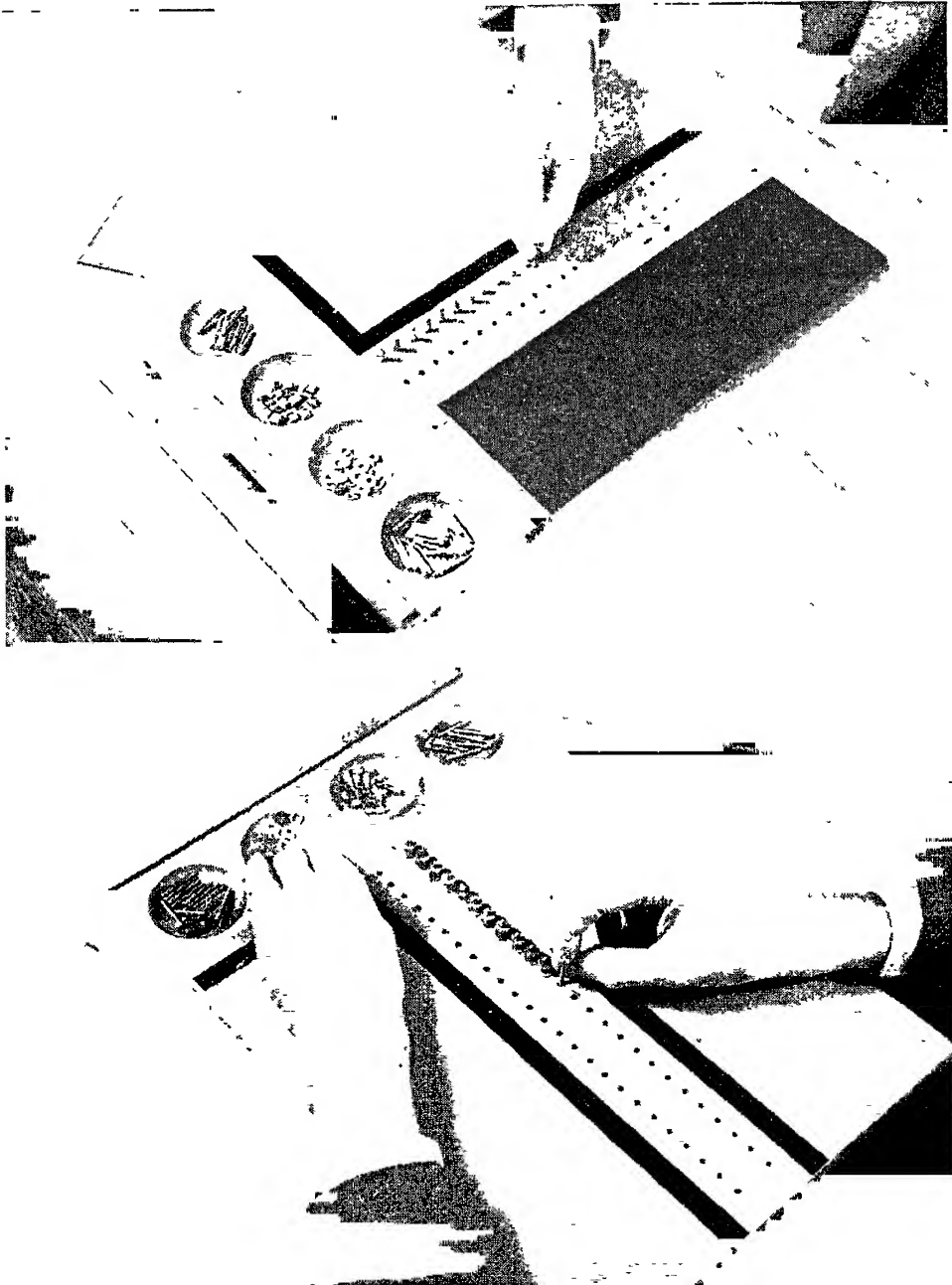
*A psychological test is any problem or series of questions that has been tried out on persons who possess a known degree of the trait being tested. It has been shown that the test scores made by these persons are stable and correlate with their records in that trait.* Therefore, one of the chief requirements for preparing psychological tests is that of statistical training.

Many businessmen and scientists have been using tests for many years, but the terminology is not very well standardized. The various terms used to describe tests are intelligence, aptitude, efficiency, mental alertness, information, specific ability, performance, mental, job, trade, and army tests. These terms usually refer to diverse kinds of tests.

### ***Kinds of tests used in employment***

One helpful way to classify tests is to think of them in regard to what they are supposed to measure. (1) *Intelligence*, *mental alertness*, or scholastic aptitude tests are designed to measure a person's ability to deal with abstract relationships, sometimes referred to as the ability to do “mental gymnastics.” A recommended definition of intelligence is “The degree of availability of one's experiences for the solution of immediate problems and the anticipation of future ones.”<sup>2</sup> (2) *Aptitude* tests are tests concerned with the capacity to acquire certain specified knowledge or skill, such as stenography,



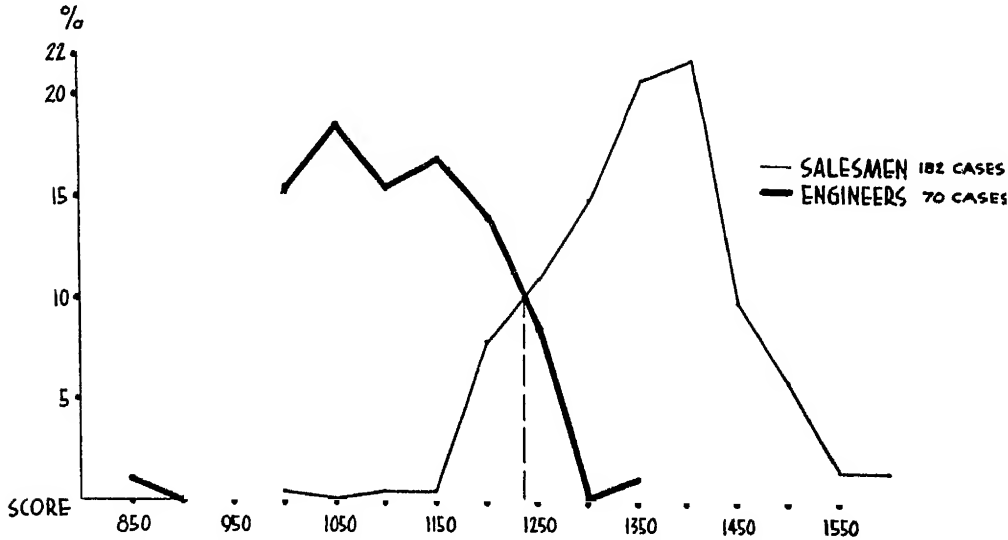


THE "PURDUE PEGBOARD" TEST measures certain basic aspects of manipulative dexterity. Separate measurements may be obtained for right hand, left hand, and both hands. The test can be given to ten or more persons simultaneously. When test boards were available in one office, a single examiner administered the test at the rate of fifty applicants per hour. See Joseph Tiffin, *Industrial Psychology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, pp. 126 f.

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

salesmanship, chemical engineering, or some limited aspect of these or other occupations. Some users of the term assume that it embraces intelligence, personality, and interests, because these must also be

mar, or carpentry. When these tests are applied to the work of the artisan they are also called “trade tests” (4) *Vocational interests* are exemplified by the E. K. Strong test. (See Chapter 11.) (5) *Per-*



**SALESMEN DIFFER FROM ENGINEERS** The scores on the base line represent a combination consisting of measures of interest in advertising, attitude toward sales work, knowledge of selling methods, accuracy, aggressiveness, confidence, emotional stability and liveliness of disposition—Edwin G. Flemming, of the Burton Bigelow Organization, Management Consultants of New York City, uses a battery of eight tests in his service designed to aid executives in the selection of salesmen, sales managers, and other executives. When he compared the test data obtained from batteries or sets of tests answered by applicants for jobs as salesmen with that from engineer applicants, he found significant differences between the test scores of the two groups. After appropriate statistical treatments were given the test data, the average score for engineers was found to be 1125, for salesmen, 1376.—The data showed that salesmen and engineers are distinctly different, not only in the pattern of their major interests, but also in their accuracy, their knowledge, their attitude toward their work, and their personalities. Dr. Flemming's experience with the practical problem of selecting salesmen for many employers of all sizes in many different kinds of selling operations indicates that sales engineers—those salesmen who must have a technical training in engineering, but whose primary job is to sell—are likely to be found in the area of overlapping of the two curves in the chart, between the scores of 1150 and 1300.—Chart and data by Edwin G. Flemming, Director, Division for Sales Personnel Selection, Burton Bigelow Organization, New York.

included in the prediction of potentiality for learning skills and acquiring knowledge.<sup>3</sup> (3) *Proficiency* or achievement tests intend to measure actual ability to do certain kinds of work or to perform specified skills as typing, comptometry, gram-

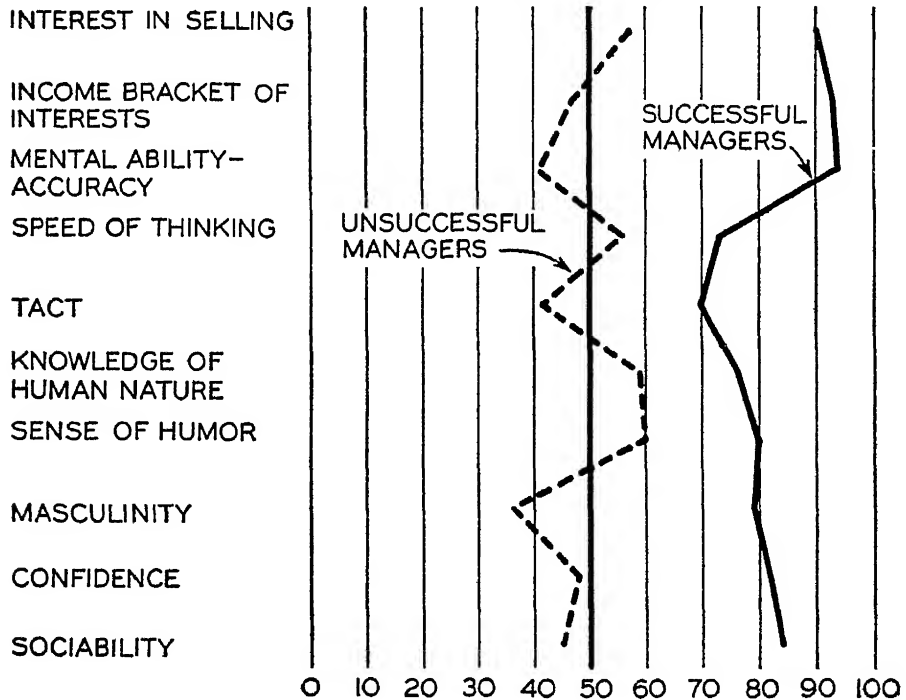
*sonality* or temperament tests usually refer to adjustment tendencies that more or less characterize the individual's behavior, as exemplified by terms such as introversion, sociability, and emotional stability. Temperament refers to one's

## hiring the employee—the use of tests

### SUCCESSFUL VS UNSUCCESSFUL SALES MANAGERS

Direct to the Consumer

*These curves show the differences between successful and unsuccessful district and branch managers in direct-to-the-consumer selling operations. The heavy perpendicular line represents the median score made by 1040 salesmen.*



EDWIN G. FLEMMING, DIRECTOR  
DIVISION FOR SALES PERSONNEL SELECTION  
BURTON BIGELOW ORGANIZATION  
NEW YORK

"CRITICISM HAS SOMETIMES BEEN LEVELED at the use of psychological tests in selection because investigators have found no very high correlations between scores on single tests and criteria of success in selling. It is true that very significant correlations seldom are found for single tests, but it needs to be pointed out and emphasized that a score on any one test is not necessarily critically significant in determining a man's potentialities for success in selling. The important thing is the pattern of scores revealed by a battery of tests. No one score may be critically important, but the pattern is. By a pattern we mean the interrelationships of scores and the relative strengths and weaknesses of the traits, interests, and tendencies revealed by the complete battery of tests."—From Edwin G. Flemming and Cecile White Flemming, "Test-Selected Salesmen," *Journal of Marketing*, April 1946. Chart is not included in this article, but was prepared by Edwin G. Flemming for use in this book.

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

tendency to act in certain characteristic ways, not at any one instant but over a long period of time

### ***Stages in the development of testing in industry***

The history of testing for the appraisal of job applicants and employees has had three overlapping stages

1. *Single tests*, such as those for the measuring of intelligence, proficiency, and personality. Thousands of tests, of varying validity, have been published and used. Examples of single tests may be found in the appendix of this book.

2. *The battery of tests* with a profile of test scores. This procedure, developed by psychologists in recent years, means that a number of single tests are administered as a battery. A single test usually measures but a limited facet of the individual's psychological make-up. Under the battery method, the scores of several standard tests, given one individual, are plotted on graph paper in the form of a profile. This test profile is then compared with the master test profiles that are typical of successful and unsuccessful employees. See figures on pages 330 and 332-334. When this procedure is used by an experienced psychologist, the psychologist may interpret also the profile for management, writing a one-to-five page report on the significance of the test findings.

3. *Projective tests*. These tests are called projective, because through them the person being analyzed tends to project his own characteristics into a response to a vague and undefined situation. The Thematic Apperception Test, for example, consists of a series of standard pictures, most of which contain human figures. The person being studied is told

to make up a story about each picture. When the person makes up the stories, he also reveals important attitudes, feelings, tendencies, strivings, conflicts, and frustrations. The expert clinical psychologist can learn much of value about a person from this type of test.

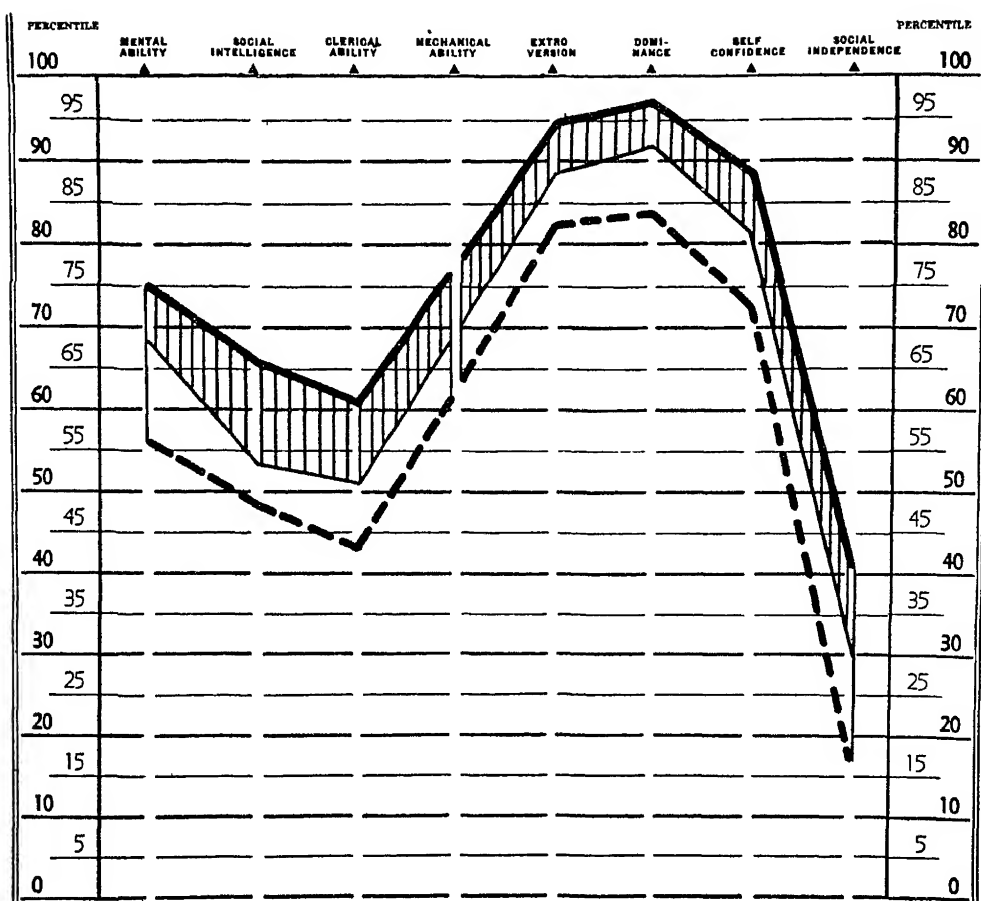
One of the earliest projective tests is the well-known Rorschach or ink blot visual stimulus technique. Other examples of the projective technique are those of finger-painting, word association, and the psychodrama.<sup>4</sup>

The projective techniques have been given considerable publicity in business recently as a result of the work done by several personnel researchers, particularly Dr. Burleigh Gardner and his associates in Social Research, Inc., a consulting service of Chicago.

A technique employed by these scientists consisted of a short, nondirective interview, a special analysis by means of several traditional personality tests, and the Thematic Apperception Test, developed by H. A. Murray and associates of Harvard University. Use of the TAT test requires interpretation by experts. As a result of a program of testing executives with this type of test, Gardner and his associates found that the following list of characteristics is typically possessed by a good executive:<sup>5</sup>

1. He must accomplish and achieve in order to be happy.
2. He accepts authority.
3. He has a strong drive toward achievement, material rewards, and prestige.
4. He is able to bring order out of chaos.
5. He is decisive—but he doesn't necessarily have to make snap decisions.
6. He is sure of his convictions and decisions.
7. He has a constant drive to be moving and doing.
8. He may have a pervasive fear of failure.

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*



PATTERN SALES PROFILE based on 400 specialty food salesmen

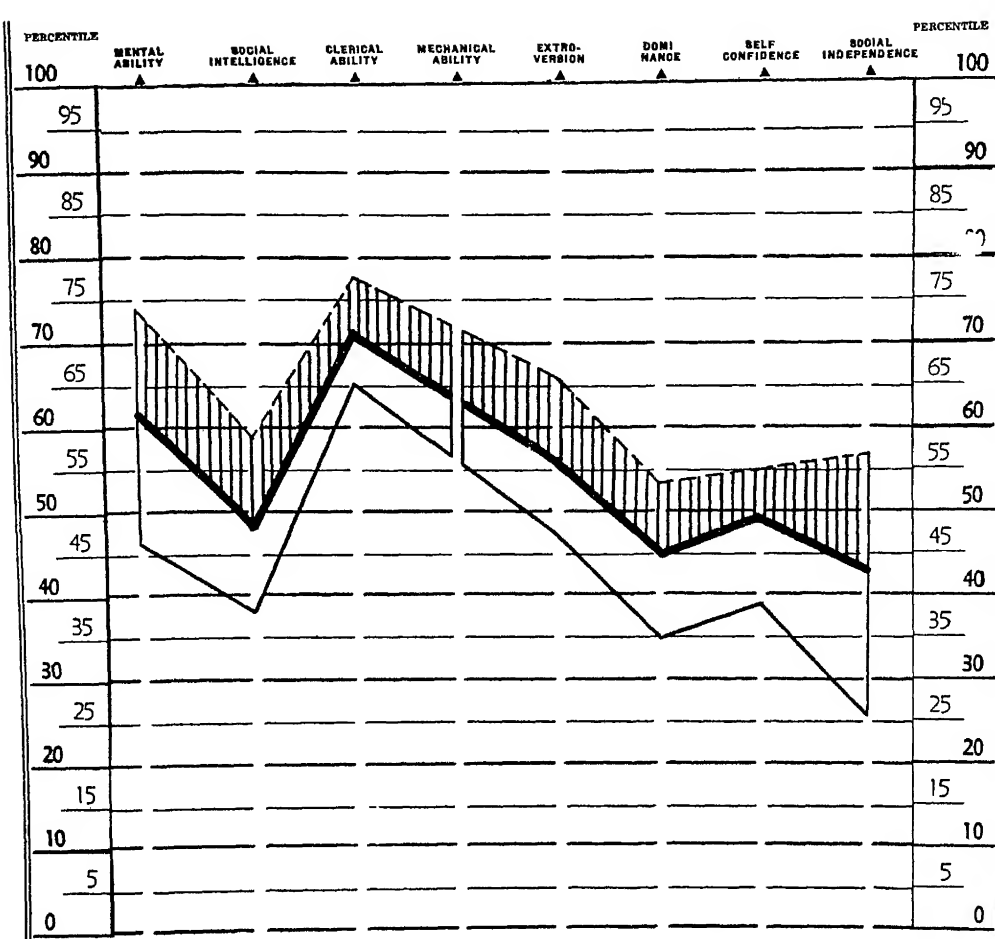
Shaded area—above-average hiring area

Line separating shaded from unshaded areas—median scores

Unshaded area—acceptable hiring area within average range

The entire profile represents the inter-quartile range or the middle 50 per cent of those employees who were considered above average. This technique was used to eliminate the atypical cases who are unusually high on one hand or unusually low, thus making the profile more indicative of a homogeneous above-average group. When applicants are plentiful, the shaded area is used. It is also used for upgrading. When applicants are few, the entire pattern, including the unshaded area, may be used. The criteria used to determine the above-average individuals were above-average production on the job and managers' ratings. Four or five managers' ratings were available for every individual. These ratings pertain to more intangible personal characteristics, which very often are not revealed in production figures themselves or sales volumes, as the case may

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*



PATTERN PROFILE based on 2,000 individuals, all office positions

Shaded area—above-average hiring area

Line separating shaded from unshaded areas—median scores

Unshaded area—acceptable hiring area within average range

be, and include such factors as loyalty to the company, willingness to follow managerial policies, stability, willingness to work, planning, personal appearance, etc.—The success of this method in application has been substantiated in one company by the fact that throughout six years of conscientious and controlled application it was possible to reduce the turnover in the sales field from 13 to 1 to 5 to 1. It costs the company around \$2,500 to hire and train a salesman over a six-months period. On a yearly basis, the reduction in turnover has saved the company approximately \$150,000. Of course there are other intangible benefits, such as increased versatility in the new men who are now hired as compared to the old type.—Charts and data by Richard S. Solomon, Consulting Psychologist, Dayton, Ohio

# hiring the employee—the use of tests

NAME		ORDER DEPARTMENT		RH	LH	Soc Sec No.		
RAW SCORE	% ILE SCORE	TEST	Low 5%	Low Average 20%	Average 50%	High Average 20%	High 5%	+
		MENTAL ALERTNESS	63 54	75	83	99	114	122
		SUPERVISORY INCLINATION	82 83	89	96	102	107	108
		EXTROVERSION	52 53	62	71	79	86	87
		DOMINANCE	101 113	115	125	135	145	155
		SELF-CONFIDENCE	33 33	35	35	35	35	35
		SOCIAL INDEPENDENCE	134 135	135	135	135	135	135
		SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE	24 24	24	24	24	24	24
		SPATIAL PERCEPTION	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		MECHANICAL ADAPTABILITY	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		MANUAL COORDINATION	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		FINGER DEXTERITY-M	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		TOOL USAGE-MALE	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		TOOL USAGE-FEMALE	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		CLERICAL ABILITY	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		CLERICAL ACCURACY	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		CLERICAL SPEED	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		NAME CHECKING	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		NUMBER CHECKING	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		READING	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		SPELLING	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		TOTAL	35 35	35	35	35	35	35
		SAMPLE	35 35	35	35	35	35	35

\* STANDARD ERROR OF MEASUREMENT

STANDARD TEST SCORE PROFILE for the job of order clerk. This profile is made on a transparent envelope. The profile of an individual applicant's test scores is marked on a blank psychometric record card, which in turn is slipped into the envelope. The darkened areas (usually in red color) show the test scores which are unacceptable. The blue or green areas indicate test scores that are borderline. The white or clear areas indicate the scores that are acceptable. The spaces for some test scores are entirely blank because those tests have no predictive values for this particular job—Statistical analysis of the predictive value of these test scores has indicated that if an individual's test performance falls into one red area or two blue areas he is unacceptable. Of course the interpretation in every case is made on a clinical basis, integrating all test factors with the test scores, including the data from the interview and a personal history data sheet. The data of the personal history sheet are interpreted in terms of a weighted application blank. In addition, the psychologist who uses the above profile also prepares a written report for interpretation of the test performance as well as other personality characteristics—Hiring profiles such as this are not static arrangements, but are modified to fit existing conditions. For example, when the labor supply is limited as it was during the war years, the red or unacceptable areas of the psychometric master profile tended to move toward the outer extremes, leaving more white space, thus allowing more tolerance in the hiring standards. Conversely, as more applicants are available for jobs, the white space in practice becomes narrower and hiring standards become more rigid. This is only one example of how various conditions may affect the interpretation of the test record. Psychologists who have both testing and clinical backgrounds prefer to integrate the two approaches in their work—Chart and data by Richard S. Solomon, Consulting Psychologist, Dayton, Ohio.

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

- a lingering doubt of his ability to do as good a job as he wants to do
- 9 He has a strong sense of reality
  - 10 He identifies himself more with his superiors than with subordinates. His superiors represent a symbol of his own achievement
  - 11 He feels and acts on his own "In a sense, a successful executive is a man who has left home"

On the other hand, an unsuccessful executive is likely to have these traits

- 1 He cannot grasp the over-all picture, cannot see the forest for the trees
- 2 He fails to carry his load of responsibilities
- 3 He has an unconscious desire to be something else
- 4 He has an unconscious desire to be someone else
- 5 He is unable to cooperate with his associates
- 6 He is so ambitious that he is impatient with and intolerant of routine tasks
- 7 He cannot accept supervision from his bosses
- 8 He is arrogant with his subordinates.
- 9 He may have a deep-rooted, fixed idea that hobbles him in dealing with his duties. He may, for example, suspect that some colleague is out to "knife" him, or that his background is not adequate
- 10 He may keep his nose too close to the grindstone. Overemphasis on work often results in breakdowns. A successful executive must have outside interests and relaxations to sustain his energy, balance his activities.
- 11 He may, through some quirk of a youthful background, be subconsciously bent on self-destruction
12. He may have some mental disorders that only a psychologist can pry out

Obviously, the work of the projective technique users is very technical. Few companies can afford to hire the services of experts of this order. Furthermore, the use of projective techniques in industry is new, and they are still to be regarded

as experimental. In some studies, their use failed to discriminate accurately between good and poor performers.

### ***Extent to which tests are used in industry***

Most employers who do testing limit their testing programs to the use of several single tests or, at most, to batteries that have been found helpful in hiring applicants for certain occupations. Several investigators have made surveys at irregular intervals by means of mailed questionnaires to learn the extent to which companies use tests for selection. The numbers of firms replying in surveys made in 1930, 1940, and 1947 were 195, 231, and 325, respectively. These numbers of respondents are too small to be truly representative, but the findings are somewhat indicative of the extent to which tests are used.

The use of tests for selection has decreased from 66 per cent in 1940 to 57 per cent in 1947. The use of stenographic or clerical tests increased from 46 per cent in 1930 to 62 per cent in 1940 then declined to 54 per cent in 1947. The use of trade tests has consistently declined (1930, 27 per cent; 1940, 21 per cent; 1947, 19 per cent). On the other hand, the use of mental (intelligence) tests has consistently increased, until 37.8 per cent of the companies are now using them in their selection process.<sup>6</sup>

The United States Employment Service developed norms for batteries of occupational aptitude and trade tests for twenty fields of work representing more than 2,000 occupations. Since not every different occupation requires a completely different set of aptitudes and abilities, those fields requiring similar qualifications are grouped together into families of occupations, and represent fields of work rather than specific occupa-





TWO EXAMPLES OF RESPONSE CARDS for projective techniques. The ink blot has no meaning in its own right, but it is thought to induce responses that enable the clinical expert to make deductions concerning the subject's imaginative processes and gain clues to the individual's personality. Scoring of responses includes not only response-content, but also such factors as size of area responded to, movement, detection of shading, and others.

### *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

tions It is therefore possible to determine an applicant's aptitude for many different occupations on the basis of relatively few tests The use of these tests have, in some cases, facilitated the work of these who select workers for upgrading, promotion, and so on In some instances, training time of new employees has been reduced

by as much as a third or even a half by using these tests to select the right men for the right job.

In those local governmental employment services offices throughout the United States at which testing is done, employers can arrange with the local office to administer specific tests that have



FOR THE SECOND PICTURE (courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York) the subject is asked to tell a dramatic story It is thought that even though he may not be aware of it, he endows the story with needs and stresses that he experiences at the time From expressions of needs and stresses, generalizations are made about his behavior patterns—Projective techniques are used in clinical practice and offer one way of getting at the individual's hidden or non-conscious behavior dynamics The subject has little or no control over his responses However, much basic research in this area is needed before these techniques can be fully trusted. (Pictures and text furnished by Ernst Beier.)

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

been developed for a particular occupation. To use a specific battery of tests, the company may have to agree to put a trained official in charge of interpreting results.<sup>7</sup> Inquiry at the local office will reveal the testing services available and the bases for the service.

### ***Testing in the armed services during World War II***

In the Second World War, numerous test researches were conducted, particularly for the Army Air Forces. Techniques were developed for determining the important mental and motor abilities required for various job specialties, instruments were constructed for measuring these abilities, and procedures were evolved for applying them in the selection and classification of personnel. Research on training personnel and on evaluating the results of training was conducted. Among the outstandingly successful accomplishments of the Aviation Psychology Research Program<sup>8</sup> was the selection and classification of aviation cadets for pilot, bombardier, and navigator training. More than one third of all male officers commissioned in the Army of the United States during World War II were initially appointed from the ranks of aviation cadets.

The Office of Strategic Services<sup>9</sup> also used a number of psychologists and psychiatrists to appraise the merits of 5,391 recruits by means of a wide variety of tests, including "situation tests" or "or-deals" that lasted more than three days. One of the tests consisted of directing men in getting a 100-pound rock across a brook that was too wide to jump. The equipment available for the task consisted of several short boards, a few pieces of rope, a pulley, and a barrel with both ends

knocked out! Observers rated the men's performances.

Only inconclusive data were obtained on the value of this kind of situation-testing for the OSS, but the testing program as a whole appears to have possible suggestive values for the selection of trainees for executive positions in industry.

### ***Personality tests in industry***

Much work has been done in the development of personality tests for use in industry. The Humm-Wadsworth Temperament Scale, as an example, is an attempt to measure potential work attitudes, social adjustment, and cooperative capacity.<sup>10</sup> The use of the test is restricted to those who have had some training in psychiatric principles.

Much research must still be done in this kind of testing, but the employment interviewer should become acquainted with this field of human analysis. The chapters on adjustment (2 to 6) present a general background for this type of testing and interview.

One study of the Guilford-Martin Personnel Inventory indicated that the test classified as having "undesirable temperaments" 82 per cent of the workers who had, in management's opinion, demonstrated that they were troublemakers and soreheads. However, in this group, whose scores indicated that they had "undesirable temperaments," were 38 per cent of the workers whom management had labeled satisfactory.<sup>11</sup>

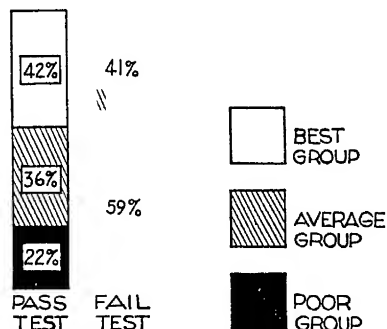
Personality tests are not as yet as well perfected as some other types of tests. The experimental or statistical shortcomings of many of the studies of personality tests justify a cautious attitude toward the results obtained, but the fact cannot be ignored that the inventories usually

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

do make some definite contribution to psychiatric screening. The evidence that some of the inventories were found useful in the military situation encourages the hope that similar inventories may prove to be useful in civilian practice.<sup>12</sup>

### *Values of testing in industry*

In American industry, tests alone are not sufficient for hiring or rejecting an



RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAMERA PRODUCTION and score on finger dexterity test. How a test can be validated is illustrated in the chart above. In this instance, scores obtained on a finger dexterity test were compared with records of actual production on a camera assembly line. The left-hand column represents employees who passed the test, the right-hand column those who failed it. As stated in the legend at the right-hand side of the chart, the black area represents the worst workers, the shaded area represents the average workers, and the white area represents the best workers. The right-hand column includes only those employees who failed the finger dexterity test. Fifty-nine per cent of them, or more than half, were in the poorest group, the rest were average, and none was in the best group. From the left-hand column you will see that 42 per cent of the employees were in the best group, 36 per cent in the average group, and 22 per cent in the poor group. Although this represents a good relationship between test and job performance, still there are 22 per cent of the group who passed the test yet failed to make the grade in production. In other words, there is a small group of employees who, although they possess the necessary dexterity to do a good job, fail to do so for some other reason. Perhaps the test does not measure dexterity with perfect accuracy.

applicant in most firms. They are merely one of the factors that must be evaluated, just as age or education must be weighed in the composite score. The tests may have greater predictive value than any other one variable, but in most firms the other variables are considered in the total picture of the applicant. However, tests have been found helpful for the following purposes:

#### 1 Weeding out the unfit applicants ✓

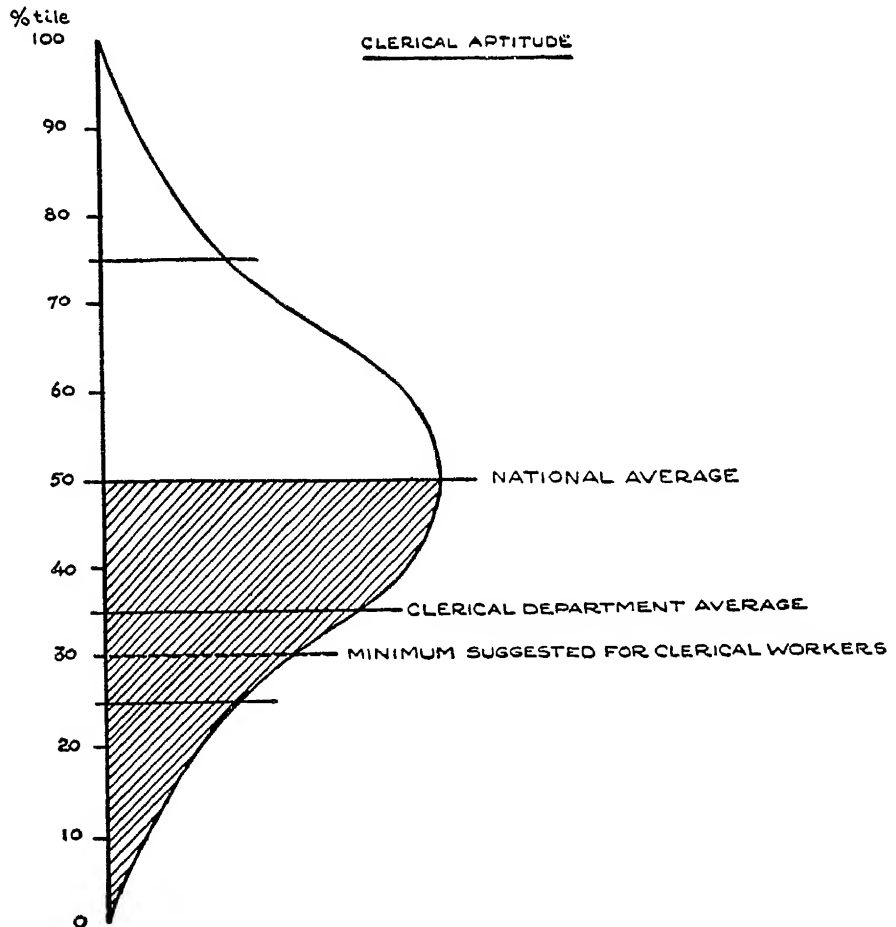
For example, persons who have an intelligence quotient of less than 105 seldom succeed in clerical jobs of average difficulty. One personnel manager for a public utility firm reported that when tests were used in selecting applicants, less than 10 per cent of those hired failed on the job. Without tests, the long-term record of failures in hiring approached 30 per cent.<sup>13</sup> At one time, the Woodward Governor Co. of Rockford, Illinois, found that they were hiring too many tramp mechanics and other undesirables. Later The Psychological Corporation made a study of the company's personnel needs and recommended the use of tests which, according to the general manager of the company, succeeded in weeding out 85 per cent of the untrainable men who applied for work.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation averaged twelve successful hirings out of twenty before testing. With testing, the average rose to nineteen out of twenty.<sup>15</sup>

2 Tests reduce the costs of training new employees through the selection of applicants who can learn the work. See the charts on pages 339-343. When, for example, a camera manufacturer hired twenty-six persons to learn film spooling, all were subjected to taking a finger dexterity test. Seventeen failed the test. Because of a shortage of labor at the time,

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

all were hired. Ten weeks later each had left the job. The cost of the make-up pay alone, the difference between the minimum hourly rate of pay and what they actually earned, was more than one thousand dollars. Indirect costs to the com-

pany amounted to several thousand dollars more. Moreover, a cost greater than dollars was the fact that some of the failing employees were unnecessarily subjected to the experience of failure in their work. See the figure on page 342



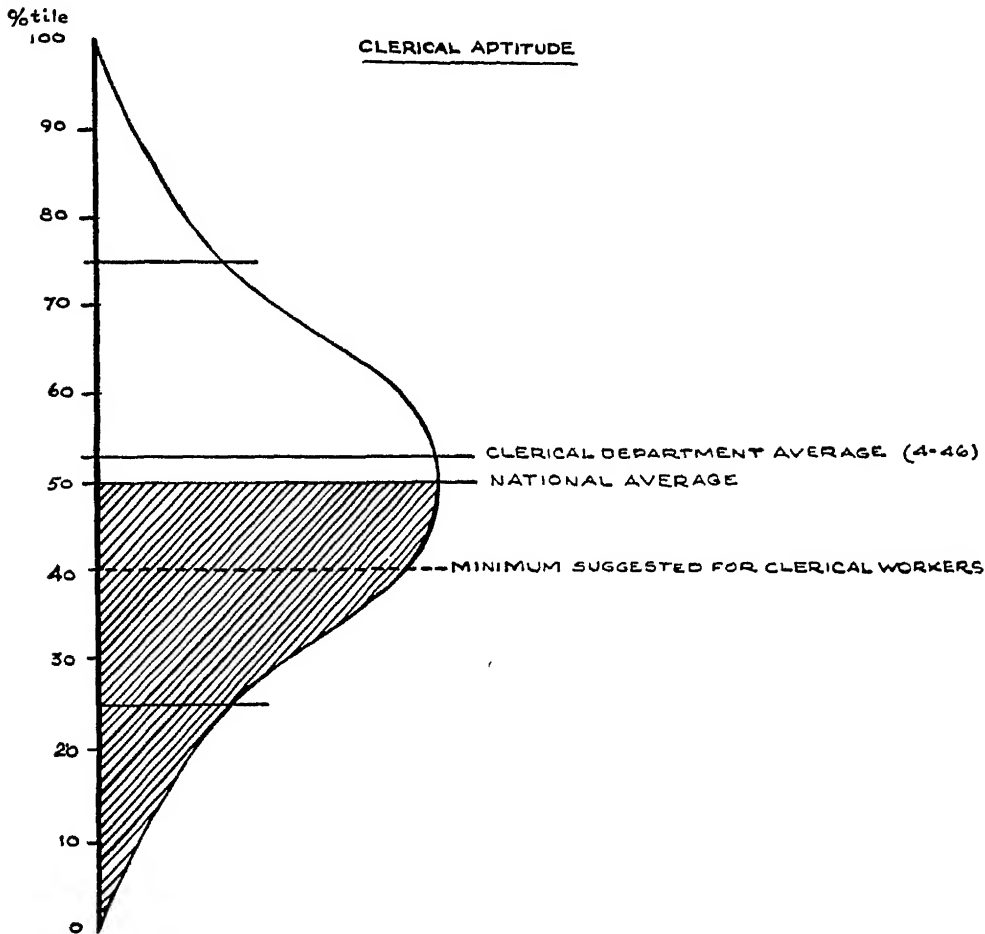
THIS CHART REPRESENTS a normal distribution curve based on the scores obtained on a general clerical test (Turn page to have base line face you) However, in this case the high scores are at the top and the low scores at the bottom. Right in the middle, at the 50th percentile, the number of scores piles up. The horizontal line at the 50th percentile represents the average score made by thousands of people in clerical jobs all over the country. We call that the "National Average." The next lower line, labeled "Clerical Department Average," is the average achieved by clerks in a large clerical department. It is quite a bit below the National Average, and far below what it should be—When the testing program started, an attempt was made to hire applicants who scored somewhere around the 50th percentile. A minimum score at the 30th percentile was suggested to eliminate those unable to do even the simplest form of clerical work well.

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

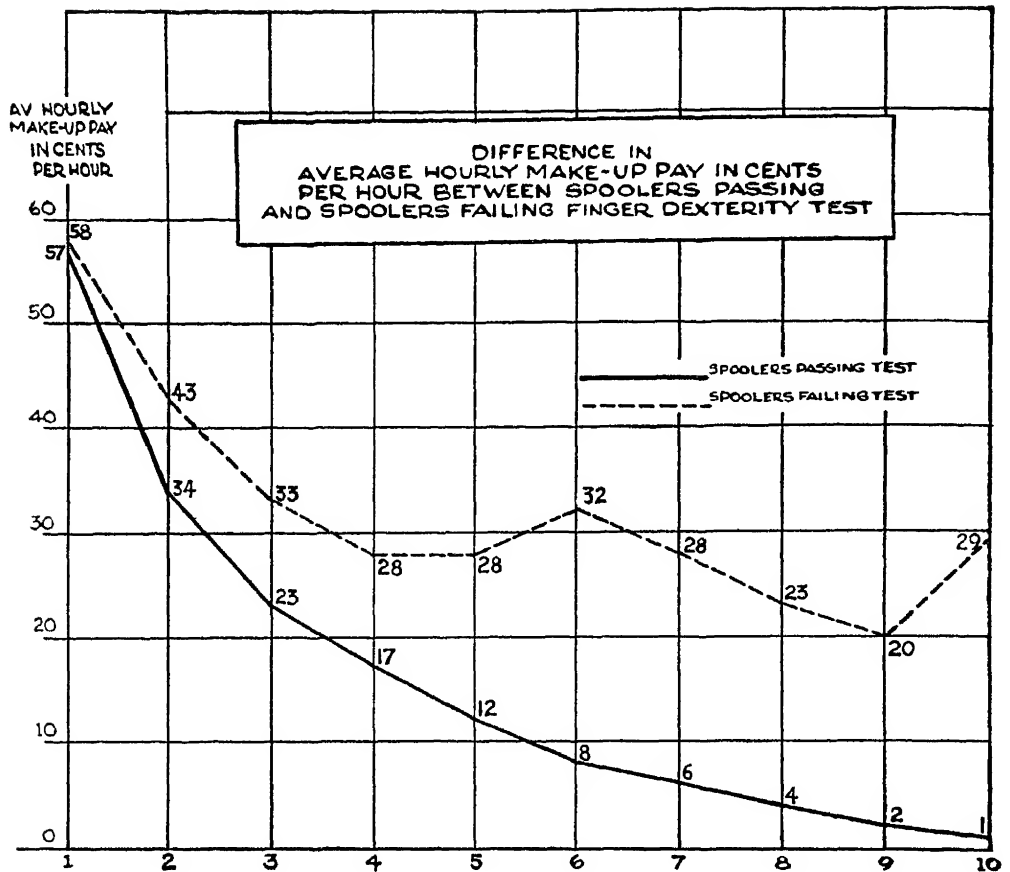
3. Tests enable the personnel manager to spot unsuspected talent within the organization. For example, one third of the line supervisors of the Pacific Lighting Companies first attracted attention through results of their tests.<sup>16</sup> Several

large concerns use tests in selecting employees for apprentice, sales, or executive training

4. Several investigators have developed tests which reduce accidents in bus and truck driving through the selection of



THE AVERAGE OF THIS CLERICAL DEPARTMENT is shown at about the 53rd percentile approximately one year after selection was made with the aid of tests. The minimum suggested score has moved up from the 30th to the 40th percentile—Because the kinds of clerical work being done varied to a great extent, it was impossible to correlate the scores with job production, but it was determined on the basis of ratings by the supervisors that the new group of clerks was performing in a very satisfactory manner. Errors had been cut down, and many of the troubles which had previously existed had been eliminated—Although this does not represent a true validation, it is presented to show you what can be accomplished over a period of time by the use of the norms published with some of the good clerical tests.



THIS CHART SHOWS THE RELATIONSHIP between scores on a dexterity test and the amount of "make-up pay" paid to employees learning the job of spooling. A spooler is a person who works at a machine winding film on spools. "Make-up pay" represents the number of cents per hour which must be made up to the new employee. The company guarantees a certain base rate. Since new employees naturally do not begin to earn that money during the learning period, the company has to make up the difference between what they actually earn and this base rate. Furthermore, if the employee progresses satisfactorily, he should be earning his base rate at the end of ten weeks. You will notice that there is a dotted line at the top and a solid line underneath it. The dotted line represents the average make-up pay paid to a group of girls who did not pass a dexterity test. The solid line represents the make-up pay of a group of girls who did pass the test. Notice that from the very first week the good group was paid less "make-up pay" than the poor group. Notice also that from week to week the difference between these two groups increases rather than diminishes. At the end of the ten-week period, shown at the extreme right of the chart, all the girls represented by the broken line had been either transferred or fired. The company paid to this group of girls over \$1,000, for which it received practically nothing in return. In addition, those girls occupied a machine which might have been producing much-needed film. When you also figure the amount of money it cost the company to hire these girls, process them, take their pictures, fingerprint them, and give them a physical examination, the total loss to the company is somewhere in the neighborhood of \$10,000.

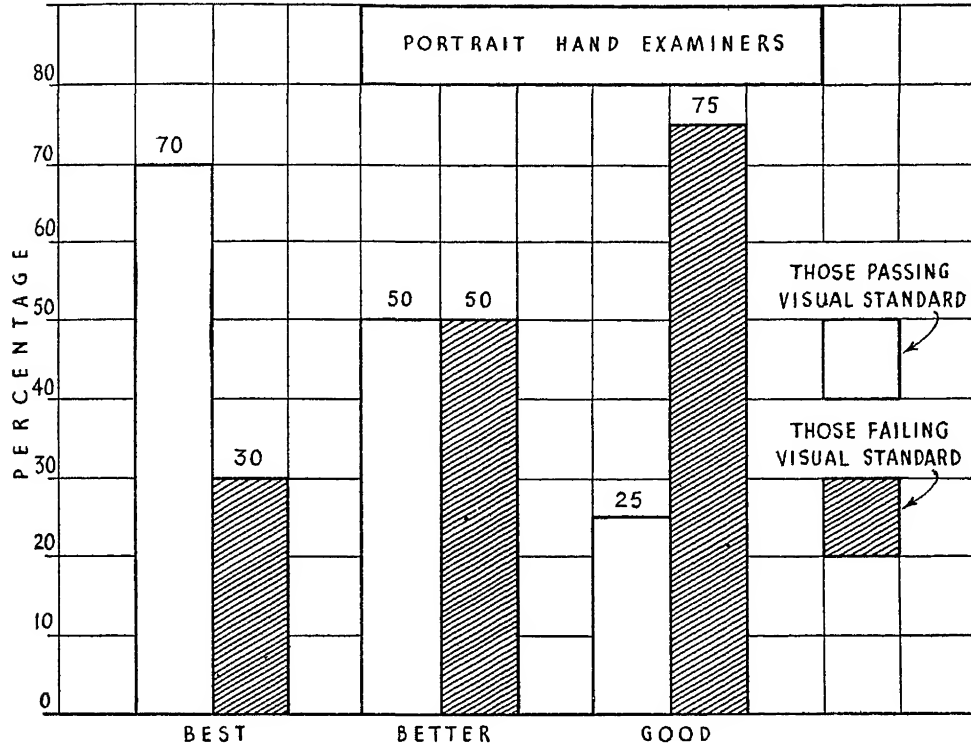
Why were they hired in the first place? The answer is that at that particular time labor was scarce and almost all available applicants were hired, regardless of whether they had met test standards or not. Once these results were made known, however, greater selectivity was used.

The dexterity test became a requirement for acceptance on the spooling job, and the following year the number of spools produced was 25 per cent higher than in any previous year, although no additional machines were used. The testing program cannot be given all the credit for this increase, because the girls were given better preliminary instruction through job training, which was installed about the same time. However, the training and testing departments at this plant feel proud of the results.

## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

fewer accident-prone drivers. In one study<sup>17</sup> it was found that the highest tenth of the drivers (according to composite profile scores) had had 21.2 per cent fewer chargeable accidents than the lowest tenth. A comparison of the aver-

age yearly accident rate for the year following the tests and the three preceding years showed an improvement with respect to chargeable accidents of 28.8 per cent. Another psychologist, C. A. Drake,<sup>18</sup> developed a series of tests which reduced



THIS CHART ILLUSTRATES THE RELATIONSHIP between scores made on the Othorater vision test and production on an inspection job. In each one of the columns, the white area represents the percentage of that group of employees who met all the visual standards established for the job. The shaded area of each column represents the percentage of that group who failed to meet the visual standards. The three columns, reading from left to right, represent three different groups of employees designated as "best" group, "better" group, and "good" group, on the basis of quality of work. As can be seen, the percentage of each group passing the visual standards increases as the quality of the work increases. There is a definite relationship between excellence of vision and quality of work on this particular job. This illustrates the importance of vision. It does not make any difference whether a clerical job, a machine job, or an inspection job is being studied. A positive relationship between vision and excellence of work is often found. If such a relationship has been proved, the majority of the better workers meet the vision standards of the job, and the majority of the poorer workers fail to meet these standards.\*

\* David W. Cook, *Psychology Challenges Industry*, Personnel Series No. 107, American Management Association, 1947. Charts on pages 339 to 343 and explanatory captions reproduced by courtesy of David W. Cook and the American Management Association.



## *hiring the employee—the use of tests*

the average accident index rate 70 per cent for new employees during the first three months of their work

5. Psychological tests decrease favoritism in hiring and place the securing of a job on an objective basis rather than on sentiment. Tests are a convenient device for avoiding pressure from friends and politicians who may have some protégé who needs a job. Definite standards which every applicant must meet will enable the executive to say to the man who has an incapable nephew who needs a position: "We shall be glad to have the young man apply to us for a job, and if he meets the standards we have set up, we will find a place for him." However, the main value of tests is in locating good applicants and employees. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence to indicate that when a testing program is installed it tends to draw better applicants to the company.<sup>19</sup> A self-imposed selection takes place among applicants who know that the company uses tests.

6. Tests can be used to determine needed areas of training on the part of new and old employees. Usually, tests of information and proficiency are used for this purpose. However, personality tests are helpful too, particularly in those occupations that require certain personality characteristics, as in selling and research.

7. If a personnel department does counseling of inadequately adjusted employees, tests are essential to diagnosis. When used for this purpose, testing contributes to the development of happier and more effective workers.

8. Test findings and interpretations are especially helpful to effective supervision. The use of tests often reveals vital information for the supervisor, such as

the following characteristics of certain individual employees:

This employee is exceedingly sensitive to criticism and is apt to be so emotionally disturbed over criticism that he must be treated with special tact when he makes a mistake.

This employee is awed when in the presence of his superiors and makes a poor impression on them but is well adjusted to his colleagues and gets along well with them.

This employee's level of aspiration for himself is high and he will not remain very long on a job without attaining advancement.

This employee is emotionally insecure and needs frequent commendation and personal recognition in order to enable him to feel that he is appreciated.

This employee rebels with pronounced emotionalism when he is given an order, but responds with warmth when he is treated as a colleague.

TABLE 39<sup>20</sup>

<i>Test Score</i>	<i>Average Length of Service in Days</i>
10 to 19	3
20 to 29	91
30 to 39	156
40 to 49	142
50 to 59	107
60 to 69	100
70 to 79	96
80 to 89	87
90 and above	35

### *Limitations of tests*

Psychological tests have demonstrated their values in many phases of business, but are especially helpful in reducing labor turnover. However, when a critical score is once determined and an executive decides that no applicant shall be hired unless he scores above that point, the executive is also apt to go to the opposite extreme and try to hire only those who score considerably above the critical point. This practice may result in a high turnover, for it is desirable to have a maximum score as well as a minimum

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score or an *optimum range* (see Table 39). One employment manager started to use tests for hiring and then hired only persons with high intelligence for all his jobs. His method resulted in a high turnover, because few of the jobs were worthy of a person of high intelligence. The well-manned corporation is like a well-manned army, it consists of one general, a few high officers, many junior-grade officers, and the great mass of the organization made up of people with average or below-average intelligence. An elevator operator should have the intelligence needed for operating elevators and not very much more. If this country should suddenly embark upon a eugenics program and breed only people of very high intelligence, we might be worse off than we are now, because many jobs in a technological civilization require only average and below-average intelligence. Examples of such jobs are truck-driving, elevator-operating, factory machine-tending, and so on.

When intelligence tests are used for selective purposes, it is well to know whether environmental conditions have been eliminating the unfit of the group to be tested. The use of intelligence tests for the selection of students for admission to college does not result in very high correlations between scores in the tests and scholastic records. One reason for a low correlation is the selective process that has been operating through the school system. The students of lowest intelligence find grammar school and high school work too difficult for them and tend to drop out according to the degrees of intelligence possessed. Hence, when a student is able to apply for admission to college, he has already survived a process of selection. Only those above the

average of intelligence are able to finish high school and apply for admission to college.

If an individual has a certain minimum of intelligence for a given occupation or job, his success depends upon other characteristics, such as temperament and personality. The intelligence of the executive is merely one of several factors in his composite behavior pattern, as suggested in the chapters (2 to 6) on adjustment patterns.

Executives who decide to use psychological tests for hiring often want to take the tests themselves. The experience of the writer has been that, if the executive interested in the tests happens to make the highest score of all the employees, he then believes that the tests are good. The executives who happened to score lower than one or two employees lost interest in the use of tests. Such an attitude is wholly unscientific and unsound. If the executive could only realize that the purpose of the tests is to hire employees of a behavior pattern type requiring qualities of a different nature from his own, he might not be so easily elated or offended over the results of the test procedure.

One of the most frequent criticisms of psychological tests is that they are unfair to the nervous applicants. It is claimed that a person may be in an unusual mood. His digestion may be bad or he may be in a state of worry and therefore not do justice to himself. Experience indicates that very few persons are emotionally disturbed while taking the tests administered by an experienced examiner. Tests may frighten employees and applicants when they are given without the necessary preliminary explanation of their limitations and values. However,

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when tests are properly handled, very few applicants object to taking them. A person of an especially timid or psychoneurotic nature may object, but such applicants are in a decided minority. In many situations it is not essential to tell the applicant that he is about to take a psychological test. It is better to ask him whether he objects to taking a short examination of his general fund of information or speed in figuring.

Employees who have been tested should not be given their scores. Such results should be kept in the personal file of a major executive of the firm. As previously stated, if a person has a certain accomplishment level of intelligence, his success and advancement may depend upon factors which are not measured by the tests. When an employee or lower-rank executive is given his own test score and he knows how he compares with other members of the organization, he assumes that those employees who happen to be a few points above or below him are also above or below him in ability or chances for promotion. No tests are available that measure so fine a degree of differentiation. Their chief value is that of classifying individuals into broad or general groups.

Good scholastic records and high scores on intelligence tests are an indication of ability to do the kind of learning that requires some grasp of abstractions. However, ability to learn certain important business operations does not correlate with intelligence tests. The best example of this is stenographic ability. Many students of superior mental capacity make low marks in shorthand, and many who make high marks in shorthand have relatively low intelligence test scores.<sup>21</sup> This simply means that individual companies

who use intelligence tests for hiring should use specific ability and skill tests as well as intelligence tests.

Thus far, personnel men have not been able to obtain tests that measure character traits such as honesty in handling the employer's funds. Obviously, character as well as intelligence and personality must be considered in hiring cashiers, bank tellers, and salesmen. Experiments have been conducted with tests of character. Some people are high in intelligence but of unreliable character. In general, however, we do find that most socially desirable traits go together. People of high intelligence tend to be of good character and are better-looking, easier to get along with, and healthier. However, a high rating in intelligence does not prove that a given individual will be honest in his business relations, for these correlations are not high. It merely indicates that the chances, statistically speaking, are somewhat greater that he is of good character than that he is not. Some of the first character tests dealt with school situations.

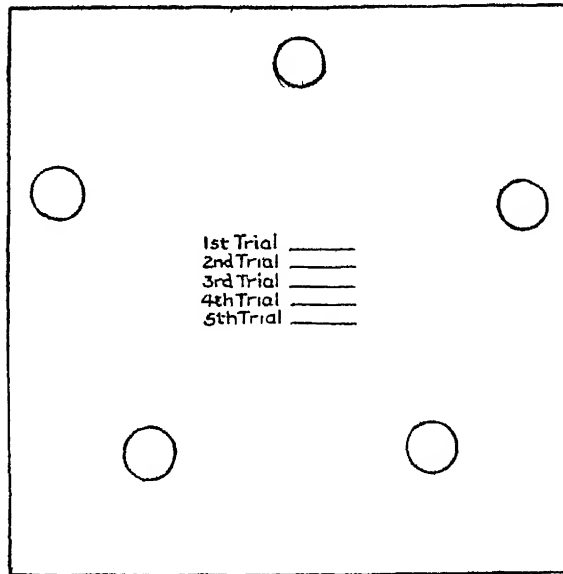
Children in school have been tested in deceit by giving them an examination, collecting the papers, making copies of each child's answers, returning each child's papers to the child, giving each a key to the correct answers, and asking each child to score his own paper. The child's own scoring was then compared with the office copies of the scores and definite discrepancies between the two scorings were noted. It was found that some children would correct their own papers while scoring them: some would put dots over the letter "i" when it was a part of the test, others would cross the letter "t," others would write in extra words, and the worst offenders would

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erase writings in ink and write in the correct answer in pencil. In most of these tests, the amount of dishonesty varied with the degree of motivation. When children were impressed with the tremendous importance of making a high score, they cheated far more than when they were allowed to think that a high score in the examination was of no importance. This is in harmony with the businessman's experience. The execu-

like all character traits, is of a complex nature. It varies with the situation. A man may be scrupulously honest about paying his gambling debts and exceedingly lax about paying his room rent. One test will not measure any one character trait, because character traits are specific in their applications to situations. A "battery" or number of tests is needed to measure any one character trait, such as aggressiveness, although Moore and

AN EXAMPLE OF A CHARACTER TEST. Close your eyes. Move a pencil around the square three times without touching the paper. With eyes still closed, try to put a dot in each circle. Do this for each of five trials. You must put a dot in each of the five circles on each trial in order to have a plus score for any one trial. Refer to the Appendix for the answer. (Adapted from F. M. Cady, "The Estimation of Juvenile Incontrollability," *Journal of Delinquency*, Monograph No. 2, April 1923.)



tive who wishes to hire an employee for a position where, if he chooses, he can manipulate the company's finances for his own benefit does well when he selects a man who lives within his income and saves some money rather than a man who plays the stock market or happens to have a "social climber" for a wife. Our dishonesty tends to increase as the pressure for it increases.<sup>22</sup>

At present, tests are not available that tell the businessman whether an applicant is honest or dishonest. Honesty,

Gilliland got excellent results with an eye-control test. To use this test, select ten persons who are very aggressive and ten who are not aggressive. Let each applicant, while he adds simple numbers and gives the answers aloud, face the examiner and look him in the eye. For example, ask the applicant to begin with 38, add 11 to it, and continue to add 11 to each sum, looking you in the eye meanwhile, until you tell him to stop. Have him do this for three trials of one minute each. Count the number of

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times he shifts his eyes from yours. In the Moore and Gilliland experiment, twenty-six persons were tested. Thirteen were known to be very aggressive, and thirteen to be lacking in aggressiveness. The average number of eye-movements for the aggressive persons was .5, the average number for the nonaggressive persons was 5.5.<sup>23</sup>

All tests are limited by the fact that they give a group prediction rather than a prediction for a specific individual. A test that has high positive predictive value indicates that anyone who scores high in the test tends to be high in the trait with which the test correlates. The high score means that, of one hundred persons who score high in the test, a certain percentage will also be high in the correlating trait.\* If an employer hires a large number of employees for a specific job, as one does in life insurance selling or factory operations of large standard process shops, a set of psychological tests should be developed for the hiring of applicants; but most American business concerns do not have a large number of employees who do the same work. They have a few stenographers, several bookkeepers, a janitor, an office boy or two, and a larger number of miscellaneous machine operators. Unless the firm employs about fifty persons on the same kind of operation, it is difficult and expensive to develop reliable psychological tests and standards. Even in the larger corporations, it is often arduous to invent profitable tests for more than one or two classes of employees.

Psychologists recognize this limitation of tests and govern their decisions ac-

cordingly; but the novice who uses tests is apt to apply the prediction to specific individuals rather than to group relations. In general, no especially difficult technique is required to administer group psychological tests after they have been statistically treated, but to give them statistical interpretation requires more technical application than most businessmen care to give. Executives should obtain the services of a trained tester if they wish to have any worthwhile results from psychological tests for hiring purposes. This is one reason why tests have been much discussed in business publications but have been used relatively little.

In conclusion, we can say that testing does not supplant, but supplements, other steps in hiring. Common sense in the use of tests in industry has been summarized in regard to the more common errors, which are: (1) taking over completely test batteries that have been used successfully in other organizations, (2) thinking that anyone can administer tests, (3) not interpreting test results in the light of the whole situation, and (4) expecting too much from tests. Tests may make definite contributions, however, as: (1) a check on educational background, (2) a check on reported occupational experience, (3) a means of comparing the applicant with workers already employed, (4) an indication of particular abilities, and (5) a device offering some clues to temperament and personality characteristics.<sup>24</sup>

David W. Cook has listed the kinds of questions that management must answer before undertaking a testing program

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\* We shall not discuss the meaning of negative coefficients of correlation here, but leave that for the statistician who wishes to have a thorough knowledge of tests. However, the last chapter of this book presents some of the statistical methods of evaluating tests.

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*First* —Does top management really want such a program? Have you a *sincere desire* to put testing in the personnel program or are you merely trying to “keep up with the Joneses”?

*Second* —Does your anticipated program fit in with your present personnel policies? For example, if it is your present policy to hire only friends and relatives of your employees, you may find that a testing program will conflict with it. Sometimes your brother-in-law shouldn't be given a job—are you able and willing to go along with such decisions?

*Third*. —Are you willing to provide the space, the equipment, and the salary of a director? Such space and equipment should be adequate to carry on the testing under controlled conditions.

If you can answer all of these questions satisfactorily—if you are really in earnest—then you are ready to plan a testing program, and in planning the program, here are some rules which you will find it helpful to follow.

1. Get a qualified director, give him cooperation and a free rein.
2. Enlist the support of your union if

there is one. Employees worry about new things and very often ask for information from union stewards rather than from their supervisors. It is only right that the union officials should be informed of the program.

3. Validate the tests, that is, make some scientific study to prove that there is a positive relationship between test scores and job success. Your test director will take care of this matter.
4. Accept tests with their limitations. Don't expect perfection in the results. Remember that all testing can hope to accomplish is to raise your batting average in selecting good employees.<sup>25</sup>

The competent personnel man who uses tests also systematically improves his interviewing practices, evaluates the items on the application blank, and checks his appraisals by means of work histories and all available objective data. Truly to succeed, a personnel testing program must include the development of improved supervisory and labor union relations as well as be sound scientifically.

### PROJECTS

1. Assume that all the employees of a large bank are to be given several psychological tests. Outline the complete plan of procedure for the administration and use of these tests.
  - a. For applicants for a night watchman's job.
  - b. For admission to the graduate school of a university.
  - c. For selecting soldiers for officers' training schools.
  - d. For discovering mentally handicapped children.
  - e. For rating stenographers in an office.
2. A sales manager asks you to develop some psychological tests for hiring salesmen. Outline the main steps in the procedure you would follow in attempting to give him what he wants.
3. Intelligence test results are sometimes expressed in terms of IQ and sometimes in terms of percentiles. Which would you select in each of the following cases? Offer reasons for your choice. In the case of percentiles, define each group used as the base.
  - a. For applicants for a night watchman's job.
  - b. For admission to the graduate school of a university.
  - c. For selecting soldiers for officers' training schools.
  - d. For discovering mentally handicapped children.
  - e. For rating stenographers in an office.
4. Try the Moore and Gilliland eye-control test on some friends and record the result. Evaluate the worth of the test for hiring purposes.

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# I7      Rating and promoting the employee—merit rating and job evaluation

*The ambitious employee does not want managerial sermons or copybook maxims about how to become a big businessman. He needs definite and organized explanations regarding the actions he should take in order to deserve and achieve a feasible promotion. An inventory of personnel should be as important as a physical inventory.*

THE WRITER ONCE HAD THE TEMERITY to suggest to the general manager of a firm having three thousand employees that he ought to have a promotion and training system. His answer was: "Training and promotion? Bosh! Nothing doing. Why, do you know what I did several years ago? I arranged for several training courses to be given, hired the teachers, rented a special room in the center of town, and put a slip in the pay envelopes telling the employees that anyone taking the course would be directly in line for promotion and higher pay. The whole proposition was free. I almost begged some of them to take the training. About 50 per cent of our men are foreigners or too old to take any courses, but I estimated that about 1,200 could benefit by courses. I had

planned. Of the 1,200 possibilities, how many do you suppose took the courses? Well, you couldn't guess. I'll tell you. Eight started and two finished."

The experience of this manager is not exceptional. Many employees will not exercise the self-discipline necessary to merit important positions. Most employees do not seek responsibility. Some must be persuaded to accept it. However, certain intelligent employees do desire promotion. When higher-grade applicants are hired, they often ask: "Where does this job lead to?" The most frequent answer is one of evasion, such as, "You do your work well and keep your eyes open and you'll be promoted when you really deserve it."

A more truthful statement to the applicant would be, "We have no well



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planned system of promotion or advancement. We have never taken the trouble to study our employees and to explain how they can make themselves worth more to us. If you work for us and make good, it may be that in time we shall have an opening somewhere in the

farther up. You must be able to sell us your ability as well as do good work."

The ambitious employee should recognize that salesmanship as well as ability is often essential to secure promotion. Some men are very able in their fields but are poor salesmen. Several experiments have proved that the employee who is liked by one executive may make no favorable impression on another executive. One executive may admire the enthusiastic type of employee and another may admire the quiet, steady variety. It is obvious that the executive's personality and personal likes and dislikes always will play a large part in promotions, but merit should be the chief consideration. It is also agreed that many executives do make an honest attempt to promote fairly and on a merit basis. See Tables 40 and 41.

Merit ratings, to a large extent, must depend upon personal estimates because many important traits of employees cannot be measured by objective tests. Rating scales must be used. *A rating scale is a systematic method of estimating character or personality traits.*

### The benefits of a rating scale

1. Executives are prone to classify all employees into two large groups: the "good" and the "no-good." The executive may call the "no-good" group "pass-

TABLE 40\*  
EMPLOYEE MERIT RATING PLANS—  
PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Hourly Workers COMPANIES		For Salaried Employees COMPANIES	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Have merit rating plan	155	38.8	132	40.7
Do not have plan	245	61.2	192	59.3
Total	400	100.0	324	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

organization where we can use you. Of course, someone may have to die or leave before you can be promoted, but if you live long enough and work hard enough, you may get there. On the other hand, someone else may appeal more to us than you, and then the other fellow will get the promotion. We think we know who the good men in our company are, but we don't always know, so you must make a good impression on someone

TABLE 41<sup>1</sup>

ANSWERS OF CHICAGO AREA COMPANIES WHEN THEY WERE ASKED  
WHETHER THEY HAVE A MERIT RATING SYSTEM

	UNION		Classes of Employees NONUNION		OFFICE	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
No. of companies asked	287		284		600	
Answered yes	82	28.6	77	27.1	124	20.7
Answered no	135	40.7	178	62.7	240	40.0

<sup>1</sup> 1948 *Industrial Relations Survey*, The Employers' Association of Chicago, July 21, 1948.

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able," "tolerable," or "just satisfactory," depending upon the mood he is in at the time. Obviously, employees are neither wholly good nor wholly bad, but each has some traits to a high degree and others to a low degree. The use of a rating scale compels the executive to analyze his employees and to obtain a more accurate picture of each person under his supervision.

2. A rating scale also compels an executive to analyze his employees at regular intervals. Many an executive walks by some of his employees every working day for years and never thinks of their specific characteristics. If an employee commits a serious error or refuses to join a labor union, the executive may then hear of the matter and gauge the employee by a single dramatic incident. In most cases, the dramatic incident is an isolated defect of the employee's conduct, because his good qualities are taken for granted. Too many executives are negative-minded toward their employees. They can recite their weaknesses or failures, but are unable to list their positive points.

3. The periodical use of a rating scale discovers the good men sooner and makes them available for the company. These men can be given special training, extra compensation, executive recognition, or opportunities for additional responsibilities or duties.

4. The executive can check or verify his own analyses of employees. If he should rate a man high one month and then rate him low six months later, the cause should be known. Perhaps a trivial incident has changed the estimate of the executive, or he may not really know the employee well enough to rate him. Having a record of his estimates of employ-

ees will enable the rater to ascertain his ability to analyze others. His ratings can be compared with those of other executives and his tendencies toward high or low ratings can be discovered. If an executive is a poor judge of human behavior, the rating scale will cause him to realize his peculiarity.

5. Just as the rating scale enables the executive to improve his ability to analyze the employee, so the employee also learns the particular qualities he should develop or eliminate. Few employees know their own strong and weak characteristics. They do not improve themselves, because the management does not tell them what to improve or how to do it. The "Success" books and pep lectures are too general or too inspirational to enable the employees to make direct and tangible applications to their own jobs.

### *Kinds of rating scales*

Many different rating scales have been invented, but most of those in current use can be classified into three basic types:

1. *Ranking*. The rater is asked to list employees in rank order from "best," at the head of the list, to "poorest," at the bottom of the list, in regard to some defined characteristic.

2. *General trait scale*. The rater is asked to mark on a scale the degree to which the person possesses or lacks a given trait, such as "cooperativeness."

3. *Behavior check list*. This newest of all forms lists a number of specific activities, the rater is instructed to check whether the person being rated does them or how well he does them. One important advantage of this form is that it gives the rater and ratee helpful ideas to talk about in an interview. This par-

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ticular variety of rating type was developed for the Army in World War II. One of its purposes was to overcome bias by means of a system that would compel the rater to give descriptions of a person's performance without being able to know how the final rating would turn out. Reign Bittner, who participated in the development of this type of rating form, has explained it further:

It was believed that errors resulting from interpretations of trait names and points on the trait scales could be pared to the bone by not using trait scales. Instead, descriptions of behavior commonly used in describing performance on the job should be used.

Let us see what kind of merit rating procedure resulted from these ideas. A number of groups of four statements descriptive of supervisors were set up, like the following:

1. Avoids responsibility.
2. Inspires pride in the organization.
3. Lacks sense of humor.
4. Offers suggestions.

The rater was then asked to choose from each group of four statements the one that was most descriptive of the person to be rated and the one that was least descriptive.

Now two of the statements are favorable to the person and two of them unfavorable. The two favorable statements look equally attractive to the rater and the two unfavorable look equally unattractive. At least they would if they had been paired on the basis of research. The important point is that only one of the favorable statements counts for the person and only one of the unfavorable ones counts against him. But the rater does not know which these are because the scoring key is not revealed to him. So he is forced to decide solely on the basis of how *he* describes the man. If he is biased, he cannot mark the one that will reflect his bias because he does not know which one that is. He does not have to wrestle with trait names or the problem of how many points to give because he is merely asked to choose which of four rather dissimilar statements best or least describes the person.

The trick, of course, is to set up these

groups of four statements, and much research must go over the dam before this is achieved.

The efficiency of this type of rating scale was compared with the results obtained with two different trait rating scales, a ranking system, and a system involving a combination of trait scales and a performance checklist. The results showed that this new type yielded more accurate ratings than any of the others.

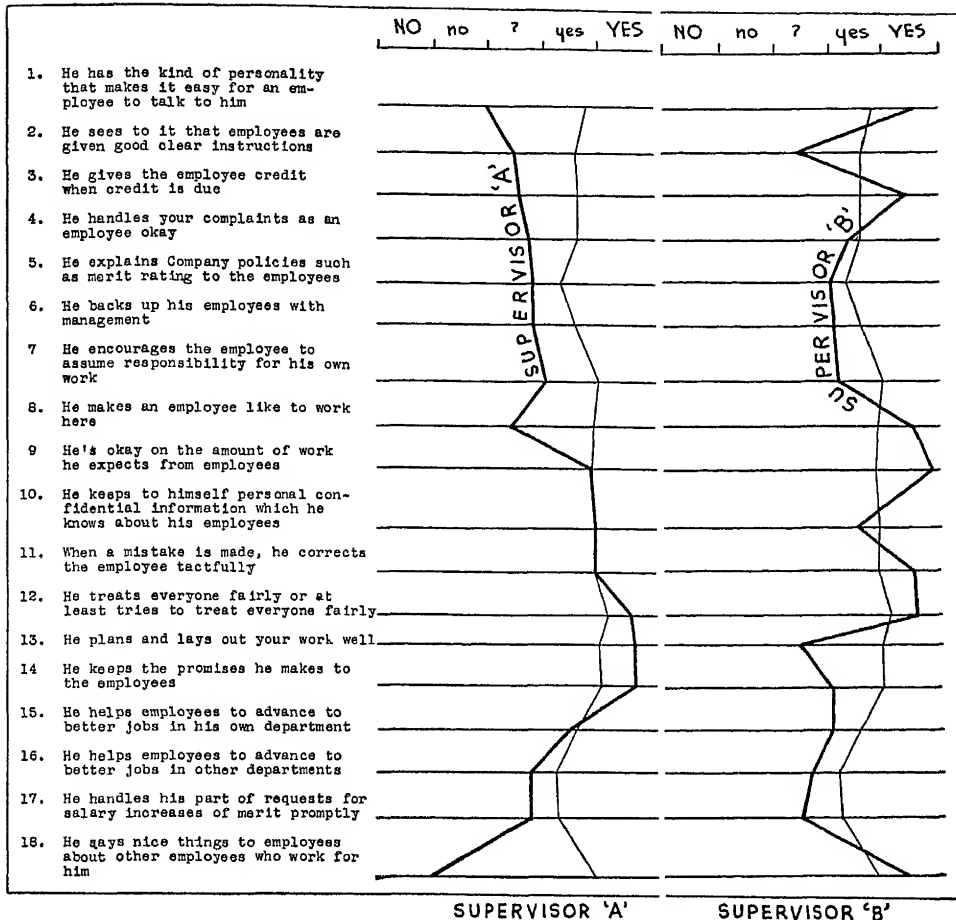
What are the prospects for using this type of rating scale in industry? My feeling is that it is a coming thing, but it has not yet arrived. There are several reasons for my attitude. In the first place, this rating scale will work only when the method of scoring the rater's evaluations is kept secret, and I am not at all sure that industry is ready to do this. It would certainly take a real job of selling to convince the rater and labor unions that this was either wise or necessary. In the second place, the research necessary to develop the rating scale will prove a barrier for many companies, especially if they are small. Perhaps a general scale that will apply to supervisors wherever you find them will eventually be developed, but at the present time it is believed that each organization must have one tailor-made to its own measure. Finally, the techniques are so new that there are few people qualified to conduct this research.<sup>1</sup>

The need for further research in the development of this kind of scale is illustrated by the finding that when 900 behavior items like "Can't take suggestions" and "Resents criticism" were used in rating by a group of Army officers, 600 of them had to be discarded because they were not observable, not universally applicable, or both.

The choice of form to be used should be determined by the main purpose of the rating system. Most purposes tend to fall into one of four main classes.

1. To obtain a measure or estimate of job performance for administrative use, as in the case of the Lincoln Electric

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PERSONALITY PATTERNS OF TWO SUPERVISORS are shown in the two profiles for supervisors A and B. —When a training program for supervisors was organized, the supervisors were asked to choose the traits on which they would like to be rated by their own employees. The supervisors, in the course of discussion, selected the list of eighteen traits shown above—Each supervisor's employees rated him without revealing their identities. The ratings were given to the psychologist in charge of the ratings and training sessions. He calculated the average numerical rating for all supervisors. See the thin vertical line. The average rating on each trait for each supervisor was also computed and plotted on the above scale. See the heavy line. When the profile for the average rating of individual supervisor A, heavy line on left of chart, was compared with the average for all the supervisors, thin line, it was found that A's profile was typical of the technically well trained but impersonal supervisor, such as a cold unresponsive engineer or accountant. Supervisor B, on the other hand, had a profile characteristic of the warm, friendly, but overly lenient supervisor. His employees criticized him for not requiring them to do as much work as they could do with ease—The training sessions dealt with techniques of supervision but also included suggestions concerning the personality development, or adjustment pattern, of the individual supervisor.

TABLE 42

BONUS MERIT RATING SCORING SYSTEM

Incentive pay—One's share in the incentive pay depends upon his wages in the twelve months prior to November 1st and a merit rating given each employee. Wages depend upon the base rate of one's job, the individual's effort on the job, and the hours worked. Merit rating applies equally on all individuals so that it is possible for a trucker to have as high a rating as a highly skilled diemaker.

There are four factors that go to make up this rating:

- A. Job Knowledge and Performance
- B. The Quality of Work Done
- C. The Quantity of Work Done
- D. Cooperation

The rating is carefully and separately done by the men in four different departments: Foreman, Inspection, Cost Reduction, and Production. Four separate lists are made for each department and are given out for grading. Points are given to each individual from 8 to 42, the average grade being 25. This is done by using the attached rating sheet. After these lists are graded, each is returned to the head of the Personnel Department. It is imperative to have a fair comparison between departments so point scores must be reduced to a comparable basis and still not change the relative position of

individuals within the group. To do this, the points for each factor are totalled and divided by the number of employees. If this average comes out less than 25, an equal number of points will be added to each person's score. If the average is over 25, an equal number of points will be subtracted from each individual to bring the average number of points to 25. An example will show how this does not change the relative position of an individual within the group.

DEPARTMENT Y			
Individual	Grade as Received	Grade as Corrected	
A	22	23	
B	23	24	
C	24	25	
D	24	25	
E	25	26	
F	26	27	
	6)144	6)150	
	24	25	

Then the four grades for each individual are totalled, and thus we have possible scores from 32 to 168 points with 100 points being average. For the factory, these grades are checked separately by Messrs. Giles, Steingass, and Kneen for accuracy and fairness.

H. F. Kneen

TABLE 43

<i>Job Knowledge and Performance</i>		<i>Quality of Work</i>		<i>Quantity of Work</i>		<i>Cooperation</i>	
Supervision rates		Inspection rates		Production rates		Time Study rates	
Experience, training, ability, judgment, versatility, initiative, personal requirements		Workmanship, accuracy, dependability, spoilage, scrap		Output, effort, helpfulness in maintaining production, attendance, tardiness		Willingness to accept changes, attitude, suggestions, cost consciousness	
8	Little experience, requires	8	Only gets by, bears watching, careless, often makes mistakes.	8	Low production, slow worker, too often absent	8	Fails to cooperate, unwilling to accept changes
9	detailed instruction and	9		9		9	
10	much supervision.	10		10		10	
11		11		11		11	
12		12		12		12	
13	Requires additional experience and training, regularly requires supervision	13	Acceptable, work usually meets specification, small amount of spoilage	13	Fair production, below par, wastes time, away from job more than necessary, fair attendance	13	Cooperates passively, reluctant to change, needs urging
14		14		14		14	
15		15		15		15	
16		16		16		16	
17		17		17		17	
18	Informed on job, needs some assistance and supervision	18	Work meets specifications, occasional mistakes	18	Fair speed, regular production, steady worker, occasionally absent	18	Cooperates, accepts changes, follows instructions
19		19		19		19	
20		20		20		20	
21		21		21		21	
22		22		22		22	
23	Good working knowledge on job, well rounded experience, requires little supervision	23	Good quality, does good job most of the time, seldom makes mistakes	23	Speed and production consistently good, helpful, seldom absent	23	Willing to accept changes and try out new ideas.
24		24		24		24	
25		25		25		25	
26		26		26		26	
27		27		27		27	
28	Considerable knowledge, well experienced and trained, only needs direction	28	High quality, usually does excellent job, rejects rare	28	Fast, high production, efficient worker, high effort, very helpful, rarely absent	28	Cooperates actively on changes, good teamworker.
29		29		29		29	
30		30		30		30	
31		31		31		31	
32		32		32		32	
33	Expert on job, self starter, needs practically no supervision	33	Consistently does good work, excellent quality, never makes scrap	33	Top output, applies exceptional effort, extremely helpful, always on job	33	Enthusiastic about changes, ready to try new ideas.
34		34		34		34	
35		35		35		35	
36		36		36		36	
37		37		37		37	
38	Same as above but requires no supervision, helps others	38	Always does job perfectly	38	As above, but helps eliminate work above call of duty	38	As above, but submits many good ideas on own initiative
39		39		39		39	
40		40		40		40	
41		41		41		41	
42		42		42		42	
TOTAL							

## *rating and promoting the employee*

Company's "Bonus Merit Rating Scoring System." See pages 356 and 357. A general trait scale is usually used for such purposes

2. To select employees for promotion, transfer, or layoff. The ranking method is most commonly used

3. To provide a basis for a training program, as exemplified by the "Employees' Ratings of Their Supervisor" See page 355 In this case, each employee rated his supervisory superiors. The employees' ratings of each supervisor were charted to show whether he was above or below the average for all supervisors of the company The results of the ratings on all traits were not given in any one training session. To stimulate the supervisors, the results for trait number one were given in the first session, and so on to the end of the training course of eighteen sessions

In another company, study of the 2,000 ratings prepared in one year for 308 employees revealed the following list of weaknesses

- 126 were weakest on dependability
- 81 were weakest on cooperativeness
- 76 were weakest on industry
- 10 were weakest in accuracy
- 8 were weakest on attention to pertinent detail
- 7 were weakest on accuracy of judgments and decisions<sup>2</sup>

The management decided that these employees were in need of development in regard to their attitudes, and a training course was set up for that purpose

4 To provide a basis for a constructive interview with the employee. Some kind of behavior check list or other type that provides a wide variety of specific descriptive phrases is most helpful.

The chief value of ratings which are

made on specific characteristics rather than general behavior is that they enable the executive to give the employee definite suggestions as to what he should or should not do. To tell an employee that he should improve his appearance is not so effective as to tell him that he should shave more frequently or press his clothes regularly To tell him that he should be more industrious is not so effective as to ask him to do less "visiting" in the office or to come to work on time When abstractions are rated and the supervisory executive wishes to have an intimate advisory talk with a subordinate, he usually preaches a sermon However, if he discusses definite items with the employee, he lets him know just exactly what he should do to improve his chances for promotion When the main purpose of the rating is for administrative use rather than training or interviewing, discussion of four or five general traits is sufficient. As stated by Bittner<sup>3</sup>

- 1 In a study of a 12-trait rating scale applied to over 1,100 men in industry, a factor analysis showed that only two traits were really being measured These were called "ability to do present job" and "quality of performance on the job" This result was due to the great overlapping or inability of the raters to distinguish between the traits
- 2 In a study of a 10-trait rating scale applied to 2,000 Army officers, factor analysis revealed that only three traits were being measured — namely, "sense of duty," "physical and mental endurance and ability," and "leadership." It was also found that "ability to obtain results" correlated .90 with the total score on the 10 traits, and four of the 10 traits predicted the total score almost perfectly with a correlation of .97.
- 3 In another study of a 12-trait rating scale applied to Army Air Force officers, factor

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analysis showed that only four traits were being measured—namely, “sense of duty,” “physical and mental stability and endurance,” “leadership,” and “judgment and common sense”

- 4 In developing a new Army rating scale, 900 behavior items—statements like “can’t take suggestions,” “resents criticism”—were rated by a group of officers on observability and universality, and it was necessary to throw out 600 of them as being not observable, not universally applicable, or both.

The import of these and similar studies is that only a few traits will be included in the rating scale if the three criteria—observability, universality, and distinguishability—are observed in selecting them. Add more if you like, but you end up with essentially the same result (and often misleading results) at the cost of considerably more effort. A few companies have recognized this and applied it in their rating procedure. At least one company I know rates on only two traits—“ability to do present job” and “promotability”

### ***General principles for using and making ratings***

Some of the principles stated may appear to be dogmatic and academic, but experience in the use of ratings and a desire to avoid technical dissertations warrant the brevity of the statements.

1. *The purpose of ratings is constructive rather than critical* so far as the employee is concerned. Many executives who use ratings for the first time give the employees the impression that they are being spied upon. Employees do not like to be analyzed merely for the benefit of the employer. They resent being catalogued. They do not want to be analyzed and then labeled and forgotten until the company needs a person of their classification. Employees suspect that ratings are merely a device for getting rid of those who are not up to the

required standard of efficiency. Therefore, rating scales should not be applied in any organization unless the employees have had an adequate explanation of the purposes of the ratings. Employees should be told that the company wishes to help each one to help himself, that sermons are not to be preached, but rather that the management wants to give the employees who desire it definite help and counsel in obtaining a promotion through merit.

If the executives can rate the employees without their knowledge, well and good. However, very few companies can conduct systematic ratings without the knowledge of the employees, and, if it is not done openly, the employees will soon spread rumors of spies and detectives having been hired to catch them in any negligences or petty infractions of rules. The better plan for the management is to put all the cards on the employees’ table, explain the ratings, their constructive purpose, and then rate only those employees who wish to be rated.

- 2 *Have a joint committee develop the rating plan.* Many companies that operate successful rating systems have developed the plan through a committee which uses the advice of executives, supervisors, and employees. As reported in *Business Week*.

A cardinal feature of all plans, quoted again and again, is that “the employee must understand and approve of what is being done.” And, in a growing number of such efforts, the labor unions are offering their help.

Summing up the results of such plans, administrators seem agreed that certain results are found in the following ways:

- a Guesswork and doubt are removed in raising or reducing compensation. If a man is refused a raise, there is a definite reason



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which can be proved to him. And, if he is entitled to more money, he knows how to prove it.

b Careful judgment of each man's ability, habits, and adaptability often indicates a weak point which can be corrected. Thus his right to advancement in position and pay can be more easily determined and gratified.

c The rate of "turnover" of misplaced workers is greatly lowered.

d Grievances resulting from unfair differentials are reduced, and the settlement of such complaints is greatly aided.

e The jobs of the foremen and supervisors are made easier, as they learn to interpret the evaluation and rating method to the employee.

f If an accurate and fair means of judging the higher-salaried employees can be worked out, the charges of some classes that "executives are paid too much" can be answered without guesswork. Further, complaints from some salaried people about too loose a system of evaluation and payment can be ended.<sup>4</sup>

A more favorable attitude on the part of employees toward a rating system can be fostered by using a positive and pleasing title for it, such as "Employee Progress Review" or "Employee Development Plan."

Rightly used, the development of a rating system<sup>5</sup> can be made the basis of an extensive company educational program. When employees do not participate in management's rating and educational plans, the employees do not respond wholeheartedly to management's well-meant efforts. The violation of this basic principle explains why the manager mentioned in the beginning of this chapter failed to get a worth-while response to his new training courses.

3 *Ratings should be used* once they are gathered. If the company records the ratings on the personnel records of the employees, some benefits can be derived.

When a promotion is to be made, the executives do not have to make snap judgments. Ratings should be filed in advance of any emergencies. But their greatest worth may be obtained through a friendly discussion of the ratings with each employee. The executive should point out the strong points in the ratings, ignore those traits that are of no importance to the employer, and plan a definite program for the utilization of the positive qualities of each employee.

4 *Capitalize the strong qualities* of each employee. The negative-minded executive finds it easier to dwell upon the weaknesses of employees than to emphasize their good traits. Most human beings are too conscious of their defects. Surveys of the psychological problems of normal people indicate that the opinions and criticisms of others are outstanding worries. And yet human beings do not advance through consciousness of their defects, but rather through the use of their strong qualities. The counselor should try to show the employee how to make use of and capitalize his commendable qualities. The negative traits should be overlooked unless they have a direct bearing on the employee's value to the company. It is well to remember that every great man had some defects, but that he became famous or successful because of his positive qualities, not because of his weaknesses.

The capitalizing of the employee's good traits has been exemplified in many counseling programs. S. E. Fuller has reported numerous cases of this kind. Three examples are quoted here:

1 *Improving personal characteristics*. A clerk who had a good background for his job showed signs of restlessness and his efficiency varied from one extreme to another.

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until at the time of rating he had lost most of his previous enthusiasm for the job. The reasons for this condition came out during the discussion with him. He had always had an intense desire to be a time study man and had hired in on his present job because it was the only logical training ground toward ultimately obtaining time study assignments. He felt discouraged because the training period had passed and he hadn't received a chance at time study work. Months of waiting only aggravated his restlessness.

Due to personal characteristics, the department manager had been reluctant to assign him time study duties, but never told the employee this. Discussion brought out these personal characteristics and plans were made to overcome them. The employee was given assurance that once these were overcome and he demonstrated that he had renewed the efficiency of which he was capable, he could take over time study work. He made rapid strides in the development of the required abilities and eventually was given time study assignments.

The employee admitted that it was by establishing definite plans whereby he might work toward his goal, coupled with the opportunity to talk with someone who took an interest in him, which had helped greatly.

2 *Concealed physical condition.* The inaccuracies and poor memory of an employee engaged in analytical work showed up prominently on his Progress Report. After considerable time had been spent with him discussing his check sheet, he confessed that he suffered from a disease which frequently caused a thickening of the blood. While this condition existed his ability to think clearly and his power of retention diminished. In its worst stages it became impossible for him to transpose a column of figures from one sheet to another without committing a great many errors of transposition.

This malady had made the satisfactory completion of his assigned duties most difficult, but until inaccuracies and forgetfulness were questioned he felt that any possible effects of the handicap had passed without detection. His protective efforts had existed for two years. Had his supervisor shared the knowledge of this weakness definite plans

could have been made long before to assist him during its treatment by delegating assignments more suited to his condition.

3 *Employee argues with himself.* As one employee expressed it, "I kept arguing with myself but the more I lined up the pros and cons the more confused I got. It bothered me because just as I felt a solution was in sight, I hilled myself in again. For the first time in my life I began to develop an inferiority complex." This employee's efficiency came back once his ability had been appraised and a discussion followed in the Personnel Department. His immediate supervisor, the department manager and counselor were present. Supervision was not satisfied with his volume. They had kept putting off an interview with the employee to discuss this point. The employee admitted he had slowed down.

He had done outstanding work during the first six months of his employment and had received no verbal or financial appreciation for his efforts. He admitted that he began to wonder why he hadn't received any appreciative word of acknowledgment for his efforts, and, with no salary increase as an indication either, he lost interest. The two in charge of his work admitted they should have talked to him long before. His decreased volume was noticed just previous to their set plans to give him a salary increase. Both admitted they lacked the ability to pass out verbal compliments and didn't do it.

Salary increases came with results measured by output. All parties concerned admitted the case was one of complete misunderstanding. The employee's wonderment was erased and he soon regained his former volume. An increase in salary was initiated once this pace was established.<sup>6</sup>

5 *The traits to be rated should be objective* rather than subjective. Most experienced users of rating would prefer, for example, "Moral Conduct" to "Moral Attitude" as a rating item. Generally, traits for which we would normally have some external or objective evidence are the ones most likely to be judged with good chances for reliability.

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Rating an individual on his ideas or attitudes generally is likely to produce appraisals of dubious value

6 *Ratings should be based upon past accomplishments rather than upon what the individual may be able to do in the future* It is important to know what a person may be able to do, but we must judge the future by the past When necessary to make predictions concerning the future possibilities of an employee, it is well to do it on the basis of all the known information concerning the employee—ratings, years of service, production, age, attitude toward the proposed new job, and so on In large organizations it is also well to have rating scales adapted to the various kinds of workers. In most firms it is necessary to have four different rating forms—one for the factory workers, one for the executives, one for the salesmen, and one for the office workers

7. *Only those who know the employee should rate him.* It may sound absurd to specify that strangers to the individual should not rate him, and yet, in many firms, it is difficult to find persons in executive positions who know all the employees of large departments If necessary, ratings may be made by supervisors or even by fellow employees. In a department store, the rating made by a floorman is apt to be more accurate than that made by a buyer. A buyer has so little direct contact with the sales clerk that he does not know him from every angle Teachers are often asked to rate students or former students, but their ratings should be limited to the classroom contacts and should not include the many outside activities. When a teacher has a large class, he seldom becomes acquainted with the students. Oc-

asionally he does have direct associations with a student in his home or on the athletic field, and then the classroom estimate may be modified very decidedly. The ratings made by ministers and doctors have little value, because they know people under limited conditions only Few of us conduct ourselves normally when in the presence of preachers and physicians

8. *Employees should be dealt with on the basis of more than one person's ratings* No matter how impartial or intelligent the rater may be, he is apt to commit serious errors, because of the special conditions under which he deals with the ratee The rater is also conditioned by his own childhood experiences and has certain unconscious prejudices that will influence his ratings in spite of his effort to be fair. To prevent unfair and erroneous estimates, it is necessary to have at least three persons rate each employee. If the specific behavior form of rating scale is used by three or more raters, then only those items checked or underlined by two or more raters should be recorded for the employee. If only one rater attributes a trait to an employee, that trait should be disregarded, as it is not indicative of the group estimate

9 *Ratings do not tell the management what an employee actually is or does.* They show what the group thinks of the employee. However, in many situations, the attitude or estimate of the group is more important than what the person is or can do If an applicant for a job gives people the impression that he is dishonest or incompetent, they will treat him according to their estimate of him rather than according to his actual qualities. When tests can be given the

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applicant or employee, it is better to do so than to use ratings, because ratings are a substitute for the measurement of qualities for which no tests now exist. In the course of time, scientific research may produce tests that will be more accurate and objective than our present recourse to group estimates.

10 *The "halo error" is common to all ratings.* The general impression of an individual markedly colors our evaluation of his specific traits. If a person impresses us favorably in a general way, or because of some specific quality that we know he possesses, or because of an outstanding experience with him, we then tend to invest his entire personality with a luster that causes us to overestimate his desirable traits and underestimate his undesirable characteristics. One executive was asked why he rated a certain employee so low in all traits. His answer was to the effect that he did not like people who have small mouths and the particular employee had a small mouth. Some previous experience caused small mouths to become associated with the undesirable kind of personality and this experience colored his estimates of people who had that incidental trait. As we all know, if we like a person, we are apt to attribute all good traits to him. Conversely, if we dislike him, we tend to assign to him all negative traits.

The halo influence on graphic rating scales can be overcome to some extent if the rater will fill in the rating blanks for all employees by judging the employees on one trait at a time. For example, if twenty employees are to be rated on ten traits, the first trait on the scale being initiative, the judge should rate all twenty on initiative, and so on for each trait. It is natural for the execu-

tive to consider one man at a time rather than one trait at a time, but that procedure increases the halo effect. This danger also suggests that raters need systematic instruction before they make the ratings of their employees.<sup>7</sup>

11 *The rater may know the ratee too well.* The uninitiated assume that the longer the acquaintance of the rater with the ratee the more valuable the ratings. This principle holds true only to a certain point, and then the longer the acquaintance the less accurate the estimates. In a study of the ratings of 1,048 public school teachers, it was found that the teachers who had been known for a long time were overrated. In "general efficiency," of those known less than one year, only 10 per cent were rated excellent, of those known from one to seven years, 47 per cent were rated as excellent, and of those known from eight to twenty-five years, 68 per cent were rated excellent. F. B. Knight, author of this study, offered several explanations.<sup>8</sup> One might say that teachers gain in ability as they increase in experience, but studies of the effect of length of experience upon skill in teaching suggest little relationship. Furthermore, when teachers are rated as to "physical efficiency," the same trend is found, and we could hardly accept the principle that physical efficiency increases with age. The results can be explained more satisfactorily as influence of the acquaintance factor. A supervisor of teachers would not like to admit that the teachers under him did not improve with length of experience with him. An example of familiar statements of supervisors is "Teacher A was pretty poor when I got her, but I have developed her into a first-class teacher."

Knight also suggests the factor of nega-

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**Profile Summary of**  
**CONFIDENTIAL ACHIEVEMENT RATING**  
**Published by the National Council Y. M. C. A.**  
347 Madison Avenue, New York City

1	Consider his ability to command confidence and respect through his personality	Marked	Partially successful	Creates distrust
2	Consider how effectively he is able to meet the physical demands of his work, his reserve, his health regime	Exceptionally healthy	Of average health	Low vitality
3	Consider his poise, his ability to remain calm under exacting responsibility, his self control	Always well poised	Generally well controlled	Easily excitable
4	Consider his success in proceeding with his work without having to be told every detail, his ability to make and carry out practical suggestions for doing things in original and improved ways	Highly self-reliant and resourceful	Does what is expected	Needs constant direction
5	Consider his alertness to discover and his ability to think through problems, his thoroughness, his power of analyzing situations	Exceptionally alert and thorough	Quite alert and thorough	Slow to find solution of problem
6	Consider his understanding of his position, his knowledge and appreciation of other departments	Expert	Thorough	Fair grasp
7	Consider the volume of work of standard quality he is able to accomplish	Highly satisfactory	Satisfactory	Limited
8	Consider his ability to win and hold the cooperation and goodwill of the groups he serves, as well as of his associates	Unusually successful	Moderately successful	Limited
9	Consider his grasp of important social factors in the area he serves and his sense of the social significance of his work	Expert	Quite keen	Moderately appreciative
10	Consider his all-around exemplification of genuine Christian character	Consistently exemplifies highest Christian standard	Ordinarily exemplifies high standard	Conforms to usual standards

Note The shaded portion of this Summary chart is a profile showing the middle fifty per cent of ratings on 376 secretaries of various ages and positions The heavy black line is the median of these ratings.

THE SHADED PORTION of this Summary Chart is a profile showing the middle 50 per cent of ratings on 376 secretaries of various ages and positions The heavy black line is the median of these ratings When this form is used, a red line represents the average of recent ratings secured on the person whose name appears at the top of this sheet The chart illustrates the tendency for ratings to be bunched at the favorable end of the scale.

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tive adaptation. We all get used to people. Employees who have annoying mannerisms soon cease to irritate us and become accepted, whereas the new employee is more or less on trial. Trivial discrepancies in behavior on the part of new employees, because they do not "know the ropes," may influence the supervisor's rating far more than efficiency or inefficiency in their work.

We might also suggest the tendency of the older employees to adapt themselves to the idiosyncrasies of the supervisor. The new employee may not know that the supervisor dislikes the person who smokes cigarettes and commits the error of doing so in his presence. The older employees know the peculiarities of the supervisor and adjust their conduct accordingly. Graduate students in universities realize that they must adapt themselves to the whimsicalities of the major professor who happens to be the key man in determining whether the candidate shall receive the coveted advanced degree. Supervisory executives may pride themselves upon their fairness and impartiality toward subordinates, but it is highly probable that only a few would find ample reasons to promote an employee who openly differed from them in athletic, political, and religious interests. The older employee knows the hobbies and beliefs of the supervisor and agrees with them, or at least remains noncommittal on thorny issues.

When length of acquaintance is a matter of hours, days, and months, the longer acquaintances probably result in better ratings, but when it becomes a matter of years, the longer acquaintances are detrimental to the accuracy of ratings. Another experiment has indicated that we should not only ask the rater, "How long have you known the person

to be rated?" but also, "How well do you know the person to be rated?"<sup>9</sup>

12 *The one best rating plan is still to be invented.* When executives decide to use a merit rating plan, they naturally want the "one perfect plan." Unfortunately, no one system or form has as yet been proved to be valid or appropriate for all or even for many organizations. Thomas A. Ryan, after reviewing the various merit rating plans and finding them all deficient in some important respects, recommended the simple common-sense procedure shown on pages 366 and 367. This form is nothing essentially new, but it has certain sensible values:

It is an attempt to secure some of the advantages of a standardized rating technique without depending so heavily upon the assumptions required for the graphic scale point method of evaluation.

The writer [Ryan] believes that this "Inventory of Personnel," though still having flaws which cannot be entirely eliminated, is more defensible than the graphic rating scale. It obtains an over-all estimate of the value of men in a job from the supervisor, which, in view of the halo effect, is all we can confidently expect of the graphic rating technique. It requires the supervisor to make only broad groupings, which, in the light of the known reliabilities of the graphic scale, are the only groupings justified. (If three groups are felt to be too broad, the same technique could be used with four or five categories instead of the three major groups illustrated on page 366.) The method obtains these broad groupings without resort to dubious point-rating scales.

The method also allows us to obtain useful information upon special traits without forcing the supervisor to rate all workers on each trait. He can thus designate those who show noticeable excellence or deficiency, without being asked to make ratings on these traits where no information is available.

Last, but by no means least, this procedure should reduce the amount of "paper work." Though the supervisor has to write names instead of making check marks, he is not over-

INVENTORY OF PERSONNEL\*

Department  
Jobs

(This should be a single job or group of similar, related jobs. Jobs requiring unrelated skills or training should be considered independently.)

I All-round Value

- 1 *Outstanding Men* List names of the men who are doing an exceptionally good job, and whose all-round value to the department is very high. Consider then present ability and skill, not what you think they might develop later. Men placed in this group should be in about the top 10 per cent of men in this line of work *anywhere*, and not only in this shop. If you are doubtful about any man's belonging in this group, *do not include him*. List these men in order from top down if that is possible.
- 2 *Poor Workers* List the names of all men who are doing an exceptionally poor job, and whose all-round value to the department is very low. Consider present ability and skill, but do not include those who are poor because they do not have sufficient training or experience. These will be listed separately. As in the top group, if you are doubtful about a man's belonging in this group, do not include him. The men in this group should be those who would be considered as about the bottom 10 per cent of men in this occupation *anywhere*, but they may include more or less than 10 per cent of your own men.
- 3 *Average Workers* List all men who have not been included in the first two groups, except those who are not fully trained or who lack experience. As you list them, consider each one so as to make sure that he does not belong either in Group 1 (exceptional men) or Group 2 (poor workers).
- 4 *Trainees and Inexperienced Workers* Include here all those who have not finished the normal training period, or who have not worked long enough to show what they can do. Mark those who show promise with a G, and those who do not appear to make normal progress with a P.

\* Thomas Arthur Ryan, *Work and Effort*. Copyright, 1947, by The Ronald Press Company, New York, page 247.

whelmed with a rating-form for each man. One form can serve for all the men on a job or a related group of jobs, so long as sufficient space is provided for listing the names. At the same time, the supervisor is required to consider each man because the form requires that each man must be listed somewhere.<sup>10</sup>

JOB EVALUATION

*Job analyses for employment and promotion purposes*

In recent years, job evaluation has been given much attention by manage-

ment. Certain conditions have compelled this attention. One reason is that both management and employees want wage rates to be consistent throughout the organization. Some jobs are easy, others are difficult, some can be learned in a few minutes, others in decades, some require much physical strength, others little, some are enjoyable, others are dull and unpleasant, and so on. The rate of pay therefore should be in line with the requirements for doing the work.

Even though a management may, at

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### II Special Qualifications and Abilities

Listed at the left are a number of special characteristics which may be important considerations in making promotions or transfers. List, for each of these qualifications, the names of those men in the job you are considering who are outstanding in this quality, and those who are especially poor in this respect. The names listed are not necessarily the same names you have given in your over-all estimates of the value of the employee on page 1 (Reverse side)

<i>Quality*</i>	<i>Outstanding Men</i>	<i>Poor Workers</i>
1 Dependability (Does he follow instructions without close follow-up?)		
2 Ability to get along with others (Is he respected and trusted by fellow workers?)		
3 Specialized technical knowledge of the job		
4 Ability to instruct others in his job		
5 Interest in his work and in the department		

\* Other traits to be added to meet the needs of a particular organization. Instructions to be revised after conferences with supervisors and experience in application of the forms

some past time, have established equitable rates of pay, the rates soon get out of alignment. Some employees are more aggressive than others and get increases in pay for themselves. Some supervisors are very anxious to reward their employees and obtain pay raises for them. Furthermore,

... some union representatives try to raise wages for a handful of jobs. If they are successful—through management yielding out of weariness, or through an arbitrator's award—the relationship between jobs will become distorted, the wage curve will have out-of-line bumps in it. Next step by the union is to seek removal of these "inequities" by pushing the whole wage structure up to meet the above-the-line wages.

Many a union request for a raise for one individual or group is made because some squeaking wheel in the union demands greasing, and hopes enough noise will get him results. If wages in the plant are set arbitrarily, it may be worth the union's while to gamble. But if jobs are evaluated systematically, with employee participation and approval, the union leaders may be less willing to upset the balanced wage structure they have helped establish.<sup>11</sup>

There are several kinds of job analyses, depending upon the purposes for which the analyses are made. The most common variety is that of the industrial engineer who analyzes jobs for the improvement of working processes and methods. He prepares, through time and



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motion studies, performance standards which show him how much work an employee should produce and the best way in which to produce it. The job analyses of the psychologist or personnel man are for the human relation values in selecting new employees, in promoting, transferring, discharging, and training pres-

ent employees, and in the establishment of health and equitable wage standards. In this discussion we shall give emphasis to job analyses for the purpose of promotion.

Merit rating obtains appraisals of employees, whereas job evaluation measures the jobs. Each may be used without

### TYPICAL WORK SHEET FILLED IN FOR A JOB SPECIFICATION (R for required. D for desired X for items that apply to job)

#### GENERAL

Name of Position—*In Charge of Suggestion Division*. Symbol . . . . .  
Dept—*Better Letters Bureau* Div—*Suggestion*.  
No in Position—*1* Number of Subordinates—*2*  
Immediate Superior—*Manager, Better Letters Bureau*.  
Time Required for Inexperienced Person to Learn Work—*3 years*  
Time Required for Experienced Person to Learn Details of Work Here—  
*18 months*

#### QUALIFICATIONS

R Male	D Married	Age Limits— <i>27 to 40</i>	Beginner	
Female	Single		R Experienced	
			Expert	

EDUCATION	Common	High School	College	
Required—None	6 7 8	I II III IV	A B C D	Desired D
Courses Required— <i>Psychology, English</i>				
Courses Desired— <i>Salesmanship, Better Letters, Office Manager's Course, Factory Course</i>				

#### EXPERIENCE

Required—*On Policy and Product 1 Year in Division as Assistant*  
Desired—*Office Manager, Salesman, Newspaper Work*

Manual	Meets Public	x Desk	x Indoors
Clerical	xx Meets Employees	Standing	Outdoors
Correspondence		Stooping	
x Promotional	x Plans Broadly	x Walking	Travels Much
x Supervisory	x Attends Details		xx Travels Little
Technical		xx Varied	
Research	Major Responsibility	Routine	Artificial Light
Managerial	x Medium Responsibility	Automatic	x Natural Light
Executive	Minor Responsibility		

## *rating and promoting the employee*

### DESCRIPTION OF JOB

- 1 State duties of supervision and responsibility 2 Operations in work.  
3 Occasional duties 4 Machines and appliances used 5 Relationship to other jobs

*Works under supervision of Manager of Better Letters Bureau. Is responsible to the Board of Control for making a preliminary survey of all suggestions submitted by employees of the General Offices, branches, and service stations, for tactfully informing employees of action taken in regard to their suggestions, and for the proper publicity of the suggestion system.*

*Eliminates only those suggestions which are obviously of no value, the others are investigated as to their worth and reviewed by the Suggestion Committee (a committee of three men, the man in charge of the Suggestion Division having an equal vote with the other two members). All decisions are subject to review by Board of Control at any time.*

*Submits a detailed report every week to Board of Control showing in regard to suggestions the number submitted, their value, the departments affected, reason for action taken, and a résumé of each.*

*When a suggestion is received, it is copied on a standard form and sent to qualified members of the organization, who report its worth. Follows up these investigations to see that contents are made so that Suggestion Committee can make an intelligent and tactful reply to every person who submits a suggestion.*

the other but to promote employees systematically requires several general steps:

1. Know the employee's ratings, tests, past record, and so on.

2. Know the jobs in the organization: the one the employee is now holding and the ones to which he might be promoted if he were qualified.

3. Interview employees periodically, so that the manpower may be utilized for the benefit of employer and employee.

Strictly speaking, a *job analysis* is simply an abstraction for a variety of operations made by the analyst. It is the process of collecting information about the jobs in a company. A *job* or *occupational specification* is a written statement of the facts obtained in the job analysis. The job specification has two main parts—description of the job and description

of the qualifications of the ideal person to fill the job. The written report or estimate of the qualifications of the ideal person to fill the job should not be confused with the qualifications of the person who is actually on the job. The person who now holds the job may or may not have the desired qualifications.

The job analysis procedure usually begins with the preparation of a work sheet wherewith the analyst can go into the shop or office and obtain the pertinent facts of the jobs in the organization. The analyst takes a supply of the work sheets to the department head or foreman and explains the purpose of the job analysis. By discussing the work and the kinds of jobs of the executive's department, the analyst obtains a general idea of the activities of the jobs and the relationships of the jobs which he is about

## rating and promoting the employee

to analyze The employees on the several kinds of jobs are then interviewed and the work sheets are filled in in preparation for the typing of the complete job specification When the data have been collected, written on the work sheets, and arranged in logical order, the revised work sheets or job specifica-

### *The guide for classifying the jobs, or master job-classification chart*

When the specifications have been completed for the various jobs in the organization, each job must be graded or zoned The purpose of zoning or grading is to determine the relative value and

TABLE 44\*

COMPARISON OF THE FOUR BASIC SYSTEMS OF JOB EVALUATION

<i>Ranking System</i>	<i>Classification System</i>	<i>Point System</i>	<i>Factor Comparison System</i>
<i>The Job Analysis</i> A narrative description of the job with the duties, responsibilities, degree of difficulty, and required qualifications clearly brought out		<i>The Job Analysis</i> A narrative statement of duties and qualifications In addition, the job is broken down into the important compensable factors, such as required experience and training, mental effort, and physical effort The amount to which each factor is present in the job is indicated by a short narrative statement	
<i>Method of Relating Jobs</i>	<i>Method of Relating Jobs</i>	<i>Method of Relating Jobs</i>	<i>Method of Relating Jobs</i>
Jobs are ranked in their order of relative difficulty or value to the company, and grade levels are sometimes defined after the jobs have been ranked	Jobs are allocated to grade levels which are defined arbitrarily prior to evaluating jobs	Jobs are related by factorial analysis A restricted number of fairly specific factors are selected for application to a limited number of types of work The point values are predetermined before analysis of jobs and are decided arbitrarily, and the degree of each factor is expressed by a definition	Jobs are related by factorial comparison The factors used are assumed to be fundamental to all jobs and of universal application, the point values are set after analysis of jobs from existing rates of "key" jobs, and the degrees of each factor are expressed by sample jobs

\* *Informational Manual on Industrial Job Evaluation Systems*, War Manpower Commission, Bureau of Manpower Utilization, Division of Occupational Analysis and Manning Tables, U S Government Printing Office, August, 1943

tions are then taken to the responsible department head for correction and approval In most cases some corrections must be made. The data on the corrected work sheets are then typed on the final work sheet, which is now considered to be the job specification, as it includes the qualifications of the ideal person to fill the job. One specification is made for each kind of job in the organization.

importance of the jobs The guide for classifying the jobs is a description of typical grades of jobs in the company The classification chart is a kind of scale which enables the management to grade the jobs, determine the salary ranges for each zone, and prepare promotion charts for the development of each employee. Wage or salary studies can also be made of all the jobs in the company, as some

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employees who receive a Grade 4 salary may be doing Grade 5 work, or vice versa

If the management wishes to succeed in increasing the efficiency of the individual employee, some responsible executive must know the nature and grade of the job of each employee. He should be able to evaluate correctly any job in relation to the other jobs in the organization and in relation to the jobs in other industrial concerns. It is very easy to overestimate the importance of low-grade jobs and to underestimate the higher-grade jobs. Example. when an employee says that he is "Clerk on the Outgoing Requisitions of the Purchasing Department," it may mean that he is a little higher than the office boy or it may mean that he is an assistant purchasing agent. By means of the guide for classifying jobs and the job specification, any job may be properly classified as to grade or zone of importance.

When jobs have been fully described, they must be evaluated and graded. Four main kinds of job evaluation systems are available:

1. Nonquantitative evaluation measures
  - a. The ranking system
  - b. The job classification system
2. Quantitative evaluation measures
  - a. The point system
  - b. The factor comparison system<sup>12</sup>

By means of one of these systems of job evaluation, levels of job grades are established appropriate for the specific employees. The technical aspects of job evaluation are very numerous and are treated in other books,<sup>13</sup> but the kind of job grade classification used in the U. S. Civil Service is shown in Table 45.

A system of evaluated jobs has great

value in industry, especially at times of layoffs in a unionized plant. Many unions prefer to insist that all layoffs be made on the basis of lowest seniority. Managements prefer a more flexible procedure because of the evils of "bumping." "Bumping" is a common expression for the procedure of an employee of greater seniority employed in one department forcing during layoff periods an employee of lesser seniority in another department to be laid off so that the former may have his job. In many cases, the "bumped" employee is more efficient and cooperative than the one who takes his place. If a company has both merit rating and a complete system of graded jobs, management and the union can negotiate a contract which is more just both to the employer and to the employees. In one company, for example:

An agreement with its union provides a layoff register, set up in four parts. Straight seniority governs in the first four labor grades. Other workers are grouped together as follows. Those with less than 50% of possible numerical score are laid off first, with union retaining right to appeal, those with good ratings (75% or better) are touched last, and people with fair ratings (50 to 75%) are considered on basis of seniority.

Under this system 900 were laid off last year. Only 53 cases were appealed. Management's decision was upheld in 27.<sup>14</sup>

The installation of job evaluation also may involve serious psychological problems, chiefly because accepted social relations of employees are upset. Employees evaluate jobs in their own ways long before the jobs are graded for them. Their evaluations are exceedingly important to them as stated in this example by a union leader:

One of the great difficulties of labor relations has been the disregard with which exec-

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TABLE 45

THE PAY SCALES OF THE CLASSIFICATION ACT OF 1923, AS AMENDED  
Effective July 1948, CSC Form 2968, July 1948

Service and Grade						Basic Pay Rates				
P	SP	CAF	CPC	Minimum		Intermediate				Maximum
			1	1410 00		1500 00	1588 00	1660 00		1732 00
			2	2020 00	2086 00	2152 00	2218 00	2284 00		2350 00
	1			2020 00	2086 00	2152 00	2218 00	2284 00	2350 00	2423 04
		1		2086 00	2152 00	2218 00	2284 00	2350 00	2423 04	2498 28
			3	2152 00	2218 00	2284 00	2350 00	2423 04		2498 28
	2			2152 00	2218 00	2284 00	2350 00	2423 04	2498 28	2573 52
	3	2		2284 00	2350 00	2423 04	2498 28	2573 52	2648 76	2724 00
			4	2350 00	2423 04	2498 28	2573.52	2648 76	2724 00	2799 24
	4	3		2498 28	2573 52	2648 76	2724 00	2799 24	2874 48	2949 72
			5	2573 52	2648 76	2724 00	2799 24	2874 48	2949 72	3024 96
	5	4		2724 00	2799 24	2874 48	2949 72	3024 96	3100 20	3175 44
			6	2799 24	2874 48	2949 72	3024 96	3100 20	3175 44	3250 68
1	6	5		2974.80	3100.20	3225 60	3351 00	3476 40	3601 80	3727 20
			7	3024 96	3100.20	3175 44	3250 68	3351 00	3476 40	3601 80
			8	3225 60	3351 00	3476 40	3601 80	3727 20	3852 60	3978.00
	7	6		3351 00	3476 40	3601 80	3727 20	3852 60	3978 00	4103 40
			9	3601.80	3727 20	3852 60	3978 00	4103 40	4228 80	4354 20
2	8	7		3727.20	3852 60	3978 00	4103 40	4228 80	4354 20	4479 60
			10	3978 00	4103.40	4228.80	4354 20	4479 60	4605 00	4730 40
		8		4103.40	4228 80	4354 20	4479 60	4605 00	4730 40	4855 80
3		9		4479 60	4605 00	4730 40	4855 80	4981 20	5106 60	5232 00
		10		4855 80	4981 20	5106 60	5232 00	5357 40	5482 80	5608 20
4		11		5232.00		5482 80	5733 60	5984.40		6235 20
5		12		6235 20		6474.60	6714 00	6953 40		7192 80
6		13		7432.20		7671 60	7911 00	8150 40		8389 80
7		14		8509 50		8808 75	9108 00	9407 25		9706 50
8		15		10305 00						10330 00

Positions in the federal service are classified for the most part into four kinds of divisions or services P—Professional and Scientific; CAF—Clerical, Administrative, and Fiscal, CPC—Custodial, Protective, and Crafts, SP—Sub-Professional. The lack of specificity and the pay rates for jobs at the various

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utives have treated the problem of human organization. They have attempted to inflict all sorts of radical and material changes upon employees, without the active participation or consideration of the individuals affected.

A case in point involved a metal-working establishment in a midwestern city organized by the machinists and other crafts. The management had been sold on a job evaluation and classification plan which would "properly and scientifically" align the jobs in the factory—from least skilled to most skilled. The objectivity of the plan, however, flew straight in the face of the customary and traditional working relationships in the establishment.

In one department all jobs had been paid the same rate prior to the job evaluation. The engineers moved in and set up 12 jobs and 12 rates where one existed before. Immediately, production declined, and employee discontent and hostility increased. Upon further investigation, it was found that the employees had always functioned as a team, they were capable of operating each other's machines, and they therefore expected the same rate of pay. The employees had established a social organization among themselves which lent assistance whenever a fellow member of the team was in distress. This was the hub of their daily activities; their sentiments and attitudes flowed from their associations in the work unit.

When advised of the reasons for the drop in production, top management remained adamantly behind the job evaluation system. The employees through their union opposed its continuance just as vehemently. With discussions deadlocked, the foreman of the department was called into the controversy. He stated that if the new job structure was continued, it would be impossible to maintain production standards. In view of the practical and experienced approach of

the foreman, the management decided to re-install the original method of operation.

The job evaluation method of rating such factors as responsibility, skill, mental requirements, physical demand, working conditions, and supervision fails to treat as relevant the very things that give meaning and substance to the individual's work. In their haste to pigeonhole each individual in the productive process, the industrial engineers lose sight of that which makes effective collaboration possible: the complete integration of the individual in the technical and social organization of the establishment. A rigid job evaluation procedure which overlooks such basic factors as the seasonality of employment, the prospects for advancement, the established routines of work, and the traditions of workmanship and fellowship in the shop, fails to recognize that a man's job is often the main pivot about which his life revolves.<sup>10</sup>

Most managements that install a job evaluation system try to convince employees of the values of such a system to them. The usual method of trying to convince them is to have representative employees participate in the development and inauguration of the plan. The kind of explanation given the nonparticipating and new employees is likely to be along the lines of the booklet prepared by the International Resistance Company:

One aid whereby employees can identify themselves with the company is to have a clear-cut promotion system which any employee can understand. Even though an employee may not be interested in becoming anything other than

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levels have been described by Shartle, who says, "The Clerical, Administrative and Fiscal group, for example, contains a wide variety of positions ranging from a Typist at \$1506 per year to a Bureau Chief or other high administrative position at \$8750 per year or more. There is not a sharp division between some of the professional positions and some of the administrative ones. An Economist, for example, may find his position classified as Professional but discover other persons with almost identical duties classified as Clerical, Administrative and Fiscal."<sup>15</sup>

The table above shows the pay rates (1948) for the various services and grades. There is a maximum and a minimum for each grade with intermediate levels. An employee begins in a position at the minimum of a grade and promotions within the grades are made according to the steps shown.

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what he is, yet a concern which has a promotion system rates higher in the estimation of the employees than the firm where promotions are mysterious things that seem to be acquired by the "lucky fellows with a pull." Children go through school by doing the work of the specified grades. Promotion is systematic. Each child has a definite scholastic goal before him. The method of getting into the next grade is known to all pupils. In industry, the method of getting into a higher job is largely a mysterious thing about which nothing definite is understood. The promotion chart takes the mystery out of promotions. Most promotion charts of the past have been drawn up very elaborately and have shown how any employee must follow certain very definite lines of travel in going from the bottom to the top. The "railroad track" schemes of promotion do not work out under actual conditions, because human nature is adaptable. The employee adapts himself to the job and adjusts the job to his limitations.

The fact that a youth happens to be the office boy in the purchasing department does not mean that he must become a purchasing agent in order to use his native capacities. It is rather probable that he might become the head of the mail-order department or assistant to

the traffic manager. In many large concerns one does not find that the general manager has had production, sales, finance, and other forms of business experience, but rather that he has come from some other field, and often an unrelated one. The reason why a lawyer can be a good general manager is not that law gives him the training he needs, but that the lawyer has high *general intelligence* and can adapt himself to managerial requirements. The same factor holds true with the rank and file of employees—the ones with high general intelligence, industry, initiative, and so on, could advance equally readily in any of several departments rather than in one particular department. The old idea that a man is fitted for only one particular occupation is not accepted by the psychologist. We find, rather, that each man is equally well fitted for several things and not perfectly fitted for any one of the several. Human beings are adaptable, and any scheme of promotion must recognize the factor of adaptability. Promotions should be interdepartmental as well as intradepartmental. Employees should be allowed to see the promotion charts. One large concern has found it desirable to post the promotion chart for each department on the wall of the office where the employees are working.

### THE STORY OF YOUR SALARY

It is the Company's earnest intention that all employees be paid a fair salary, and that salaries in general be as high as possible, consistent with reasonable profits. In order to carry out this intention, there must be a system to determine pay rates and to provide for salary increases. This is "Salary Administration."

Salary Administration determines how much you may earn by a study of *your job*

and *you*. These two factors—your job and you—are taken into consideration in the following way:

1 *Your Job*—What is it worth to IRC, compared to all other jobs in the Company?

2 *You*—How well do you do your job? Is your performance poor, average or superior?

Since these two problems must be studied separately, Salary Administration has two

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sections. (1) *Job Evaluation*, (2) *The Performance Review*

Job Evaluation is a system using the pooled judgment of men who know IRC jobs. It places your job in a salary grade, based on its relationship to all other jobs in the Company. In other words, Job Evaluation is a method of comparing your job with everyone else's job in order to determine the minimum and maximum salary it will pay.

Frequently employees say, "But my job is not like any other job, so how can it be compared?" The answer is simply this: All jobs require the use of the mind, although mental effort in some must be greater than in others, all jobs require skill, even though this skill varies from the simplest use of the hands to an intricate and complex technical background, and all jobs carry responsibility. Physical effort is expended, and work is done under different working conditions. These factors in your job—mental effort, skill, responsibility, physical effort and working conditions—are compared with similar factors in other jobs to decide which job deserves the higher salary—and why. Assume that a yardstick, marked off with these five factors, is used to measure all jobs, then by this yardstick some jobs will measure "longer" than others, and some "shorter." The "longer" job is placed in a higher salary bracket than the "shorter" job.

Job Evaluation, then, has determined what your specific job is worth to the Company. It has decided the least your job will pay to the inexperienced or new man on the job, and the most it can pay to the good, experienced worker. However, what your exact salary will be, within that salary range, does not depend upon Job Evaluation, *but upon you*. This brings us to Performance Review, the second phase of Salary Administration, in which you, as an individual, play a part in determining what your salary shall be.

In a sense, your salary is what you make it. How well you do your job, how satisfac-

torily you meet its requirements, determines your exact salary within your salary grade. A superior worker should be paid more than a slow worker on the same job, an experienced employee should be paid more than a beginner. What *you* are paid depends upon *you*, as shown by your Performance Review.

Your Performance Review is a "picture" of you as an employee. It is a six-month report on your individual job performance—a six-month guarantee that your work will be appraised regularly and justly, so that increases may be given when and where increases are due.

Twice a year your supervisor is given a printed form which asks questions about the quality and quantity of your work, your co-operation, knowledge of your job and your attendance and lateness record. When your supervisor has filled out your Performance Review form, he will discuss it with you so that you may know how you are progressing, what you can do to improve your work, and, in short, exactly "where you stand."

As your work improves, your salary should increase, although it may never exceed the maximum salary established for your job. How often Performance Reviews take place and how they are used in consideration of salary increases is explained. The "Story of your Salary" then continues as follows:

If you have reached the top of your salary grade, it is not necessarily true that you can "go no further." *You can be promoted*. It is IRC's policy, wherever possible, to promote employees when vacancies occur or new positions are created rather than to hire "outside people" to fill these jobs. If you are capable of assuming new duties, if you have the necessary requirements for a new position, you will be considered, along with other employees, for promotion. The most eligible employee will be chosen. *It can be you*. Since Salary Administration so vitally concerns you, your questions, comments and criticisms are invited and welcome.<sup>17</sup>

### ***A promotion system connected with a training system***

Some company managers try to follow a rigid policy that all promotions should be made from within the organization.

Such a policy is likely to result in an unhealthy inbreeding and an excess of deadwood in the supervisory force.

It has been our experience that promotion-from-within [without a training program] re-



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sults in a very mediocre grade of supervision. Occasionally we were fortunate to get an outstanding man, but to most of them supervision is only a higher degree of performance on their previous occupation. They lack the breadth of viewpoint, and other inherent characteristics of management usually apparent in men who are capable of assimilating good educational background and experience.<sup>18</sup>

In view of the dangers mentioned above, some personnel managers have a definite policy to the effect that approximately 20 per cent of all promotions are made from the outside. Employees have the policy explained to them and the reasons for it. Almost every organization needs the stimulating effects of "new blood" occasionally. On the other hand, some companies believe that a long history within the company is essential to the company's welfare.

In the broad, the policy of our company throughout the years has been one of promotion from within its own ranks as higher positions of responsibility have become vacant. A majority of our officers and principal employees have a long history with the company—many of them having come in as students or apprentices at young years. This is true not only of executives, but, in not a few cases, of men who are in high technical positions. . . .

There is, however, no question in our minds whatever but that our Works Supervisors who come up from within the organization are those in whom we can put the greatest dependence.<sup>19</sup>

It is apparent from the above and similar statements by industrial executives that developing effective supervisors and at the same time using promotions to increase incentive among the wage-earners is a continual process of careful selection for promotion from within, with sufficient infiltration of new employees qualified for promotion into the su-

pervisory level. More and more companies are making a special effort to employ and train college graduates for management jobs. When these better-educated employees are the only ones who are encouraged to prepare for advancement, there is usually some feeling of bitterness among other employees. When a plan of promotion from within applies to all employees and upgrading in all classes is according to acceptable technical requirements, then there seems to be little criticism against the special training program for college graduates.

### *The development program of every interested employee*

In most modern concerns, many employees have already reached the limit of their capacity. Some employees recognize this and are contented. Others do not realize their limitations and picture themselves as sales managers or factory managers. The latter group must be handled very tactfully, and, inasmuch as they really are seeking some means of self-expression rather than responsible managerial jobs, the counselor of the personnel should explain these facts to the employee and help him to express his individuality in some manner which fits his capacity and circumstances.

A certain percentage of the employees, as shown by the ratings and job specifications, will be found capable of greater achievement. These are the employees most worthy of attention and are the ones which the company will need most in the future. The executive in charge of personnel should try to understand and appreciate these employees and outline a plan of development for each one of this group.

## rating and promoting the employee

### PROJECTS

1. Examine several graphic rating scales for general traits such as initiative, personality, and so on. Select the traits that are objective in nature and those that are reactions to persons. Select several general traits and break them down into the specific forms of behavior to which they may apply.
2. Construct a work sheet for the analysis of jobs within a company whose personnel problems you know. On it analyze and describe a particular job.
3. Describe the differences between a job analysis work sheet and a blank for the application of employment.
4. Interview and study an employee and prepare a "Development Program" that seems to meet his situation and desires.
5. Discuss reasons why some students may disagree with an instructor regarding marks given in a course. Most students consider their marks satisfactory but a small percentage do not, as indicated by one study<sup>20</sup> of opinions of a group of college students concerning their marks. Students in education in the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College were asked to list courses taken in the winter quarter and to state (anonymously) whether they considered the marks too high or too low and why. Of 396 students, 80 per cent considered the marks satisfactory, 5 per cent too high, and 15 per cent too low. The percentage of satisfaction varied with the height of the mark. Slightly more men than women were dissatisfied. The reasons given for thinking the marks too high were "Did too little work," "Received lower marks during the quarter," and "Knew too little about the course." The reasons given for thinking the marks too low were "Received higher marks during the quarter," "Worked hard," and "Did as well as others."
6. Perhaps you think that a person can be judged more fairly by means of an anecdotal behavior journal, a cumulative record of characteristic behavior patterns, than by means of rating scales. If so, investigate the anecdotal behavior procedure. A good source with bibliography is J. A. Randall, "The Anecdotal Behavior Journal," *Progressive Education*, January 1936.
7. If you were working in a company where employees on jobs of the same grade were paid inequitably, what would you do about the inequality? Consider, for example, the following situation.

Professor C. Canby Balderston of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania reported factual data resulting from job analyses applying to 12,000 employees of a single company where previously existing rates were set by a large number of department heads. The study showed that compensation varied as much as 460 per cent from minimum to maximum on one set of jobs graded for equal difficulty and as little as 25 per cent in another grade. The average spread of all jobs was 145 per cent. (Condensed from Ralph P. Worden, *Connecticut Industry*, March 1941.)

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# I8

## Problems in motivating the employee

*Factors in the efficiency of the worker are so numerous as to baffle the student investigator. Industrial engineers may show, for example, that output appears to be influenced by rest pauses, refreshments during working hours, length of working day, illumination, temperature, ventilation, rate of pay, and so on. The industrial psychologists find evidence to indicate that the worker's output is influenced by knowledge of rest pauses, attitude toward the way he is treated with regard to the working conditions arranged for him, and the interpretations he gives to the reactions of his fellow-workers toward him. We should study both physical and psychological influences on efficiency, but here more consideration is given to the factors of psychological significance.*

MOST INVESTIGATORS OF THE EFFICIENCY of the industrial worker have examined objective factors such as rest periods, illumination, noise, humidity, temperature, oxygen, alcohol, tobacco, caffeine, and food. These well-known objective influences on output have been studied by efficiency engineers and other researchers. Psychologists, however, have found that these physical and physiological influences on output are often of secondary importance. The really important factors in efficiency are the drives to activity, the *esprit de corps*, the incentives to action, attitudes, emotions, and the extent to which the worker "feels at

home," or is emotionally well adjusted to his world. The latter influences on efficiency are subjective and therefore are harder to measure than the more obvious objective factors. Of primary concern to the alert executive is the ability to sense the influences of the psychological factors. *The worker is a man of action far more than simply an organism of reaction.* His moods and work rhythms are largely "individual matters" and relatively independent of external factors.

The importance of the emotions and the worker's integration with his world have been ably illustrated by Henry B.

## *problems in motivating the employee*

Elkind in the following example from one of his investigations

The case that I shall give is not an example of the psychiatric method in its *usual sense*, but is an example of the point of view and method of approach of the hygienist who is concerned with maintaining a high degree of health and efficiency on the part of the workers. This case deals with efforts made some time ago to find practical methods of discovering which workers in a group were out of adjustment. That is, we wanted to know how to pick out, quickly and cheaply, workers who were not doing well. To do this, we had in mind using production curves, so commonly employed in industry today. This experimental work was carried on in a factory of national prominence that employed the Bedeaux system of payment, in which production charts are used. The weekly average point-hours were plotted for all workers whose wages were computed by the Bedeaux system.

We found many types of abnormal curves. These all showed great variations and great fluctuations. After we thought we knew how to distinguish an abnormal curve from a normal, we tried it out. We picked out the curve of a girl who had been working in a certain part of the factory. Her job was that of cementing uppers of rubber shoes, at which she had worked for about two and a half years. For about a year and a half she had been a high-point operator. Then she had dropped steadily down for the period of a year.

As we could not be sure whether or not the worker was to blame for the decline, or whether there was something about the job or the work that was to blame, we had to study all the variables in the whole situation. We secured for comparison the curve of another operator in the same room doing exactly the same work, who was declared by the forelady to be the best worker in the particular operation. Her work-curve was a consistently high-point curve, with, of course, minor fluctuations appearing rather frequently.

We watched both of these girls at work. The high-point worker apparently did not work at all. She was having a fine time at her

job. When the other workers passed by, she talked with them, during most of the day she was heard singing or whistling, and whenever anyone talked with her, her conversation was cheerful.

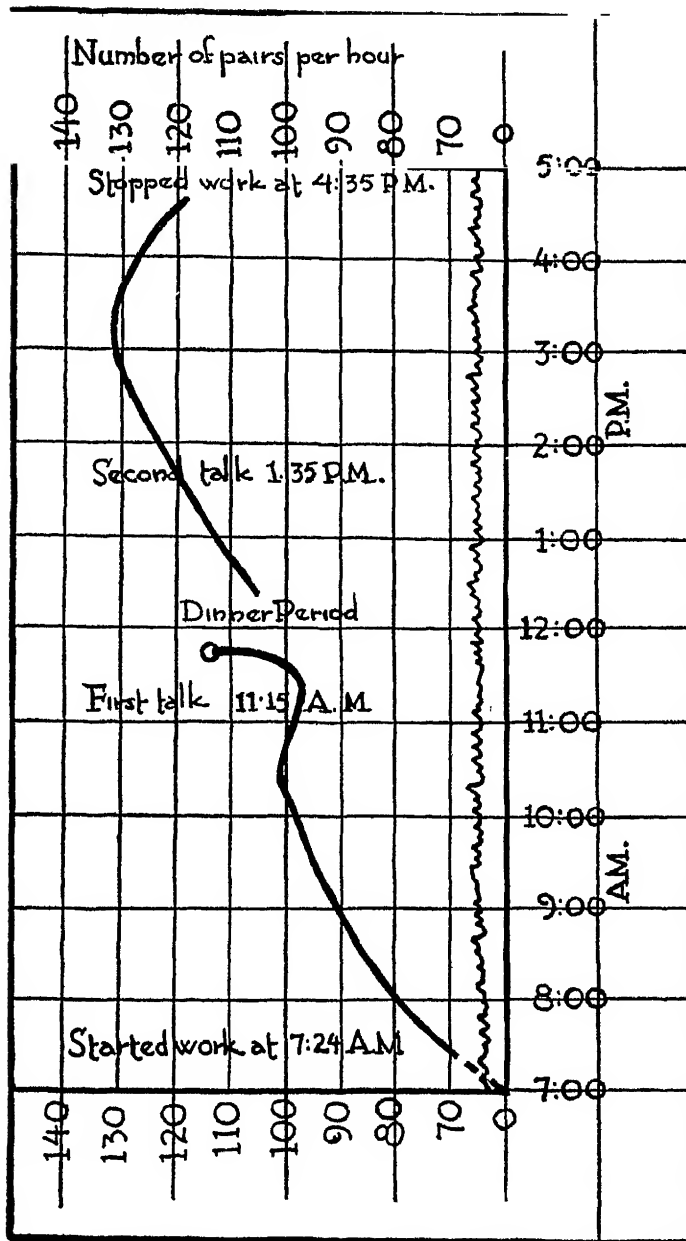
But this other girl, who was now the inferior worker, we observed to be working very hard, straining every effort to do her day's work. Actually, however, she was earning less money, producing less goods, than the other girl.

We examined the girl physically and found nothing especially wrong with her, except that she was somewhat undernourished and underweight. We discovered that she alone in her family was then employed. Her father had previously worked in that factory, but had been laid off and, when work was resumed, had not been rehired, because of high blood-pressure. She also had a younger brother who could not find a job. Thus it was very necessary for her to work. . . .

We made a number of interesting experiments in this particular case that showed that psychological or emotional factors do affect work. We arranged that one morning a time-study man should time the operations. The girl did not know it was to be done. At 11 15 I came into the room where she was working, the production had fallen off. It had begun to fall off shortly before the noon hour, which is usual. I told her that I would guarantee her base-rate and that she did not have to worry about wages. She would get her usual wages despite what the time-study man was doing. The production immediately went up. That same afternoon we continued the time-study. At about 1 35 p.m. I came to her again and told her that I had just secured a job for her young brother in the factory where she was working, and up went her production to a level much higher than had ever been reached in the morning.

Other experiments verify this result. Mayo's work is one instance. Remove the emotional blocks, and the resistances to efficiency are at least diminished, if not oftentimes eliminated. While I do not believe that by telling workers nice things we could always secure high rates of production, I do believe that production is strongly affected by emotional conditions.<sup>1</sup>

problems in motivating the employee



INDIVIDUAL WORKER'S PRODUCTION CURVE for one day, illustrating the "emotional release" theory—After Henry B Elkind, *Preventive Management*, p 113 B C Forbes Publishing Co., New York, 1931.

## *problems in motivating the employee*

The Western Electric Company has conducted some of the most significant researches in industrial psychology. Important results and interpretations of these researches have been reported by Elton Mayo,<sup>2</sup> by F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson,<sup>3</sup> and by T. North Whitehead.<sup>4</sup> These books are too voluminous to be summarized here. However, Whitehead has given helpful reports on the importance of social relationships in an industrial group studied in the Western Electric Company researches, and one report is summarized here for the student of industrial efficiency.

### ***Social relationships in a factory: a study of an industrial group<sup>5</sup>***

In 1927, the Western Electric Company began a series of interrelated researches "having as their object the better understanding of the human factors in industry, with especial reference to employee satisfactions, as related to economic efficiency. These researches were broadly sociological in character, and were undertaken with the full consent and cooperation of the employees themselves." One particular experiment has been described by Whitehead and is here summarized as follows:

In a special test room designed for the experiment, five girls assembled telephone relays at a work bench. Trays containing parts for assembly were opposite them. A sixth girl procured necessary parts for the assemblers and performed other routine duties. A male supervisor and one or two assistants sat facing the assemblers. The supervisor in charge obtained and kept numerous records relating to quality of output, reasons for temporary stops, length of time spent in

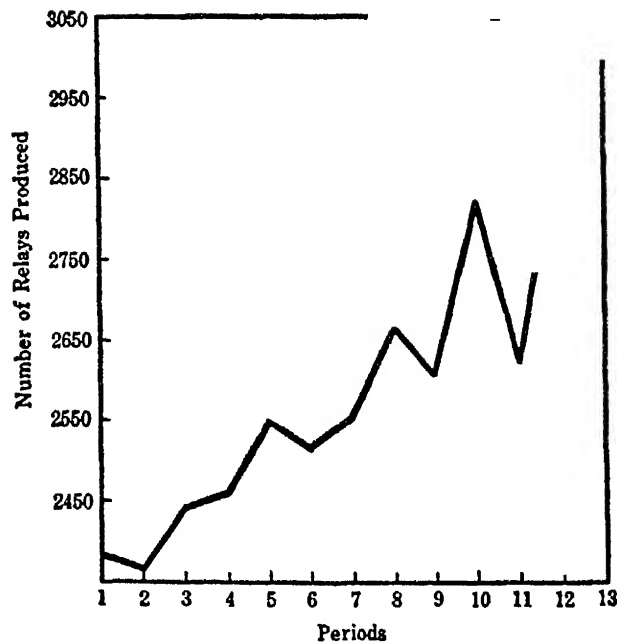
bed by each girl every night, periodical medical reports of their physical condition, and other factors. Room temperatures and relative humidities were taken hourly. The supervisor and his assistants made extensive daily notes of conversation and of the relations developing between the workers. The workers were also occasionally interviewed in a separate room by an experienced interviewer. Furthermore, an automatic device recorded, to a fraction of a second, the instant at which each girl completed each assembled relay. Hence, a minute-to-minute record of output with supplementary information was available for each girl over a five-year period.

When the production of each worker was charted in graphic form, it was found that wave-like irregularities were exhibited by each graph. Some of the waves lasted for months, others only a week or two. The output figures also showed that similar irregularities occurred with durations of as little as a minute or two.

At first it was supposed that these variations in working speed might be related to the experimental changes deliberately introduced, or possibly to other changes in physical circumstance such as temperature or the worker's physical state. However, careful analysis of the data showed that irregularity in output failed to correlate with any known changes of physical circumstance.

When this negative conclusion was reached, the researchers next considered changes in the girls' social relationships. Study along these lines produced positive results. It was found that speed of work varied markedly with changes in the sentiments entertained by the workers toward each other, toward their su-

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AVRAGE WEEKLY OUTPUT of five workers assembling telephone relays, who received much individual consideration under a variety of work conditions. The following summary describes the various "periods" of work

Period	Duration in Weeks	Description
1	2	In regular department
2	5	Introduction to test room
3	8	Special "gang" rate
4	5	2-5 minute rest periods
5	4	2-10 minute rest periods
6	4	6-5 minute rest periods
7	11	15 minutes morning rest with lunch
8	7	Same as 7, but with 4 30 stop
9	4	Same as 7, but with 4 00 stop
10	12	Same as 7
11	9	Same as 7, but 5-day week
12	12	Same as 3 (no lunch or rests)
13	36	Same as 7, but operators furnish own lunch

In this study extending for more than two years, a group of workers were placed with usual equipment in a separate room, shown friendly individual consideration, and repeatedly interviewed regarding their opinions of various incentive conditions that were being investigated. The noteworthy thing is that *regardless* of the incentive or the work conditions introduced, *output continued to increase!* As an outgrowth of this study, the company has since instituted a plan of widespread interviewing of individual workers—Data from Elton Mayo, "Supervision and Morale," *Human Factor*, Vol 5 (1931), pp 248-260. Chart and comment on Mayo's data taken from Sidney L. Pressey, J. Elliott Janney, and Raymond C. Kuhlen, *Life: A Psychological Survey*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939, pp. 542-3.



pervisors, and toward the group. A social history of the test room from 1927 to 1932 offered an explanation of the major fluctuations found in the graphs.

Certain graphs showed an average increase in speed of about 30 per cent. The curves were not learning curves, because all the workers had had several years experience in the work before they came into the test room. The plateaus and spurts in output were decidedly suggestive, and analysis showed that

. . . It was the organization of human relations, rather than the organization of techniques, which accompanied spurts in these cases. This illustrates the futility of attending exclusively to the economic motivation of workers, or to their physical conditions of work. These things are of high importance, but no group of workers can be expected to remain satisfied, or co-operative, unless their social organization and sentiments are also protected at the working level.

As the experiment progressed, the girls developed common interests and loyalties. The girls took their discipline out of the hands of the supervisor and supervised themselves. For example, when a girl wished to have a half day's leave she had to obtain permission from the supervisor. However, the girls themselves developed a custom whereby no girl could ask for such leave unless the group approved the request.

In general, the output of individual workers was directly related to their sentiments toward each other. The feelings of *approval*, *antagonism*, and *indifference* toward each other influenced their individual variations in output.<sup>8</sup> One of Whitehead's final generalizations was the following:

Perhaps the main conclusion to be chosen from this type of analysis is the vital importance of human relationship as a factor in

the motivation of an industrial group, and in its ultimate stability. The logical motive in economic activity is financial, and endless ingenuity has been expended in devising schemes of payment, designed to secure a maximum of employee satisfaction and efficiency. But, in the last analysis, buying power is largely a means for satisfying social sentiments, and money incentives will never secure a full measure of activity and contentment until firms are organized with greater regard for the social stability of their own working groups, *at the working level*.<sup>7</sup>

### *Motion study*

The subtle factors in efficiency<sup>8</sup>—attitudes, feelings, adjustments, team spirit, and others—are potent influences and of special interest to the industrial psychologist. However, the psychotechnologist also realizes that a worker may be happy, admire his supervisor, like his work, and yet may perform his tasks inefficiently. We all know that workers left to their own devices seldom hit upon easy and economical methods of performing their work. The unguided worker is apt to make many unnecessary motions, waste time, and develop needless fatigue from his efforts. True time and motion study is not a mere speeding up of the worker but a systematic approach to *the one best method of work*. Motion study has been defined as "a common-sense method for analyzing operations performed by the left and right hands and for determining 'the one best way' of doing work, through elimination of all unnecessary motions and by rearranging all necessary motions into the most economical sequence."<sup>9</sup>

Motion study is not a newly discovered system of magic that will automatically reduce hand-operating costs 50 per cent. It is a modern method of practical analysis which has assisted the good judg-

## *problems in motivating the employee*

ment of thousands of executives in their search for better ways to produce standard-quality products with the least possible expenditure of time and energy for the worker. It has repeatedly produced savings from 10 to 70 per cent of production costs. Motion study has been extensively used in machine shops, foundries, and mechanical assembly work, and in a wide range of other industries.

The literature on modern scientific management began at the turn of the past century. The classic reference is Frederick Winslow Taylor's investigation of handling pig iron for the Bethlehem Steel Company. As an outgrowth of the Spanish American War, the company was confronted with the necessity of speeding up the loading of pig iron onto freight cars. Taylor was hired to make a study of the process of handling pig iron.

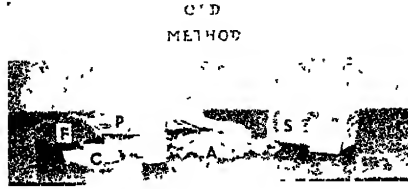
His analysis of the process, based upon his principles of scientific management,<sup>10</sup> suggested that a first-class worker should be able to carry 48 long tons a day. The men on the job were carrying only 12½ tons. Taylor experimented with several workers and, at the start, offered one man an appreciable increase in pay if he would agree to follow directions in carrying the pig iron and resting. As a result of experiments with this man, Taylor was able to raise his average daily output to 47½ tons. Ultimately, Taylor was able to train an entire group of workers to function according to a planned work-and-rest program which enabled them to maintain their output at Taylor's original estimate.

Taylor's major contributions to scientific management related to "time study" and the investigation of better

tools to perform work. Later, Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth originated what they called "Motion Study." Its purpose was to eliminate waste and to balance the development of the use of power, machines, and better methods with the development of the human element. This work is a combination of industrial psychology and industrial engineering. This is illustrated by its three divisions. *Fatigue study* is an endeavor to eliminate unnecessary fatigue and to provide for recovery from necessary fatigue. It includes investigations of the usefulness of rest periods, work and rest chairs, and a survey designed to determine sources of fatigue. *Motion study* has to do with utilizing the time and energy of the human being to produce most efficient, profitable, and satisfying work. It employs process charts for visualizing work problems, the micromotion method for making films recording work and analyzing them into the seventeen component elements of a work cycle which are then recorded on the simultaneous motion cycle chart from which standards are derived. *Skill study* considers the derivation, transfer, and increase of skill, which is defined as knowledge plus dexterity plus adaptability to meet changing situations. It utilizes the stereochronocyclegraph method to record skill and the motion model as a teaching device to facilitate its development and transfer. Through the work in these three areas the Gilbreths and those who are carrying on this work are endeavoring to teach people to be motion-minded and to improve their own techniques of work and of leisure.

One of the outstanding Gilbreth studies dealt with bricklaying, one of the oldest of all skilled trades. By chang-

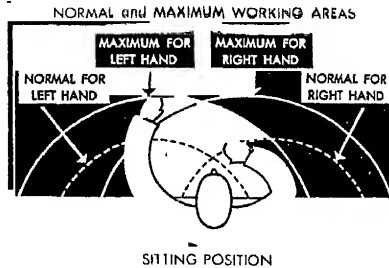
## problems in motivating the employee



A Table set-up of product and supplies under the old method of working. Letters identify the following S—box sleeves, P—partition, A—ampules, F—files, C—circulars

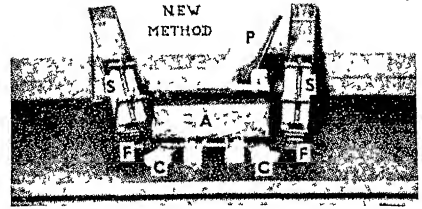


B How the operator performed the packaging operations under the old method. Note the random distribution of materials and the absence of fixtures which would hold these materials in the most convenient position for use

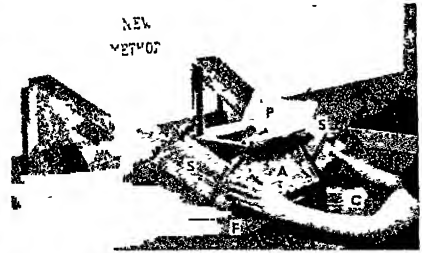


C The chart shows normal and maximum working areas for operators working at assembly tables when properly seated. Supplies should all be available within the maximum area and performance of handling operations should, if possible, occur within the normal work area

DIAGRAMS A-E illustrate principles of motion study applied to hand packaging. Note the savings in time and motions as shown by the comparative summary table for old and new methods—From Clifton H. Cox, "Motion Study Applied to Hand Packaging," *Modern Packaging*, July 1939.



D Contrast the new location of materials with that of A. Since the new method calls for assembly of two packages at once, some supplies are stacked in duplicate fixtures, gravity feeds being used for box sleeves



E Position of the operator's hands and arms in relation to the new material locations is clearly shown. Note how operator selects two box sleeves at the same time

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY	OLD		NEW	
	LH	RH	LH	RH
Total number of transportations	13	2	15	13
Total number of operations	17	9	17	17
Total cycle time	50 min		56 mins	
Number of pieces per cycle	1		2	
Cycle time per box	50 mins		28 mins	
SAVED 22 mins per box or 44% of old method time				

F. The comparative summary shows a saving of 44 per cent of old method time since the adoption of the new method. Note that while cycle time has increased fractionally, each new method cycle produces two finished packages

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BETTER WORKPLACE for finishing tines of forks replaces set-up shown in top photograph. Old method forced worker into tiring positions. New method provides low, adjustable chairs, allows use of both hands on productive work. Benefits of change include 20 per cent output boost, easier training, better quality—From "False Moves That Cost You Money," *Modern Industry*, November 15, 1945. Photographs courtesy of Oneida, Ltd.

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ing the placing and handling of the materials, Frank Gilbreth brought the average number of bricks laid per hour from the traditional standard of 120 to 350 per man and reduced the number of movements in laying one brick from 18 to 4

Gilbreth early recognized the importance of breaking down a total act into its components and the value of a shorthand method of designating the motions. As a result of his analysis of work movements, he analyzed all acts into 17 different component movements and devised an arbitrary shorthand symbol for each. These elements of movement were termed *therbligs*<sup>11</sup> (Gilbreth transposed) These symbols are still used by some investigators in recording their observations of a worker as he makes his movements in performing a task. Slow-motion picture cameras, split-second timers, and stereoscopic devices also are used to chart movements and discover "the one best way of work."

An understandable example of motion-study technique as applied to hand packaging of drug products is given on page 386 *A* and *B*, showing the "old method," are chiefly significant in showing that the right hand was idle during a large part of the packaging process. *C*, *D* and *E*, the "new method," indicate how a re-planning of the worker's movements resulted in a busy right hand. The actual savings brought about from this application of motion study to the hand packaging example was a production increase from 120 boxes an hour to 215 boxes an hour, or a unit package cost decrease of 44 per cent.<sup>12</sup>

The use of time and motion study has resulted in some spectacular increases in output as well as marked decreases in

fatigue of the workers. Improvements made in these studies have been along the lines of giving both hands useful work to do, pre-positioning tools and materials, arranging foot-pedals to relieve the hands, designing containers for materials whereby materials drop into the worker's hands, training the worker in making rhythmic movements of hands, and arranging for a suitable body position of the worker. All of these aids to the worker tend to reduce his fatigue as well as increase his production

Production often can be increased by eliminating obviously unnecessary operations of workers. At one plant, for example, a worker asked why green tags attached to gas cylinders had to be filled out with figures giving gross weight, tare weight, and net weight. On investigation, it was found that neither the manufacturer nor the customer had any need for the information. All that was necessary was for the worker to mark the tag *Full*.

Sometimes both executives and employees resist the elimination of wasted effort—management because of established habits and employees because of fear of losing jobs. Methods engineers, therefore, are putting more emphasis on the selling of methods improvement. Both managers and workers must be sold on the idea that higher productivity tends to bring about more profits and more jobs.

Time and motion techniques have become a permanent part of our modern industrial economy. Obviously, the psychological factors must be considered in the use of such techniques with workers. Failure to obtain the cooperation of the workers when time and motion studies are made may bring about breakdowns

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of morale with resultant decreases in production. A classic example is that of the efficiency expert who proved to a group of laborers that they could shovel more sand when they shoveled *his* way. They admitted that he was right, but when the expert left the workers, each worker cut an inch off his shovel blade just because he disliked the expert personally! The expert had failed to make his methods an accepted part of the group's culture.

Alex Bavelas has stressed the importance of the unique culture of each industrial plant when changes are made in the workers' established habits. A plant's culture consists of ways of working, cooperating, loafing, and so on, and even though not formalized it regulates and stabilizes the organization. New employees have to learn it and adjust to it even though at first it may seem amusing or trivial. After they have been integrated into it, they may become unaware of the over-all cultural pattern, even though the pattern regulates thought and action during the working hours.

Changes in work must be fitted into this cultural framework. Small changes can be made without disturbing the framework, but larger ones (fundamental or widespread) may cause some ado, even to the point that the framework is threatened or destroyed.

To avoid the latter eventuality, two courses are possible. "A long period of gradual accommodation to the idea of the change before the change itself is introduced," or "Group decision"<sup>13</sup> Both of these methods have one thing in common. They aim to "establish the new frame of reference before the change occurs."

Typical of the "accommodation" approach is the way a new type of machine

might be introduced. First, the idea of a new machine and the need for it might be broached and explained so that employees appreciate its values for them. Next, the machine might be placed in the work area, but not installed. This would give employees an opportunity to "get used to the idea" of having the machine around without feeling that their present social framework was threatened. While on view prior to installation, the machine and problems relating to its use could be discussed. The machine then might be installed for trial operation.

The "group decision" approach is based on the psychological concept of participated decision. To be effective it must be actively shared by the group concerned. Through their decision, group members can feel that they are participating in a positive action which should eliminate their feelings of being threatened and enhance their security during the period of adjustment. Thus a drop in production can be prevented and morale can be strengthened.

### *Wage incentives*

Wage incentives differ from bonuses and profit sharing plans in that they are plans providing payments for exceeding "normal" work requirements, established by time study. This "normal" work requirement on any job is called the "standard." For example, an increased earning of 25 per cent means that the worker has made 25 per cent more units in a given time than would be expected of him if he worked at a "normal" pace. Or, stated differently, he has made a given number of units in 80 per cent of the allotted time.

A major difference between wage in-

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centives and a piece rate system is that the worker's base rate is guaranteed. Even though he earns no increase until he exceeds the standard, he receives the base pay, regardless of his output.

TABLE 46<sup>+</sup>

SALARIED EMPLOYEES PAID INCENTIVES—  
PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Salaried Employees COMPANIES	
	Num- ber	Per Cent
None paid	358	76.8
Supervisors, foremen	39	8.4
Executives	6	1.3
Officers	2	0.4
Department heads	3	0.6
Key personnel	2	0.4
All employees	5	1.1
A few companies pay incentives to certain salaried office em- ployees, such as key punch op- erators		
Total replies	466	

<sup>+</sup> From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)" *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

Wage incentives cost more to install and maintain than do bonuses or profit sharing plans, but they also can bring greater benefits in higher production, better use of machines, and fewer grievances.

Some labor unions prefer an incentive system of payment rather than piece work payment because of the bargaining advantage it gives the employee. When the employee increases his productivity, he does not have to bargain with the employer in order to get a wage increase. The increase comes to him automatically. Another reason why some unions like an incentive system is that it enables the employee to obtain higher earnings with-

out appreciably raising labor costs. Most organized unions recognize that the jobs of their members depend on the ability of organized plants to meet competition. Wage incentives enhance this ability and at the same time give workers an opportunity to make more money. A further psychological incentive for the worker is that he acquires a feeling that in a way he is his own boss. As a result, labor relations are likely to be better, and foremen under such a system do not have to supervise the employee so closely.

Wage incentives have some psychological hazards. Some managements use incentive plans as a means of bringing about a speed-up, that is, productivity may be increased 100 per cent while the wages of the worker are increased only 25 per cent. Also, if concern over unemployment becomes an important factor in the workman's thinking, he is likely to withhold extra effort because he feels that his greater productivity may be depriving someone else of a job.

Poorly conceived and carelessly administered incentive plans may disrupt labor relations and restrict production. However, when wisely organized and systematically operated, the plans tend to raise production, to lower costs, and to create more harmonious employee-employer relations. In general, increased earnings of 120 to 130 (20 per cent to 30 per cent above the base rate) are usually considered the objective of an incentive plan.

This amount should represent what a worker of average skill can earn if he performs his job well and without too much effort. There are, of course, always a few cases where workers make two or three times the base increases. If such superiority arises from abilities which the

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average worker cannot duplicate, most managements do not attempt to bring the earnings back into line. The superior worker makes a special contribution and is entitled to whatever he can earn. Of course, when rate cutting has been done because of unusually high earnings of individual employees, the incentive system is naturally opposed.

Workers often find short-cuts on the job. These short-cuts are really changes in the methods of work rather than merely the effects of increased effort or skill. If management simply appropriates these short-cuts and changes the methods accordingly, the workers will stop having productive ideas.

Some managements try to iron out the difficulty by paying the worker for each short-cut, as an idea or suggestion, apart from the incentive system. Management then changes the standard. When this is done, the worker is given a liberal reward, usually at least 50 per cent of the labor saving over an extended period. Some contracts with unions arrange for such sums of compensation. Most managements, however, believe that once a standard has been set, it should not be changed. If a mistake has been made, management intends to abide by the original arrangement with the employee. Changes in standards are made only when substantial revisions have been made in work needs, material, or equipment.

Some guiding principles for the successful operation of an incentive system are the following:

1. Workers and management must be in complete agreement on the desirability of developing a wage incentive plan, and the operating terms of the system must be developed by the employees as

well as by management. Where a union exists, the union must want the plan and be a partner in working out the method of operation. If no union exists, management somehow must ascertain the wishes of the workers and make sure that they want and like the plan before it is installed.

2. The plan must be simple enough to be understood by the employees. Each employee should be able to determine his own wages at the end of each day of work. If conditions within the plant require that the incentive plan involve abstruse mathematical and engineering formulas, the union representatives should be trained to understand the system so that they in turn can explain it satisfactorily to the employees, or at least convince the employees that the plan is adequate and fair.

3. The plan should include a guaranteed base hourly minimum wage, which should be high enough to give workers the assurance that they always will earn approximately as much as similar jobs of the area pay.

4. The incentive rates that are set should provide earnings in the same proportion above basic rates as the worker's production is above standard. That is, each one per cent increase in production should increase the worker's earnings one per cent. The increased production is presumed to be due to the worker's extra effort, and he naturally believes that he should get a proportionate increase in wages.

5. The wage incentive plan, whatever its nature, must be geared to a sympathetic understanding of how the men in the plant react toward the management and the plan. The most important factor in the success of any incentive sys-



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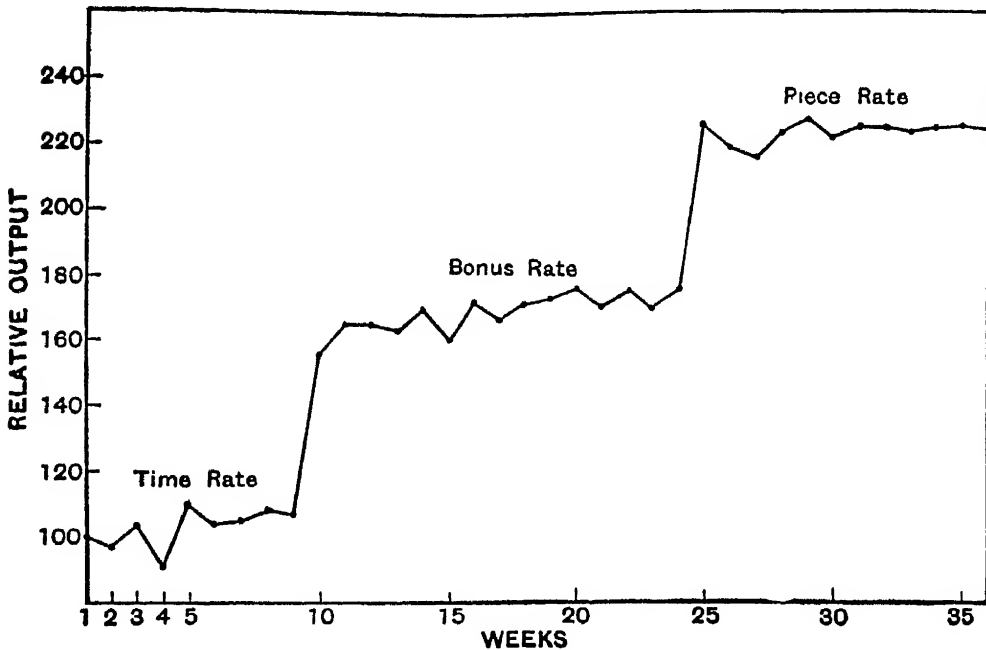
tem is the cooperation of every member of the organization.

Wage incentive plans have been used in both large and small companies, such as Lincoln Electric, Cleveland, Ohio, The Dumore Company, Racine, Wisconsin, and the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Wage incentive plans also bring head-

up every production step, leaving for the following shift clean-up work that cut its tonnage. Management had to correct the situation by placing all shifts on an equal footing and applying the incentive to the total tonnage of all shifts.

Managements cannot hope to use a wage incentive system as a substitute for efficient management practices—cannot,



EFFECT OF different systems of payment on production—From S Wyatt, assisted by L Frost and F G L Stock, *Incentives in Repetitive Work, A Practical Experiment in a Factory*, Industrial Health Research Board (Great Britain), 1934, Report No 69 Reprinted by special permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office

aches for management and employees. For example, in one steel mill, it was found that one shift was breaking all production records and the pay envelopes of workers on this shift were bulging. The workers on the second shift, however, were disgruntled because their production was below standard. The reason was that the employees on the crack shift skipped the housekeeping and speeded

for example, use it to compensate for obsolete equipment or poorly developed methods of work.

### *The investigations by the Industrial Health Research Board, Great Britain*

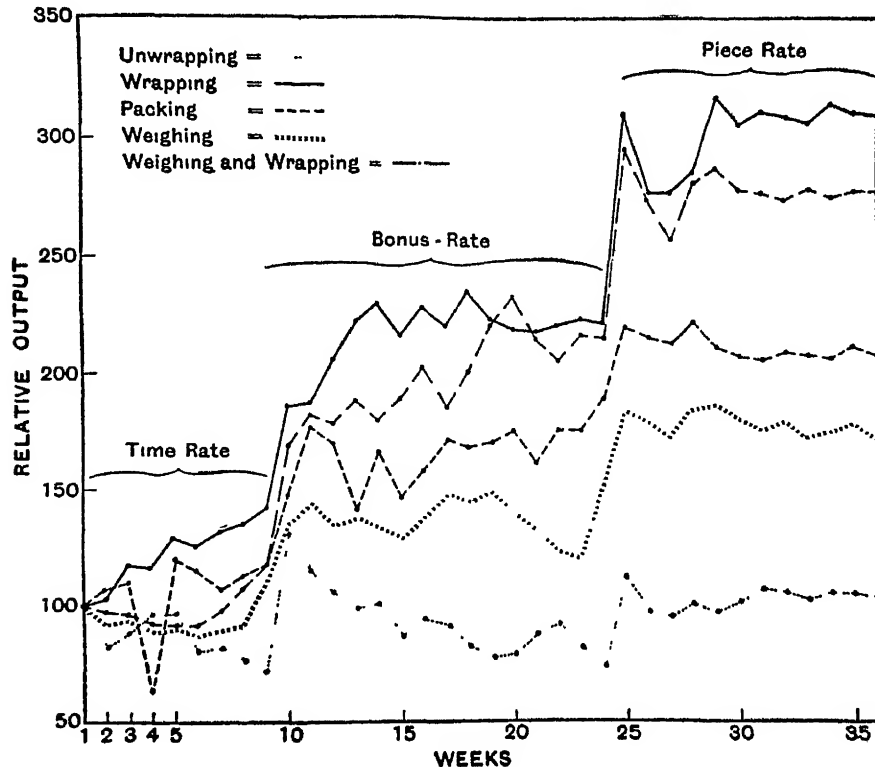
Of all the numerous experiments conducted on the relations between conditions of work, including forms of pay incentives, and production, some of the

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best ones have been those of the Industrial Health Research Board, Great Britain. Some of these experiments are reported here because of their fundamental significance.

1. In one experiment by the Industrial

The piece-rate method of wage payment was found to be by far the most effective incentive to high productivity in a candy-making plant. During the investigation of incentives in monotonous work, three methods of payment were



RELATIVE OUTPUT for each process in successive weeks Effects of incentives on work that is considered useful, wrapping, and on work considered destructive, unwrapping The incentive of extra pay was ineffective in the case of the work disliked by the employees—From S Wyatt, assisted by L. Frost and F. G. L. Stock, *Incentives in Repetitive Work, A Practical Experiment in a Factory*, Industrial Health Research Board (Great Britain), 1934, Report No 69 Reprinted by special permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office

Health Research Board, Great Britain, conducted for the purpose of studying the nature and causes of workers' reactions to various types and conditions of work, the workers were studied with regard to effects of different methods of payment.

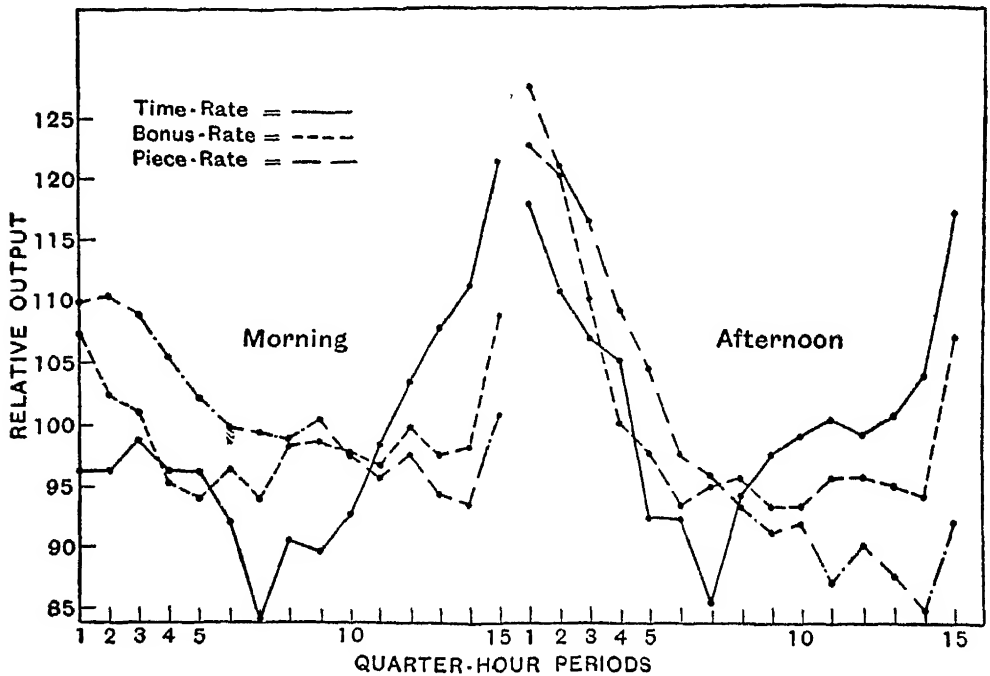
studied over a 36-week period: time rate, bonus rate, and piece rate. The amount of improvement as shown in production output was 12 per cent under the time-rate system, 46 per cent under the bonus-rate system, and 30 per cent under the piece-rate system. The investi-

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gators of this study<sup>14</sup> concluded that only under the piece-rate system were the workers stimulated to produce at top speed. See figure on page 392.

2. Although the system of payment has a direct effect on productivity in simple manual work, the type of task being done

altered noticeably even by different wage-payment systems. See lowermost line of figure on page 393.<sup>15</sup> In general, employees caused the most trouble and wasted the most time on processes that they disliked. Conversely, they showed the greatest increase in productivity



EFFECT OF different methods of payment on output during the work day—From S Wyatt, assisted by L Frost and F G L Stock, *Incentives in Repetitive Work, A Practical Experiment in a Factory*, Industrial Health Research Board (Great Britain), 1934, Report No 69 Reprinted by special permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office

was found to have great bearing on increased productivity because it is closely related to the employees' attitudes toward the task assigned. For example, the greatest contrast in productivity in a certain factory was found to exist between those who wrapped and those who unwrapped pieces of toffee. Employees thought of unwrapping as destructive and aimless. Their mental set created a disinclination to work which was not

when working on those jobs they liked most.

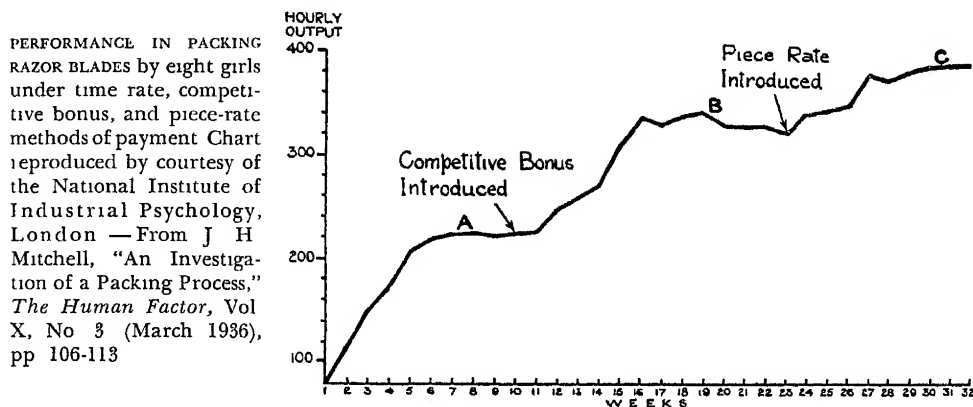
3. In the same study, it was found that a typical daily work curve under the three wage-payment systems showed a relatively low early-morning output under the time-rate system. As can be seen from the figure on this page,<sup>16</sup> production dropped just before mid-morning in this investigation. Employees' reactions gave an explanation. They were bored.

## problems in motivating the employee

Prospects of lunchtime motivated them to increase production until the lunch hour. Examination of bonus-rate and piece-rate morning work curves also shows a general decline except for brief pre-lunch spurts, but progressive fatigue seemed to investigators to be the explanation.

Comparable results can be observed in the afternoon curves. Thus it would appear that even though the time-rate method of payment is more conducive to boredom than the other two methods of wage payment, the work curve of those

of working, a competitive bonus was introduced. Under this system, the girl with the highest production for the week was paid the biggest bonus, the next highest received the next biggest, and so on, down to the eighth girl, the lowest producer, who received only the basic wage. With the adoption of this system, production jumped each week for five weeks, after which the curve flattened again. (See *B*.) Seven weeks after improvement stimulated by the competitive bonus system had ceased, straight piece-rate wages were introduced. Still greater



who are more bored than fatigued is similar to the curve for those who are more fatigued than bored.

In another series of experiments in a British factory, girls wrapping razor blades were studied with regard to the effect of time-rate, competitive bonuses, and piece-rate methods of wage payment.

The time-rate method, a fixed wage for a stipulated work week, was used from the time the factory started until there had been no improvement in speed of working for several weeks. This created a plateau on the work curve. (See *A*, figure on this page.) To improve speed

improvement was obvious. It continued for 10 weeks before Plateau *C* was reached.<sup>17</sup>

The fact that output for the group increased under the competitive bonus system and again under piece rates does not mean that each employee's production increased under each system. Individual differences must be kept in mind. Some workers do not like piece work at all, and some are temperamentally so unsuited to it that their production suffers. This suggests that the personnel man should try to allocate workers to jobs paid by time or to jobs paid by piece.

## *problems in motivating the employee*

according to how they react to these systems of payment.

### ***Developing teamwork among employees***

Every leader of men who has supervised many groups of employees has recognized that some groups have excellent team spirit, others very little. When he has had good teamwork, he has had high productivity and good morale. Supervision was a pleasure.

Only a few scientific studies have been made of the psychological factors that underlie and influence teamwork. The outstanding investigation in this field was made by Mayo and Lombard in the aircraft industry of Southern California in relation to labor turnover. They found that teams are of three classes:

1. The "natural" group, arising spontaneously in a small group of workers, limited apparently to 6 or 7, the work of each individual clearly related to the work of the others

2. The "family" group, larger in size, based on the presence of a core of relatively long service workers whose behavior is respected by, and sets the example for, the behavior of newer workers. Formation of this group is limited to situations where the whole group can stay together long enough, for a minimum of possibly 6 months to a year, for the example of the older group to be effectively communicated to the newer workers

3. The "organized" group, where a supervisor with skill and understanding consciously conducts his administration to secure the group integrity and spontaneous cooperation of his workers<sup>18</sup>

In Lombard's study, one department, Department IV, had an exceptionally good record regarding attendance and productivity. The output per man-hour was 100-105 per cent efficiency in a plant where the average was about 80 per cent. The high level of teamwork in Department IV was due mainly to a "leadman,"

Z, a college man who did not rank as a supervisor. This man thought of himself as having three chief activities: first, helping the individual worker in such ways as listening to him, introducing him to his companions, getting him congenial work associates, and dealing with his personal problems; second, adjusting technical difficulties; and third, handling for members of the group their contacts with inspectors, time-study men, the department foreman, and others outside the work center. The leadman also arranged trips for the worker to other parts of the plant so that he could see in place on finished assemblies the parts he produced.

Supervisory practices that have been found effective in developing teamwork in other plants are: insisting that foremen shall listen patiently to individual workers, having employees participate in deciding which day in seven each individual may have as his day "off", making sure that each employee is content with his work; not transferring or lending employees to other departments, letting employees control their own rest-pause system, consulting and discussing the work with the employees, and giving them a sense of mutual responsibility and teamwork, as shown in the Hawthorne Plant, Western Electric Company "test room" experiment.<sup>19</sup>

This experiment began with a high number of attendance irregularities on the part of the employees. When, however, the new worker at No. 2 bench of the test room assumed informal leadership of the group and identified the team wholeheartedly with the company experiment, attendance irregularities stopped and casual absences sank to a fraction of their former number and to

## *problems in motivating the employee*

a fraction of the rate in the department outside the test room "A change in morale had also been observed. No longer were the girls isolated individuals, working together only in the sense of an actual physical proximity. They had become participating members of a working group with all the psychological and social implications peculiar to such a group." The effect of the mutual responsibility thus created was remarkable: the layout girl, for instance, had been absent, before the teamwork began, 85 times in 32 months, after it began, she was not ever absent during 16 months.

Lombard's findings, as well as those of many industrial leaders, have shown that teamwork can be developed by management. Teams can be directed so that employees take over responsibilities, not only for discipline but also for production and attendance. Once the team takes over such functions successfully, their performance immediately becomes an important source of satisfaction to the workers.

### ***Getting employees to want to work***

In addition to the Western Electric Company study, other studies have revealed the influence of interpersonal relationships in employee productivity. The findings of social psychologists indicate that we should study the individual employee not only as an isolated unit but also as he interacts with those about him. An industrial organization is a social unit, governed by laws of social interaction. Good personnel management includes recognition of the social structures among the employees. This kind of recognition has been investigated at the Harwood Manufacturing Company, Marion, Virginia, under the direction of

Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, president. When he was a graduate student in psychology, Marrow came under the influence of Dr. Kurt Lewin, one of the pioneers in the study of social psychology in industry.

Production workers at the Marion plant are paid on a piece-work rate based upon modern time studies. The standard for every job is set at 60 units an hour, which may be 120 dozen buttonholes or 40 complicated fitting operations. The going wage rate is in line with area scales for the industry. Workers (mostly women) who produce over standard are paid a bonus. Under this condition, daily production records of every employee must be kept. These records provide quick, easily translatable data to support statistically the experiments conducted.

High turnover and absenteeism among learners bedeviled management when the research program started. While visiting the Harwood Plant in 1944, Kurt Lewin expressed the belief that much of the turnover might be caused by a feeling of failure on the part of the employees who left the organization. Lewin's hypothesis was supported when the turnover of the previous month was analyzed. Of the 116 operators whose production was above standard for the month, not one had left subsequently, but of the 211 whose production was below standard, 28 had quit during the month.

J. R. P. French, Alex Bavelas, and Lester Coch carried on a program of research as resident psychologists at Marion. From records of learners, particularly those who quit just before reaching the standard production rate, the researchers determined interesting correlations between turnover rate and the "learning curves."

## *problems in motivating the employee*

The data also revealed the interesting fact that turnover increased as the worker approached the standard of an experienced operator (60 units per hour), that is, there was greater turnover among those who were approaching standard production than there was among those who were considerably below standard. This pointed to the possibility that the high quit rate of "almost skilled" workers was caused by increasing frustration as they approached their goal.

The frustration-failure hypothesis was explored further. The employees who quit during 1944 were divided into seven groups, classified by amount of production at time of quitting. For each classification the per cent turnover per month during 1944, based on the total number of employees in that classification, was computed.

These data further substantiated the hypothesis. It was found that the rate of turnover increased as the learner approached the experienced level of 60 units per hour and decreased sharply once the success feeling of exceeding 60 units per hour was attained. The monthly turnover at 30 units per hour (about half the minimum skilled level) was 1 per cent, at 45 units per hour it rose to 5 per cent, and at 55 units per hour (almost equal to a skilled level) it rose to 8 per cent. On an annual basis, the turnover figures were equivalent to 12 per cent, 60 per cent, and 96 per cent, respectively, for the three indicated numbers of units per hour. Once the standard was achieved, the turnover rate dropped to 13 per cent.<sup>20</sup>

At first thought it may be difficult to understand why employees are more apt to quit their jobs as they near their skill goal. To the psychologists the answer was clear. As a goal is approached, the drive to reach it becomes greater, but it also becomes increasingly difficult to acquire additional skill to reach it. The result is a fear of failure, resulting from the clash of these forces, which is answered by the learner in escape (absenteeism or quitting), or by aggression (grievances through the union, complaints, and so forth).

Among the remedies was a simple one instead of shooting blindly for the goal of 60 units from the first day on the job, learners were given a series of lesser goals, each week a little higher than the week before, lifting the new worker step by step. Thus turnover was sharply reduced.

From the same data, Dr. Marrow's associates determined the time needed to bring a new worker up to standard production. Average for the plant was 34 weeks. An effort was then made to speed the process of bringing new workers up to standard. With the knowledge already gained that increased pressure would lead only to frustration and quitting, another solution was sought. Both foremen and trainers, at this point, had been selected chiefly on the basis of technical skill. They were efficient craftsmen. But were they equally efficient as teachers and leaders? A group of supervisors took a training course in leadership. Sessions included a great deal of "role playing" (explained in Chapter 20) and group discussions, but few information lectures. After this training in leadership, production records of employees working under supervisors in the experimental, trained group were compared to the records of those under the "control group" (those who had not been trained). The first had increased production 24 per cent, the untrained, 6 per cent.

The leadership-training instruction was then given to all trainers and supervisors. Again, the production records were checked. Learning time of the new employee had been cut to 15 weeks.

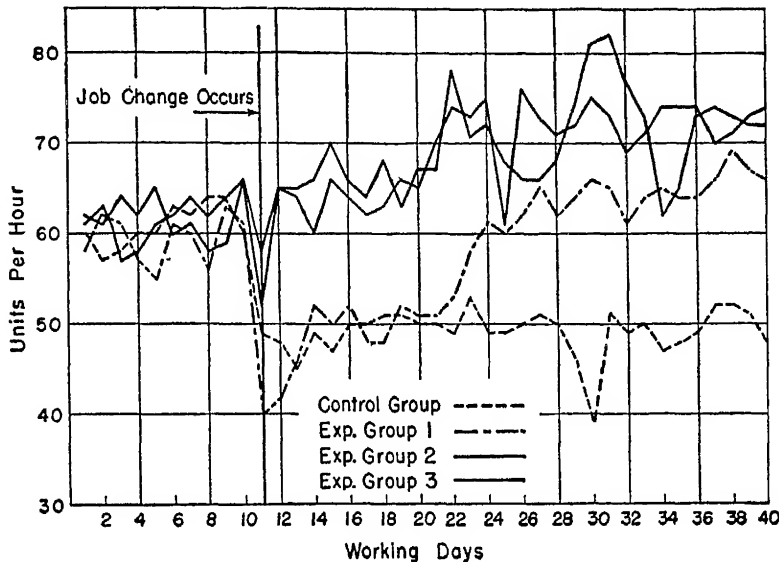
Another significant study, made by Coch and French in the Harwood factory, indicated the importance of member participation in the setting and ac-

## problems in motivating the employee

cepting of new work standards upon transfer to a new type of job. For the simplest type of job in the plant, the average learning time for beginners was 5 weeks. Yet when experienced operators were transferred to this same type of job, 38 per cent required an average of 8 weeks to reach standard production. The remaining 62 per cent either became substandard operators (regardless

The experiment consisted of selecting four groups of operators, one control and three experimental groups. The four groups became experimental transfers.

1 For the *control group*, the usual factory routine was followed. A group meeting was held in which the employees were told that a change was necessary because of competitive conditions and that a new piece rate had been set. The



### THE EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION ON PRODUCTION

By permission from *Human Relations*, Vol 1, No 4 (1948)

of their record before transfer) or quit during the relearning period. Furthermore, there was marked resistance to transfer, expressed in grievances about the standards, restriction of output, and aggressive reactions toward management. Analysis indicated that skill was a minor factor and that motivation was a major factor in determining the rate of recovery. A real-life action experiment was designed to study the problem.

new piece rate was explained by the time study man. Workers' questions were answered.

2 *Experimental Group 1* was represented in the planning of the change by selected group members. The planning included a dramatic explanation of the need for change, and group agreement was reached concerning savings that could be made by removing "frills" and "fancy" work from the garment. The



## *problems in motivating the employee*

plan for the new job and piece rate included participation of the employees in the development of the new methods, having the time study made on them, and having the trained workers help train their co-workers in the new methods.

3 *In experimental Groups 2 and 3*, the above plan was followed except that the groups were smaller and all workers in each group were the "special" operators who participated in the actual designing of the new job. They also were the workers whose performance of the new job was studied by the time study man.

The results of the experiment were fairly clear. The control group dropped in production immediately upon change, and by the end of the experiment showed no appreciable amount of recovery. Resistance developed almost immediately. There were marked instances of aggression against management, deliberate restriction of production, lack of cooperation with the supervisor. Nine per cent quit during the first 15 days after the change. Grievances were filed about the piece rate which, upon checking, was found to be even a little "loose."

The recoveries for Groups 2 and 3 were dramatic. Both groups recovered to their pre-change level of production the second day after change, and by the end of the experiment they had actually surpassed their pre-change level by about 14 per cent. They worked cooperatively with their supervisors, there was no indication of aggression, and there were no quits during the 15-day period.

Group 1 required more time to recover (possibly because of an unavoidable operational problem), but reached the pre-change level by the 14th day after change, and by the end of the experiment had exceeded its pre-change level. Here, too, no quits were recorded. One act of aggression was observed which was neither prolonged nor serious . . .

The success of the experiment seemed to be attributable largely to the fact that experi-

mental transfers were given the opportunity to participate in planning the change, in planning their own work future. Thus, where such external motivating forces as monetary rewards, management pressure, and other means had failed, group involvement and decision developed internalized motivation for the accomplishment of a goal mutually desirable to management and worker.<sup>21</sup>

### *Worker restriction of production*

One reason why many employees often restrict production is that they are not sure that the worker should produce as much as he can. Also, some are suspicious of management's motives in raising output. Union members are more inclined to favor "holding back" than are non-union workers. More foremen and clerical workers believe in full production, but all types of employees frown on loafing. Even the worker who believes in producing only the average amount does not think of himself as a loafer and resents loafing in others. Apparently, the typical American worker views the outright loafer as one who causes strikes, holds down wages, retards prosperity, and undermines morale.

When the spotlight turns toward labor-saving machinery, the picture is mixed. The worker believes that machines mean better wages, but he is far from convinced that machines make jobs. This does not mean that he opposes the idea; he just is not certain.

On one point all workers agree, and that is that somebody, probably management, must take care of the worker who is displaced by machinery. Many place the responsibility on management, a few place it on government.

These conclusions were reached from a nation-wide survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation, Princeton.

## *problems in motivating the employee*

N. J., which made use of the most modern opinion-measurement technique. Interviews were allotted in proportion to geographical concentration of industry, type of industry, size of plant, length of employee service, age group, and sex. Some of the questions and percentages of responses were the following.

TABLE 47

### WHAT THE FACTORY WORKER REALLY THINKS ABOUT PRODUCTIVITY<sup>22</sup>

- 1 *When a man takes a job in a factory, do you think he should turn out as much work as he can, or should he turn out as much, say, as the average man in his group?*

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
As much as he can	49%
Average amount	40
That depends	8
No opinion	3

Here are the answers broken down by type of employee

	<i>Union Manual Workers</i>	<i>Nonunion Manual Workers</i>	<i>Foremen</i>	<i>Clerical Workers</i>
As much as he can	43%	60%	75%	68%
Average amount	44	33	17	23
That depends	10	5	7	5
No opinion	3	2	1	4

- 2 *What do you think would happen if he turned out "more" than the average?*

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Management would raise production quotas	30%
It would be unpopular with other workers	23
Piece rates would be reduced	11
Worker would break down physically	9
Nothing Worker wouldn't make more money	7
Would cause unemployment	7
Other replies	14

- 3 *Here's another idea. There are probably some men in your plant who loaf a little bit. Now suppose nobody loafed and everybody turned out just as much work as he reasonably could—would this help or hurt the workers?*

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Manual Workers</i>	<i>Foremen</i>	<i>Clerical Workers</i>
It would help workers	61%	73%	67%
It would hurt workers	11	12	11
It would make no difference	11	6	8
That depends	7	5	6
No opinion	10	4	8

4. *What is your feeling about the use of labor-saving machines in factories? Do you think we all make better wages because of these machines or would we make better wages without them?*

<i>Answer</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Better wages with	69%
Better wages without	17
No opinion	14

- 5 *Some people say that in the long run labor-saving machines actually make more jobs for workers. Do you agree or disagree with this idea?*

<i>All Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Agree	50%
Disagree	35
No opinion	15

## problems in motivating the employee

TABLE 47 (Cont)

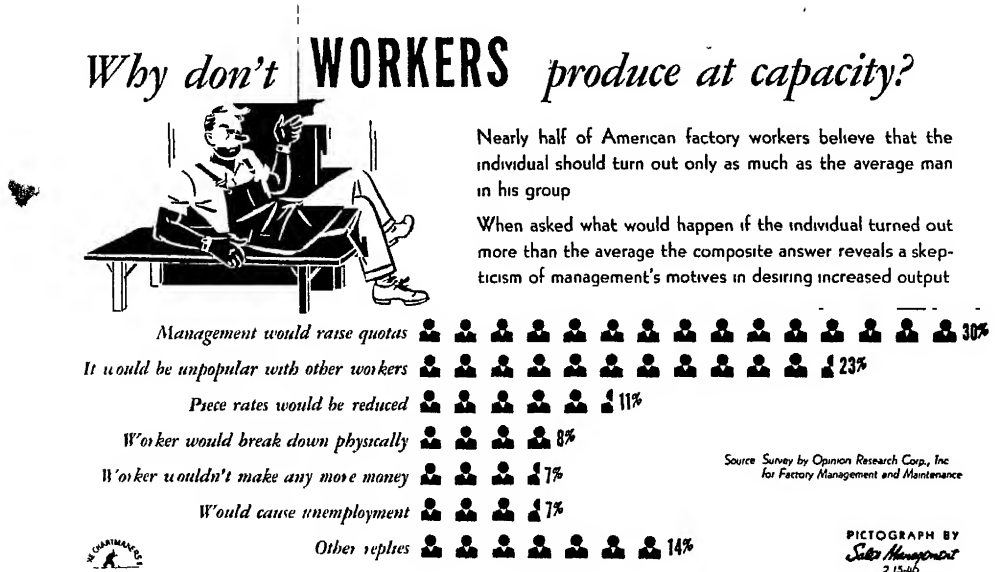
- 6 In some cases, when new machines are brought into a plant, certain workers are no longer needed. What do you think should be done about these workers, and who do you think should do it?

Answer	Percentage
Company should find jobs	58%
Government should find jobs or pay compensation	8
Should be given jobs, don't know how or by whom	6
Laid-off workers will have to find jobs	4
Union should take care of them, help them find jobs	3
Don't use labor-saving machines, not fair	2
Other answers, No opinion	19

The attitudes of representative workers toward productivity as indicated by an opinion-measurement survey such as the above are less significant than the standards of the group in which the individual worker is employed. The Western Electric Company experiment with the fifteen men who did wiring, soldering, and inspection (see page 474) indicated what every production executive knows, namely, output and performance of the individual worker are often controlled by what the group members believe to be fair. The effect of such social

influence on the worker is influenced by the figure on next page. In this case, the output of a girl increased greatly when group pressure was removed. As stated by Lippitt from the study by Coch and French at the Harwood Manufacturing Company.

We see the day-by-day production curve of a girl belonging to a work group with a group production level of 50 units per hour represented by the dotted line. On the 11th and 12th days her production began to rise noticeably above the group standard and when she on the 13th day, hit standard production of 60 (a psychologically very impor-



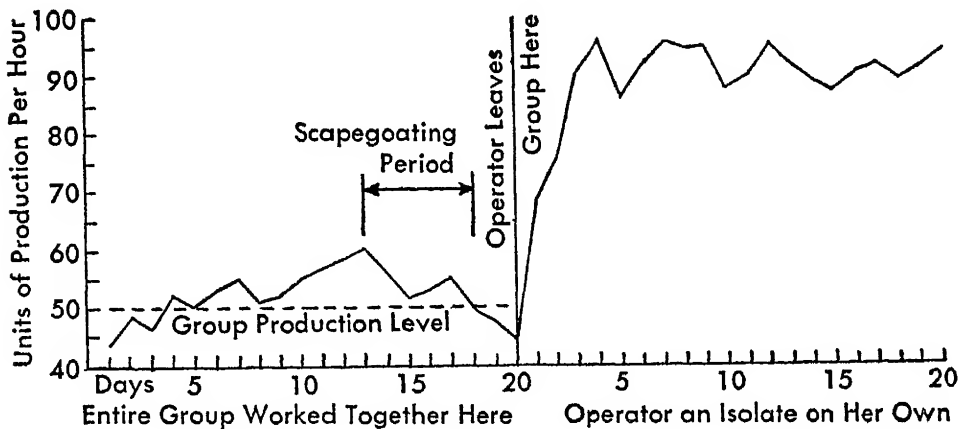
## *problems in motivating the employee*

tant deviation for the other members) she became a scapegoat of the group with a great deal of social aggression directed toward her. Under this pressure her production decreased toward the level of the other group members. After 20 days the work group had to be broken up and the members transferred to various other units. The scape-goated operator remained on the same job, alone. As can be seen, her production shot up from about 45 to 96 units per hour in a period of 4 days.

lems such as code problems. Group effort was found to be more productive than solitary effort.<sup>24</sup> The benefits of group participation are pronounced when problems require originality, insight, and the rejection of incorrect ideas.

The productive effectiveness of group influence also has been demonstrated in industry. Joseph N. Scanlon has reported

### EFFECT OF GROUP EXPECTATIONS ON MEMBER PRODUCTIVITY (Sewing Factory)



Her production stabilized at a level of about 92 and stayed there for the remainder of the 20 days. Clearly the induced forces on behavior from a strong subgroup may be more powerful than those induced by a progressive friendly management, and by personal needs for economic reward.<sup>25</sup>

Evidence that the group influence often restricts the production of the individual member is available in almost every factory, but we should not assume that the group influence is restrictive only. Sometimes it aids productivity very decidedly. This has been proved by several laboratory experiments where group members participated wholeheartedly in the solution of complex prob-

lems such as code problems. Group effort was found to be more productive than solitary effort.<sup>24</sup> The company had a piece-work system that was not working effectively. As explained by Scanlon, many piece-work systems fail.

A man is told that his job has been studied and that he can turn out say, 1,000 items a day. He is to be paid 1 cent apiece, \$10 a day. He goes to work, is fairly proficient. Soon he finds out he can turn out 2,000 a day and earn \$20. But he looks around and sees that other workers are keeping themselves to about 1,000.

They explain that if output went up to 2,000 the company would soon revise the rates so that they would still get only \$10, but do twice as much work. Anybody who gets too

## *problems in motivating the employee*

good gets unpopular. That is precisely what had been going on at LaPointe. What to do about it? Scanlon's first step was to compute what the company was paying out for wages. He found that the figure was 37 per cent of gross income. He suggested to management that this percentage be kept and that the workers be told that piece work was forever out the window.

Each man would have this pay guaranteed as a minimum. But on top of this, the man would share in any larger gross accruing from increased production. The distribution would be made under a formula to be worked out by Scanlon, the union and management. This incentive formula also was applied to workers not on piecework.

Scanlon's objective was to increase plant output and to let the workers share in the gains from the increased production. If the plant produced \$100,000 worth of items the workers got 37 per cent, \$37,000. If the plant then turned out \$200,000 worth, the workers still got 37 per cent, \$74,000. If output were doubled without adding workers, the original workers would double individual earnings.

This is not profit sharing because profit sharing means distributing what is left after

everything else has been taken care of. Net profit might be affected by many things beyond the control of workers, such as advertising and expenditures for new buildings. Sharing was based on gross production.

As soon as LaPointe's workers understood that they had everything to gain and nothing to lose, production rose dramatically. One man who had been averaging a little less than \$80 a week turned out in four days enough to have brought him \$184 under the old plan. He realized that he could not get the full benefit of his increased production unless the whole plant went ahead in similar fashion. So while he had previously guarded the secret of his skill, he now trained three men to help him with the rough work, doing the delicate final finishing himself. Thus he tripled production of the unit for which he was responsible.

It was obvious that there were many other such ideas which could be effective, if they came from the men themselves and were not superimposed. He also set up a screening committee of union and management representatives to consider these suggestions. At last report, 241 suggestions had been turned in, and 212 of these had been put into practice.<sup>25</sup>

### PROJECTS

1. Describe a number of comparatively recent changes in automobile design which have saved effort and waste motion for the driver and made for greater safety and better control.
2. If you were making a study of the subjective factors in efficiency of sales clerks in a large department store, what sort of information would you gather? List the items and explain what value each might have for your research.
3. Study carefully some work you do regularly, such as washing dishes or folding letters and placing them in envelopes. Work out an improved procedure by applying some of the general principles of time and motion study. Evaluate the results in terms of both subjective and objective benefits.
4. Think of a place where you have worked or are now working. Describe the group culture, the employees' unwritten rules about the amount of work to be done, when loafing is permissible, when employees may be absent, the conditions under which employees may appear to cooperate with management but actually modify management's programs, and so on.
5. Have you ever worked in a place where employees had a wage incentive plan? If you have, discuss ways in which it appeared to increase the employer's profits or detract from the welfare of employees. Consider also the positive values of the plan to employees. What method of wage payment do you prefer?
6. Review the characteristics of one of your former supervisors or a present supervisor. To what extent does he apply the supervisory practices that develop teamwork?

## *problems in motivating the employee*

- 7 Experiments indicate that employees tend to do more work when they have a supervisor who gives them little close supervision, allowing them to feel responsible for their own work. What are some of the dangers or difficulties in such supervision?

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## 19 Making working conditions favorable for employee efficiency

*Employer morale is lowered by unfavorable working conditions. This situation is the more serious because often the employees who are affected are unaware of the true cause of their grouching and dissatisfaction. The physical surroundings of a job may result in a general lowering of employee morale in a way which is not revealed by ordinary questioning of the men. The conclusion we may draw is that when an unfavorable morale condition is found to exist, it is wise to examine carefully the physical surroundings to determine whether some unnatural condition may be at fault.<sup>1</sup>*

MANY INVESTIGATIONS, SIMILAR TO those of the Hawthorne studies, have indicated that the factor of motivation is more important in productivity than simple physical changes in the environment. When workers feel that they are participating in a significant project and that they are important as persons, they are likely to be so highly motivated as to ignore mere physical conditions. Of course we cannot assume that environmental factors are of no consequence. As specified by Whitehead, "in order to maintain a satisfactory material situation . . . the total physical situation at any time must be within the indifferent range of the individual experiencing it."<sup>2</sup>

### **Lighting—illumination of work**

Good lighting often helps the worker do more work with less effort. Further-

more, inadequate lighting is depressing to many people. Obviously, lighting should be adequate, constant, evenly distributed, and without glare. Contrary to popular opinion, direct sunlight does not always meet these four requirements, so that it often must be supplemented with artificial lighting.

Many managements fail to realize the effects of lighting on output, quality, costs, morale, and safety. It has been estimated that 68 per cent of American industrial concerns "still limp along with pre-depression lighting."<sup>3</sup>

Dirty lamps and bad lighting are claimed to account for more serious production losses than strikes. When neglected lighting fails to furnish the illumination that is necessary for high production, man hours and materials are wasted every day. Every kind of working

## *working conditions and employee efficiency*

situation is likely to have its unique lighting problems, and we cannot assume that what is good lighting for one worker and his work is also good lighting for the next worker and his work. However, many studies of lighting have indicated that better factory lighting tends to increase production. According to one report

Research has shown that an average of 87 per cent of an industrial worker's motions are guided by his sight. Yet a survey of 3,000 plants in 22 states found the average of plant light intensity about 50 per cent below standard. In 38 plants where better lighting was installed, a 131 per cent increase in efficiency resulted.<sup>4</sup>

Vision checks of more than two million workers by the American Optical Company indicated that about one third of all American industrial employees have poor eyesight. Some workers admit that they obtain their glasses without an eye examination, and some wear spectacles

borrowed from friends or relatives.<sup>5</sup> Among 200,000 employees in diversified industries, about 55 per cent had normal or 20/20 vision without glasses, 20 per cent had normal vision with glasses; and 25 per cent had defective vision which was not corrected with glasses. Another typical survey of nearly 15,000 adult employees showed that 25 per cent had 20/30 to 20/40 vision.<sup>6</sup> At the Caterpillar Tractor Company, Peoria, Illinois, screening of 5,688 employees revealed that 1,265 had "unsatisfactory" vision.

In many cases of reported improvements in efficiency as a result of better lighting, only the lighting is mentioned, even though additional changes are made. Sometimes the most important factors such as changed methods of work are ignored. Furthermore, improvements in lighting, like any other marked improvement in conditions of work, tend to result in increased effi-

**CHECKING INDUSTRIAL VISION** As part of a program for promoting industrial safety and visual efficiency, workers of the Caterpillar Tractor Co., Peoria, Ill., as shown above, are given a vision check with the aid of a sight-screening instrument developed by American Optical scientists. The check indicates whether the workers need a complete eye examination and correction.





## *working conditions and employee efficiency*

ciency Marked increases in efficiency as a result of improved working conditions are not always permanent, because the "lift" in morale is likely to wear off after several months.

One significant study was that in which the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness cooperated with several government agencies in an experiment on the effects of improved lighting in a government office. The employees were girl workers in the card punch subsection of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Originally, their room had little to recommend it: lighting was old-fashioned, ceilings and walls were badly soiled, and equipment was crowded. The illumination varied from four to 26 foot-candles.

When the conditions of work were improved, the walls were painted and new lighting fixtures were installed. The illumination was raised to 33 to 58 foot-candles. The eyesight of all workers was tested and corrective eyeglasses furnished to all those who needed them. The floor and the desks were made light in tone and the tabulating machines were changed from black to a light greyish green.

Careful measurements were made before and after the corrective steps were taken. Production records of the workers in the room were kept daily and turned over to the public health service officers for analysis and interpretation.

The experiment indicated that the effects of the change on the workers was marked; morale was better and production was higher. Unfortunately, an exact mathematical measure of the increase in output was not possible, the reason being that the forms on which the girls worked were changed during the second year of the test. The new forms were consider-

ably more complex. Despite the fact that the job had become more difficult the second year, there was an increase of five and one half per cent in the total number of cards produced per hour. Estimates indicated that had the work remained the same during the two years, the output would have been increased between 20 and 25 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

Surveys of lighting of homes, offices, factories, and schoolrooms have revealed many examples of inadequate and harmful illumination. The three aspects of lighting which most often are unhygienic are brightness or intensity, quality or color, and distribution or diffusion of illumination.

### *Intensity of light*

Intensity of light is measured in foot-candles. Foot-candle is a technical term which refers to "the amount of light illuminating a surface by a standard candle at a distance of one foot." A green grass lawn under the full sunlight of midday in midsummer may have a level of illumination of 8,000 foot-candles.<sup>8</sup> Instruments for measuring brightness level, *light meters*, are available. Another instrument, the *visibility meter*, now makes it possible to specify the foot-candles necessary for various tasks so they may be performed with approximately the same degree of ease of seeing. Visibility can be roughly illustrated by holding a newspaper at arm's length. Most persons can read all the print regardless of the size of type, but the largest type obviously is of higher visibility than the smaller type.

The visibility meter makes it possible to reduce the visibility of any object or task by gradually reducing the contrast (and brightness) until you can barely see it. This thresh-

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old is a measurement which can readily be made. We can determine when the object or task is barely visible when it is viewed through this visibility meter.

Thus there is now available a means for scientifically specifying the foot-candles necessary for various tasks to be performed with approximately the same degree of ease of seeing.

It has been found that reading large print for prolonged periods is easiest when the level of illumination is more than 100 foot-candles. However, let us use as our very conservative standard the visibility of 8-point type (a type size slightly larger than that used in the average newspaper) when illuminated by only 10 foot-candles. The foot-candles necessary for various tasks to be of the same visibility are presented herewith:

### FOOT-CANDLES NECESSARY FOR THESE TASKS TO BE OF EQUAL VISIBILITY

	<i>Foot-candles</i>
Reading 8-point type, well printed on white paper	10
Reading 6-point type, well printed on white paper	20
Reading average newspaper printed on newsprint	30
Reading handwriting with average pencil	50
Reading newspaper stock quotations	80
Distinguishing black thread on dark cloth	500

It is seen from the foregoing that the foot-candles required for making various tasks of the same visibility vary enormously. As the standard is raised, all the values are raised. For example, a black thread on dark cloth would have to be illuminated to a level of 4,000 foot-candles (approximately the average level of daylight outdoors) to make its visibility the same as that of 8-point type on white paper, and illuminated to a level of 100 foot-candles.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Recommended Foot-candles*

100 Foot-candles or more—For severe and prolonged tasks, such as fine needlework, fine engraving, fine penwork, fine assembly, sewing on dark goods and discrimination of fine details of low contrast, as in inspection.

50 to 100 Foot-candles—For severe and prolonged tasks, such as proofreading, drafting, difficult reading, watch repairing, fine machine-work, average sewing and other needlework.

20 to 50 Foot-candles—For moderately critical and prolonged tasks, such as clerical work, ordinary reading, common benchwork, and average sewing and other needlework on light goods.

10 to 20 Foot-candles—For moderate and prolonged tasks of office and factory and, when not prolonged, ordinary reading and sewing on light goods.

5 to 10 Foot-candles—For visually controlled work in which seeing is important, but more or less interrupted or casual and does not involve discrimination of fine details or low contrasts.

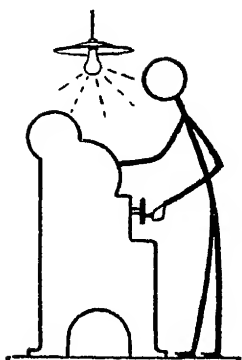
0 to 5 Foot-candles—The danger zone for severe visual tasks, and for quick and certain seeing. Satisfactory for perceiving larger objects and for casual seeing.<sup>10</sup>

### *Light distribution*

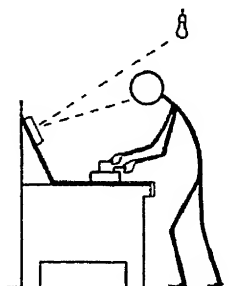
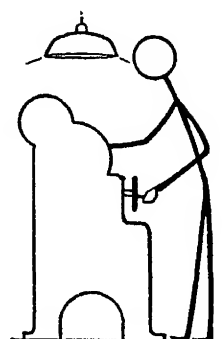
Distribution of light is exceedingly important and can often be achieved with little effort. Unevenness of distribution is the most common error in lighting. Failure to maintain a proper diffusion of light produces eyestrain and decreases visual efficiency. Simple re-arrangements of work and changes in lighting fixtures often eliminate glare and the bright areas and shadows within the visual field. Tinker has summarized suggestions for certain improvements in distribution as follows:

The uncomfortable effects of bright spots of light above or off to the side of the line of vision while reading, doing other visual work, or even when no visual discrimination is involved, is common experience. Elimination of this disturbing peripheral illumination is necessary if hygienic vision is to be maintained. When these side lights become brighter or are moved closer to the line of direct vision, the immediate working surface, the fatiguing effects become greater.

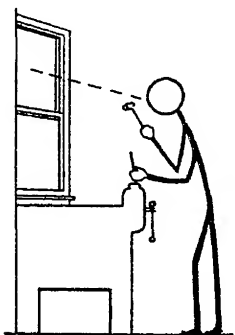
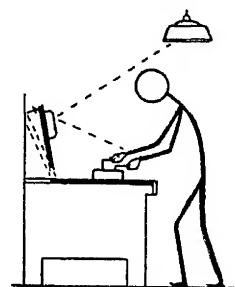
## Check These **FIRST-AID RECOMMENDATIONS**



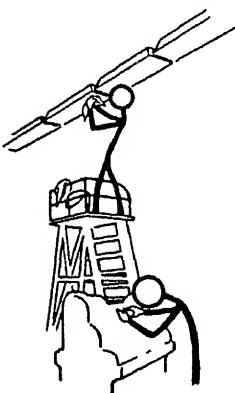
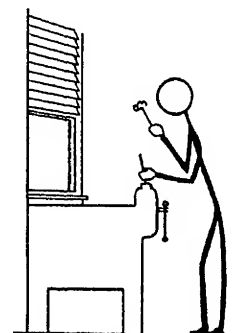
**Direct Glare** . . It is no new problem to have too much light in a worker's eyes, too little on his work. The first step to effect a cure . . . is to shade lamps properly, put the light where it belongs . . . save as much as 60% of light that may otherwise be wasted.



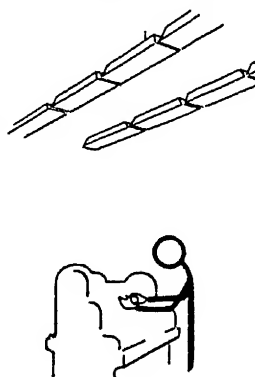
**Reflected Glare** . . . is a problem in two phases . . . often more objectionable than direct glare, and frequently more harmful. A change from concentrated light sources to a large-area light source is the first and best cure. Adequate covering, to assure diffusion, plus proper placing of offending supplementary units, can help.

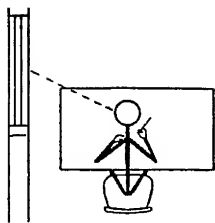


**Daylight Glare** . . . Improper placement of drafting boards, desks, etc., can cause time loss due to glare from direct daylight. The cure . . . to shade the window or, wherever possible, shift working surface to put natural light on working plane instead of in the worker's eyes

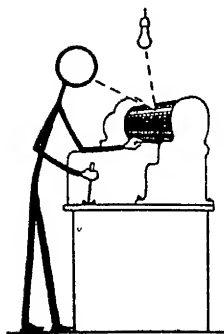
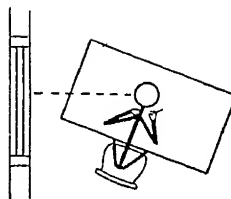


**Dirt** . . . Commonest of all lighting bottle-necks and easiest to cure. Dirty lamps and fixtures or windows frosted with grime can cut lighting levels as much as 50% . . . a regular soap and water schedule is essential, and for many installations equipment must be taken down for thorough washing.

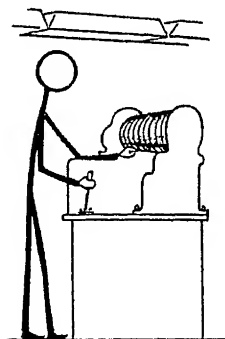




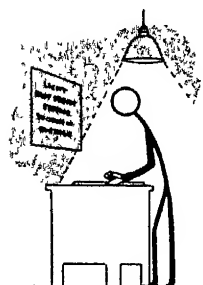
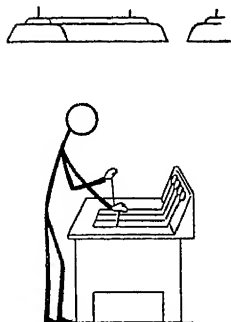
**Reflected Daylight Glare** . . . is natural light that bounces from work plane to eyes. Its only cure is shading the source or providing a high enough indoor intensity to offset as much reflected daylight as possible. (Sketches to be interpreted as planes, not as elevations.)



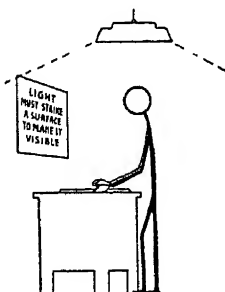
**Point-light Source Reflections** . . . Light reflected from curved work surfaces is concentrated by a point-light source . . . can be minimized by shifting the lamp, shading, diffusing or changing to a long light source



**Shadows** . . . Every worker knows the problem of "standing in his own light." Belts, beams, and tool racks all aggravate this trouble. The complete cure is adequate general lighting. The next best remedy is to increase the number of light sources.



**Procedure Chart Lighting** . . . Here eyes must change focus constantly, look through the pool of light over machine at a less highly illuminated procedure, blueprint, or scale table. The cure . . . to equalize the illumination on machine and chart.



FROM *The Magazine of Light*, No. 3 (1942) Lamp Department, General Electric Company, Nela Park, Cleveland. Recommendations verified June 17, 1949

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Furthermore, the greater the number of such peripheral light sources, the more detrimental is the effect upon vision

Uncomfortable glare and loss of visual efficiency also result from highly polished or glazed objects within the field of vision. Examples are nickel-plated metal parts of a typewriter and glazed printing paper. Such glare is reduced by maintaining well-diffused illumination in the work room.

Visual fatigue and lessened efficiency are produced by brightness contrast within that portion of the visual field where critical vision is required and also within the immediate surroundings. When the eyes must shift back and forth from bright to dark areas or when there is a sharp division between dark and bright portions of the working area, the eyes must constantly re-adapt to the different degrees of brightness. Eyestrain soon results. Examples are (1) white paper on a dark desk, and (2) a dark under-surface of an opaque eye shade used in a brightly lighted room.

The following will aid in eliminating glare effects: (1) Avoid peripheral light sources, such as wall brackets and low-hanging fixtures which reach down into the field of vision. (2) Avoid as far as possible the use of glazed paper, polished metallic objects, and marked contrasts of brightness within the visual field. (3) Avoid strictly local lighting like that produced by most desk lamps with opaque shades. The latter produce a circle of bright light surrounded by dimly illuminated areas and shadows. (4) Maintain, in general, as equal a distribution of light as possible over the working surface.<sup>11</sup>

Researchers have used various criteria for the determination of the most desirable lighting conditions. One criterion frequently used has been the production or output of the worker under different conditions of lighting. However, studies of lighting based upon factors such as output, rate of performing useful work, and speed of reading must be supplemented with additional criteria. Psychological factors often are more difficult to meas-

ure than the relatively simple objective environmental factors.

### **Color**

Like lighting, color has been used in industry to help reduce employee fatigue, increase efficiency, and improve housekeeping. Many industrial plants are too dull and dark for efficient seeing. Even the most modern lighting system is ineffective if light falls only on dull, dark walls, workbenches, and floors. Such surfaces may absorb rather than reflect and spread light. Color in industry often is used to improve "see-ability" rather than merely to provide more aesthetic surroundings. Color use should be planned to be functional and to fit the needs of the industry.

A steel-working plant has the bodies of machines painted a light "horizon" gray, while working areas are a cream color, to make the steel being worked on stand out in three-dimensional contrast. The ceiling is white, and the walls and supporting columns, up to a height of about eight feet, are a soft gray-green. The floor may be a light buff or gray. Fire-fighting equipment is painted red, first-aid boxes, green. Hazards—low beams, edges of platforms and pits, crane hooks and lift trucks—are yellow striped with black, switch boxes and levers, blue.

The over-all effect of this industrial color scheme, fathered by color engineer Faber Birren, is harmonious and pleasing. But it has nothing to do with aesthetics, is strictly functional. Data show that with this use of color it is possible to recover light otherwise wasted and increase the actual illumination 100 per cent without changing the lighting equipment or increasing the wattage.

... Frequently eyestrain, which can create dangerous fatigue and nervous tension, is the result of constant, involuntary adjustment of the eye muscles caused by wrong color contrast, or distracting, glaring horizon colors, even where there is sufficient light.

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In the inspection room of a North Carolina textile mill, girl operators scan blue denim hour after hour, as it moves rapidly under their eyes. Thinking to provide the maximum light, the operators of the mill had painted the walls of the room white. But when the girls looked up momentarily from the blue cloth to the white wall for a rest, a peach color swam before their eyes.

This is the visual phenomenon called "after-image." The human eye, ever-stimulated by one color, registers the opposite or complementary color as a means of readjustment. When the girls looked back at the work, it took them several seconds to regain normal vision. A color engineer greatly increased the time the girls could work effectively and without strain at this job by providing what their eyes demanded: peach-colored walls.

In another plant, workers lifting black metal boxes filled with rough-cut briar pipes complained that they strained their backs. One weekend the foreman had all the boxes painted a pale green. On Monday several men said to the boss: "Say, these new lightweight boxes make a real difference" . . .

The idea that colors on the red side of the spectrum are warm and stimulating, while those at the opposite blue-green end are cool and relaxing, is accepted as a rule-of-thumb by all color practitioners. In a chain of restaurants, waiting lines formed outside telephone booths. When each booth interior was painted bright red, conversations speeded up so that the signs asking users to be brief were removed.

Another group of restaurants in New York adopted their striking red-and-yellow scheme on the advice of a color consultant. Originally a chaste gray-green, the restaurants were popular, but patrons were inclined to linger and the turn-over wasn't fast enough to suit the management. When the decorating was changed to stimulating colors, traffic speeded up and business increased . . .

Though most animals, including bulls, are color-blind, color has its effects on certain insects. Blue appears to be repugnant to flies. Recently a Chicago cheese manufacturer painted a large factory window blue, to

screen out the ultra-violet rays. It was discovered that flies no longer congregated outside this window, though they were as thick as ever around other windows. Mosquitoes, however, seem to like blue. During the war the Navy withdrew blue shirts from men working at shore installations in malarial districts and substituted white, after tests showed that the incidence of mosquito bites was considerably higher among men wearing blue.<sup>12</sup>

The action of the eye is dependent on muscles, and these, like any other muscles of the body, may become tired. If overworked, the individual is apt to become irritated or have more difficulty in responding. Eyes may become overworked by staring too long at two objects of the same color and trying to differentiate between them. A too brilliant reflection, such as sun rays on snow or light on a painted surface, may produce marked strain. An important factor in improving the working environment is to provide a color harmony that does not tire the eyes. Color engineers have developed certain effective principles.

Generally speaking, the warm colors (yellow, orange, etc.) are those that stimulate and promote efficiency. When properly used, they create a most pleasant environment. Of all colors, green apparently has the most relaxing effect on mind and body. Nature's extensive use of green in field and forest is ample evidence of this. Various shades of green such as Eye-Rest, Vista and Seafoam form the basis of properly engineered office color patterns. Blue is a calming color and can be used extensively in the form of Cascade Blue and Stratosphere Gray in offices to promote peace of mind and a calm, quiet atmosphere conducive to efficient work. The cool tints of Mist Gray could be used on the ceilings to counteract the too-warm effect of southern light. Cool expanses of Seafoam Green on the walls would rest the eyes of the personnel when they glance up from their desks or typewriters. To emphasize fur-

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ther the eye-rest factor, the walls which the workers face could be treated as a focal center and finished in an Eye-Rest Green. The floor could be a dark shade of green to harmonize with walls and ceilings. This combination would effectively offset the feeling of too much warmth created by the exposure and the broad expanse of desks . . .

. In one instance, an office manager changed a drab office color scheme to a cool, relaxing pattern featuring blue. The office was painted in August, when winter came, the girls complained of feeling too cool. The normal temperature was 70 degrees Fahrenheit, this was raised to 75. The girls still felt cool. After much discussion and study the color scheme was changed to warm yellows and restful greens. The temperature was left at 75 degrees. Soon the girls protested it was too warm, it was dropped to normal and complaints ceased. This is just one of many instances showing the psychological effect of color.<sup>13</sup>

Faber Birren, who has done outstanding work in color conditioning in industry, recommends that walls should not be too bright for the particular type of work. For example, bright, glaring white walls are not good for types of work that require the handling of dark objects. If the lighting is ample, walls can be toned down; if walls are on the dim side, supplementary lighting may be necessary.

If the factory interior is cold looking, warm colors, such as ivory or buff, should be substituted if the illusion of warmth is desired. If working conditions involve high temperatures, cool colors, such as blues and greens, should be used.

Colors rarely should be pure, because these are likely to distract the worker. Soft grayish blue-green is recommended because it is neutral and stimulating.

If the work is of a type that demands much close work with the eyes, walls should provide a resting place for the

eyes—for "space-gazing." Eyes need at least 20 feet to gaze through and a cool color to see.

Too much contrast is bad. If employees must work with white or light objects, the background should not be too dark, because "the larger field size will condition the eye for dark-adaptation, open the pupil too wide, and cause blurring and after-images.

"Working with dark objects, the surroundings should not be too brilliant, or the opening will become too small, with the result that vision will be taxed, production will suffer, and general tension and fatigue increase. The ideal situation is that in which illumination is ample and the surroundings a trifle lower in brightness than the object of concentration. Where dark materials are used, supplementary lighting may be necessary."<sup>14</sup>

TABLE 48\*  
COLOR PROGRAM—PRACTICE IN  
AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Hourly Workers		For Salaried Employees	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Have color program (planned use of color)	116	32.2	99	20.9
Have no color program	239	66.4	352	74.2
Not shown	5	1.4	23	4.9
Total	360	100.0	474	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

### **Noise**

Work in almost every factory and office involves a certain amount of noise. Executives have recognized that noise is

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a distraction to many employees. Accordingly, some executives have attempted to overcome the problem by sound-proofing offices and other places of work.

Everyone knows, too, that the worker may become adapted to noise and that certain noises do not distract some workers. Experiments by psychologists indicate that the nature of the noise and the attitude of the individual toward the noise are of paramount importance regarding the distracting effects. A continuous noise may not have any harmful effects whereas an intermittent or unusual noise may. The steady noise, such as that of a battery of typewriters, is not likely to be as disturbing as irregular noises from automobile horns, strangers entering a room and banging a door, or persons talking more loudly than usual. Noise may even facilitate the individual worker's output if he has adopted a favorable attitude toward it.

Many workers accept a certain amount of noise, thinking of it as a necessary background for the work of the day. Several investigators have found that the significance of the noise for a particular individual rather than its intensity or nature determines its effects on the individual listener. Most of us have at some time been annoyed by a steam shovel or hoisting machine. However, it is probable that if the listener who is annoyed by the steam shovel were the inventor or manufacturer of the shovel, he would enjoy the noise rather than consider it a distraction.

The Industrial Health Research Board, Great Britain, found during its experiments on the effect of noise on the efficiency of industrial workers that, although noisy working conditions usually do not markedly impair worker-

efficiency at simple motor tasks, noise consistently does have the effect of decreasing efficiency to some extent. Loud noise, particularly mechanical irregular noise, was found to be prejudicial to efficiency roughly in direct proportion to the difficulty of the work involved, and even though differences in performance of work with and without noise were not statistically significant, a trend was evident. The trend, however, does not indicate as deleterious effects as often are charged.

Loud noise appears to be most distracting when first heard. This is equally true of unpleasant noise, such as irregular mechanical noise, and pleasant noise, such as music. However, because of man's powers of adaptation, he soon accustoms himself to distracting influences such as noise, and its detrimental effects shortly disappear. This disappearance seems to be caused more by a decrease in interest in the noise than in a change in sensory reaction.

Certain forms of mental work consistently are more affected by noise than are simple mechanical tasks, apparently because motor tasks, with a moderate amount of practice, become almost automatic, whereas even simple mental tasks are relatively complex in their demands upon the worker. However, as in simple motor tasks, in simple mental tasks the worker adapts himself quite readily to noisy conditions. Sometimes noise-caused irritation or annoyance results in better than usual performance of work because the worker expends greater than usual effort in order to counter-balance environmental conditions. On the other hand, if the worker does not increase his expenditure of effort his performance may be worse than usual. If the work



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being done is highly automatized and there is no increase or decrease in effort expenditure, performance will remain within normal range. Thus it can be seen that performance in a noisy environment is not dependent upon the noise itself but upon the worker's attitude toward the performance of the work.<sup>15</sup>

Various investigations of noise have pointed out that it should not be assumed, when a worker accepts noise as a background for his work, that his passive acceptance signifies an increase in efficiency. Furthermore, they have found that an increase in output often is accompanied by a considerable increase in the expenditure of energy involved. Several clever experiments of this kind have been conducted with keyboards. For example, the operator pressed appropriate keys similar to typewriter keys when he was given a designated stimulus. Careful measurements indicated that the operator exerted more pressure under distraction of noise than he did without the distraction.

Laird studied the air exhaled by typists and inferred from the greater consumption of oxygen during the noise periods that the typists expended more energy at a given task when conditions were noisy than when conditions were quiet. When typewriter keys were used to transcribe a code, J. J. B. Morgan found no difference in learning capacity when the room was noisy, but recorders attached to the keys indicated that more muscular pressure was then exerted by the operator. However, loudness and annoyance do not wholly go hand in hand. Loudness in relation to the background is often simply the dominating measurable feature of noise.

We can conclude, therefore, that when a noise really distracts the worker, a decrease in output or an increase in the expenditure of energy is likely to result. Also, when the noise is considered a background for the worker's activities, the sound which is noise for one observer may be a kind of pleasant environment for the person who has become adapted.

When noise of work cannot be reduced sufficiently to satisfy workers, the sufferers may gain some advantage by using ear defenders or plugs. Certain solid types of defenders are useful for relieving discomfort from intense noises and explosions. The wearer may still hear conversation. Complaints of traffic noise usually come from office workers in rooms facing the street, the sound usually being transmitted through windows or other openings. Closing the windows often keeps out the noise. Panes of heavy glass are helpful in further decreasing the noise. The best remedy is to use double windows and keep them closed, providing ventilation by quiet fans or vent ducts. When employees complain of noise from office appliances used by other members of the staff, annoyance can be reduced by the use of absorbent materials on the ceilings and walls. The absorbent materials may be tiles of a soft, porous nature or canvas, or perforated metals. Also, the machines can be insulated by means of bands of felt placed under them. An experienced sound engineer may discover many additional ways of reducing noise and making working conditions more comfortable.

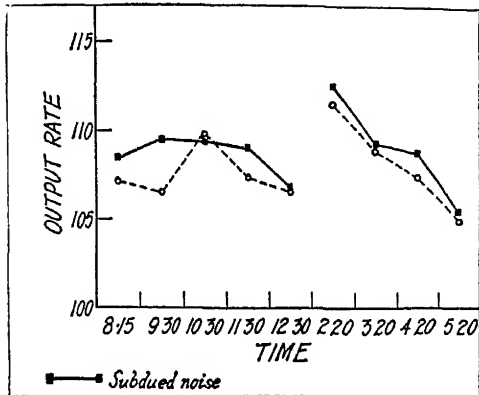
Employees' reactions to noise were studied systematically in six industrial plants. In three of the plants, studies were made before and after sound con-

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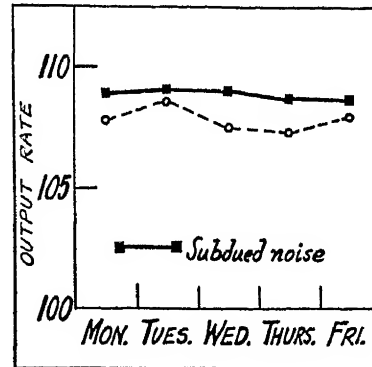
ditioning Results indicated that accoustical treatment improved ease and accuracy of understanding of conversations in noisy areas Discomfort and annoyance from noise were decreased No evidence, however, was obtained from the study to show that production was increased<sup>16</sup>

The effect of noise reduction on the

ing is largely a mechanical process, and it is probable that in other occupations, comparable in regard to the intensity of noise but depending less upon the mechanical and more upon the human factor than weaving, the effect of noise upon output may be considerably greater than that demonstrated by this investigation.



*Average Performance of Ten Weavers*



*Average Performance of Ten Weavers*

Ear defenders (a special type of ear plug) were given to ten weavers whose job was highly mechanized and involved the use of noisy machines. The output rate was slightly greater when noise was reduced every hour during the day except for one, 9 30 to 10 30. See figure on left. This figure also shows the difference between the morning and afternoon production. Figure on right shows that the subdued noise conditions resulted in a more nearly straight-line production curve, a finding that is considered ideally desirable.—From H. C. Weston and S. Adams, *Two Studies in the Psychological Effects of Noise, II The Effects of Noise on the Performance of Weavers*, Industrial Health Research Board (Great Britain), 1932, Report No. 65. Reprinted by permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office.

personal output of a group of ten weavers was studied by Weston and Adams.<sup>17</sup> The output of the group was charted for twenty-six weeks; on thirteen alternate weeks the weavers wore ear plugs to reduce the noise.

The average hourly output per weaver for the group studied in this investigation shows an increase of approximately one per cent when the loom noise is reduced by the use of ear defenders. Weav-

A study of the hourly variation of output during the day under conditions of reduced noise, as compared with normal conditions, is very interesting. Over half of the gain in output occurred during the first three hours of the work day, while some increase occurred every hour of the day but one. This distribution suggests the important conclusion that, even after years of work in a noisy environment, the worker does not become

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completely adapted or acclimatized to noise but goes through the process of adaptation daily

Owing to the increased output with reduced noise, the type of work curve characteristic of the relatively quiet experimental period is better than that of the noisy period, since it is smoother and tends to approximate more nearly the theoretical ideal straight line

Further data and study of the general significance of noise would permit more specific conclusions, however, noise must

gested that the following actions be taken by employers confronted with the noise problem (1) noise measurement, (2) institution of noise elimination or reduction measures, (3) establishment of hearing testing programs.

### *Music in industry*

Hundreds of plant managers have used music to relax tensions and to stimulate production. Stevedores, cotton workers, and others know that music often helps to reduce fatigue. Managements of some department stores, banks, and other firms regularly devote a period of the working day to mass singing. Night clerks in some post offices handle mail to the music of the radio. We all know that many school children also study their lessons with an ear "glued" to the radio.

One of the beneficent effects of music in industry is that it tends to reduce the strain of factory noises. The irritating din of a factory contributes to fatigue. Factory noise consists of irregular pulsations that lack rhythmic form and regularity. Music, on the other hand, consists of regular pulsations. It has rhythmic sequence. Even in the midst of industrial clatter, the human ear tends to follow a pleasing melody and ignore disagreeable noises. Almost all types of industrial work are adapted to music, with the exception of riveting and other operations that have loud, intermittent noises, sounds of definite pitch, loud squeaks or scratches, or high continuous sound. The explanation for this lies in the acoustical difference between sound and noise.

A helpful fact is that people working constantly in a noisy environment grow accustomed to the noise—in reality, develop a

TABLE 49\*

NOISE CREATED BY TWELVE INDUSTRIAL SOURCES

<i>Source of Noise</i>	<i>Decibel Level 3 ft from Source</i>
Punch presses	96-103
Drop hammers	99-101
Bumping hammer	100
Hydraulic press	130
Automatic riveters	95- 99
Lathes, average	80
Automatic screw machines	93-100
Airplane riveting guns	94-103
Airplane propeller grinding	100-105
Looms	94-101
Wood planers	98-110
Wood saw	100

\* "Your Plant Doesn't Have to Be So Noisy," *Industrial Relations*, January 1948, p. 23

be recognized as one of the factors which can exercise an appreciable influence on an individual's job performance, particularly at times when other factors combine to lower personal efficiency

Sleight and Tiffin<sup>18</sup> made a comprehensive survey of the literature on industrial noise and hearing. They found that some experiments have indicated that the harmful effects of noise have been overemphasized, but that the weight of experimental evidence indicates that there are many circumstances wherein noise is deleterious. They sug-

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psychological deafness to it—and therefore are able to hear other sounds above the noise far more readily than someone unused to it. For this reason, adjustments in loudspeakers should be made in accordance with the ability of the plant workers to hear the music clearly, rather than with that of the sound engineers who have come in from the outside. Expert sound engineers are aware of this.<sup>19</sup>

Because of the acoustical difference between musical sound and noise, *Rustle of Spring* can be heard through the sound of pneumatic hammers, and *The Skater's Waltz* through the 102 decibels of a worsted mills weaving shed.

Office workers too seem to like music. According to one survey conducted among office employees of several companies, the following percentages indicate the extent to which music was evaluated favorably by them:

79.5 per cent said music actually made their work more enjoyable.

75.4 per cent said music tended to break the monotony.

72.4 per cent said that music "gave them a lift."

70.0 per cent said music improved their working conditions.

64.0 per cent said that music made the day seem shorter.

63.5 per cent said music made fellow employees more cheerful.

44.0 per cent said music definitely reduced their fatigue.

42.3 per cent said music helped to keep them from being nervous.<sup>20</sup>

Only 2.3 per cent of all the office employees who had experienced music while they worked were willing to give it up.

Authorities in the field of music and industry do not agree as to the optimum lengths of periods of music. Some prefer twelve to twenty minute periods, others use forty-five minute music periods.

In many companies, the periods from 9:30 to 10 A.M. and 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. are considered major fatigue periods—the periods when music is needed most and is likely to be most effective. This is especially true when the fatigue is mental and is induced by the boredom of repetitive work. Obviously, these fatigue periods do not occur at the same relative time in all plants, but they are usually in the middle of the morning and the middle of the afternoon. Sometimes, production graphs indicate the time when music is likely to be most helpful to the employees.

Some companies follow the practice of scheduling pre-fatigue music—an hour or so after the beginning of each half-day of work. Music for the minor fatigue periods is generally of shorter duration. The most important music periods appear to be those at the opening or closing of the shift, because next to overcoming the tedium of monotonous work, the most important objective is to have workers start and end the day in a pleasant frame of mind.

Those who plan music programs for industry differ somewhat in their planning.

R. L. Cardinell recommends music of progressive stimulation for fatigue periods, asserting that by starting with a selection of moderate stimulation and increasing the pace gradually to the end of the period the program will have a carry-over effect of an hour or more. Other authorities in program planning work on the principle of a gradual decrease in stimulation from the beginning to the end of the day.<sup>21</sup>

Work music should have a clear-cut, singing melody. The tunes should be of a nature that overrides plant noises. Highly stimulating music, such as that of the jitterbug and boogie woogie type,

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is too distracting. *Deep in the Heart of Texas* is usually considered taboo as work music because some workers cannot refrain from stopping to clap hands in the chorus. Religious music, except when used on Sunday morning shifts, tends to slow down production.

A large number of music-preference questionnaires filled out by workers and tabulated by the RCA research staff revealed the following order of preferences<sup>22</sup>

1. Hit tunes played in fairly straight arrangements
2. Waltzes
3. Semiclassical selections.
4. Patriotic music
5. Marches
6. Classical selections
7. Sacred music
8. Hawaiian music
9. Humorous-novelty numbers
10. Hillbilly and Western songs
11. Spirituals and blues
12. Polkas
13. Fast dances.

The musical selections preferred by employees vary considerably with the individual company. Each management must determine by means of questionnaires the selections and types of music that are preferred.

Scientific tests of the effects of music on work and workers are difficult to make. Those investigators who report greater productivity and less absenteeism after music has been introduced often tend to overlook the presence of other factors which may be influencing the productivity or attendance.

One carefully conducted study of music was made in relation to employee at-

titudes, piece-work production, and industrial accidents. The influence of an industrial music program, which systematically varied the amount, type, and distribution of music played, was studied in a plant of approximately one thousand employees over a twelve-week period. An effort was made to determine effects of music on employee attitudes, piece-work production, and industrial accidents. Some of the important findings, presented in the summary of the report by Henry Clay Smith\* were the following.

### *Employee Attitudes*

A questionnaire concerned with attitudes toward music was sent to every employee before the music program began. Somewhat over 70 per cent of these questionnaires were completed and returned. An analysis of the replies showed that

1. Almost all of the employees (98 per cent) thought that music during working hours would be at least "mildly pleasant," and 74 per cent thought that it would be "extremely pleasant"
2. The intensity of interest in music while working decreased somewhat with age. The oldest group preferred semiclassical, nonvocal, and quiet music more than the younger groups
3. No sex differences in the intensity or type of musical interest were found
4. Personal interviews with a sample at the end of the twelve weeks showed no decrease in the desire for music while working

### *Piecework Production*

Music in relation to production was studied on a highly repetitive assembly line operation which was on incentive pay. Two separate shifts with an average of 21 employees on each shift were studied simultaneously for twelve weeks. The results showed that

\* Henry Clay Smith, "Music in Relation to Employee Attitudes, Piece-Work Production, and Industrial Accidents. With a foreword by Joseph Tiffin." *Applied Psychology Monograph*, No. 14. Stanford University, Published for the American Psychological Association by Stanford University Press, 1947

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- 1 Production under varying conditions of music increased from 4 to 25 per cent. The average increase on the day shift was 7, on the night shift, 17 per cent. The increases were statistically significant and large enough to be of economic importance
- 2 Maximum production increases were found when music was played 12 per cent of the time on the day shift, 50 per cent of the time on the night shift
- 3 Production tended to decrease with a large increase in the number of semi-classical selections but did not vary with a large increase in the number of vocals. Waltzes were more effective at the opening of the shift than marches.
- 4 Production increases varied with the hour at which music was played and were greatest during the hours of low production
- 5 The more an employee wanted music, the more music tended to increase her production, the lower the employee's production, the more music tended to increase her production, the more the employee's job permitted conversations while working, the more music tended to increase her production
- 6 The greater effectiveness of large amounts of music on the night shift

corresponded with a greater demand for music on the night shift, the greater effectiveness of varied music corresponded with an expressed preference for varied rather than for special types of music, the greater effectiveness of certain distributions of music corresponded with an expressed preference for such distributions

### *Conclusions*

Music during working hours will generally improve production where repetitive work is common. Properly administered in such situations, it not only will increase production but also will provide widespread employee satisfaction. Music probably produces its major direct effect when the individual's capacity for attention is not absorbed by his work, in this circumstance, music appears to divert unused attention from brooding, talking, or off-the-job activities. Although music, on the average, had no influence on the accident rate, the relation of music to accidents was not entirely clear in the present study.

Another investigator, after reviewing the published studies on the effects of music in industry, came to the conclu-

TABLE 50\*

MUSIC IN THE PLANT OR OFFICE—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

<i>Practice</i>	<i>For Hourly Workers</i>		<i>For Salaried Employees</i>	
	COMPANIES		COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Provide electrically transcribed or mechanically reproduced music during working hours?				
Yes	48	13.3	65	13.7
No	308	85.6	400	84.4
Not shown	4	1.1	9	1.9
Total	360	100.0	474	100.0
When is music played?				
Throughout shift or day . .	6	12.5	12	18.5
At intervals	34	70.8	53	81.5
Not shown	8	16.7		
Total	48	100.0	65	100.0

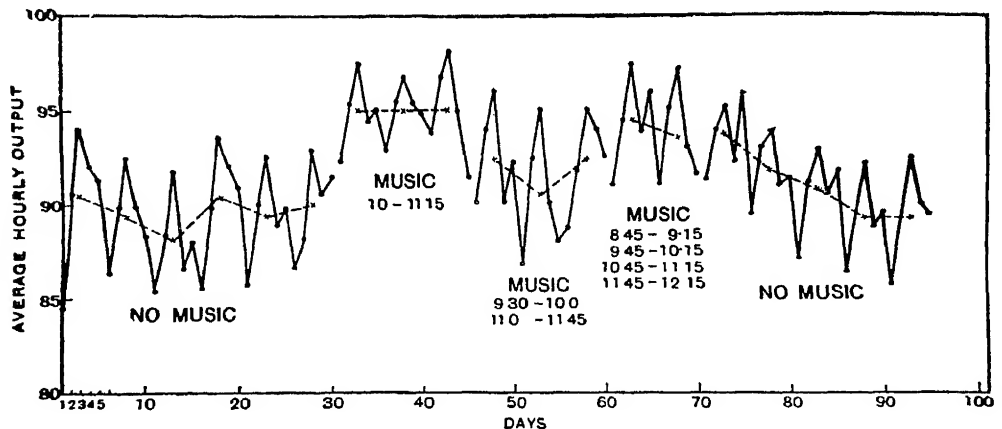
\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)", *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

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sion that "no highly significant or conclusive research has been published concerning the effect of music on health or output of workers in industry." However, he found that some generalizations are permissible. Music seems to relieve boredom and to facilitate socialization, workers believe that music is helpful in their feelings during work, music is more often appreciated by workers at repetitive, monotonous tasks, music should be presented only for comparatively short

major classifications for office workers, for reducing fatigue in industry, and for reducing boredom.<sup>21</sup>

An investigator who studied the attitudes of employees toward music in several industrial plants offered the following recommendations. Music should be provided for work areas in which the work is manual and monotonous if a majority of employees want it, the music preferences of employees should be measured rather than approximated, the mu-



EFFECTS OF MUSIC ON output of workers performing repetitive work on a straight piece-rate basis of pay—From S. Wyatt and J. N. Langdon, assisted by F. G. L. Stock, *Fatigue and Boredom in Repetitive Work*, Industrial Health Research Board, Great Britain, Report No. 77, 1937. Reprinted by permission of the Controller of His Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office.

periods; and periods should be chosen after a study of fatigue curves.<sup>23</sup>

A three-year study of the effects of music provided by Muzak Corporation revealed the opinions of 19,546 employees. The age of the workers and the industry and territorial stratification of the workers influenced the preferences. On the whole, popular dance and waltz music rated highest and swing jive the lowest. Less than four per cent of employees expressed an objection to music at work. Program-building was provided for three

periods; and periods should be chosen after a study of fatigue curves.<sup>23</sup> music needs of night-shift workers should receive special attention, selection of bass and soprano announcers should be avoided, and industrial music should be regarded as a factor favorable to quantity of production in the typical repetitive operations of industry.<sup>25</sup>

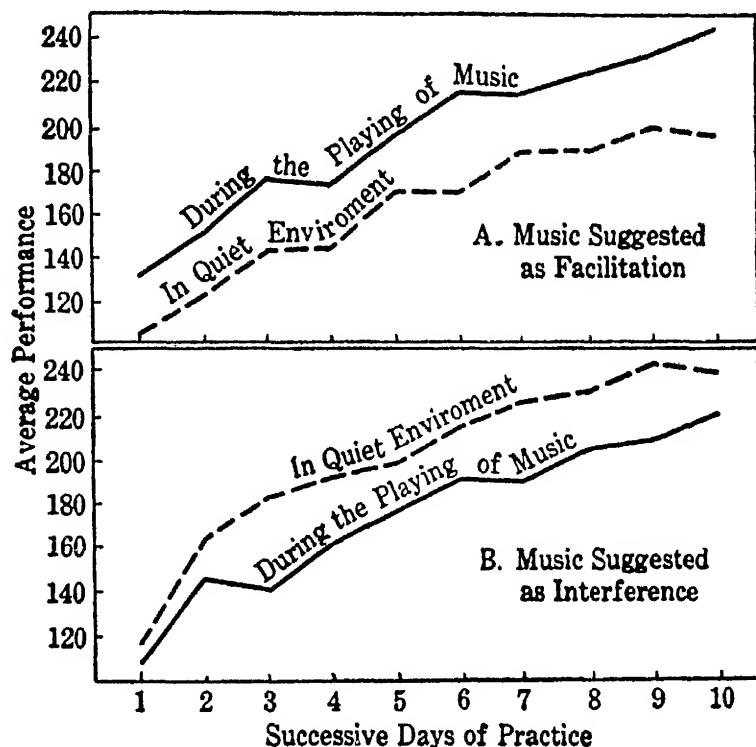
Perhaps the best indication of the positive value of music for morale is the fact that once the employer has provided music for the employees, in only rare instances has he discontinued it.

The beneficial effects of music on in-

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ustrial output seem to have a direct relation to the degree of monotony caused by the work. Relatively simple, mechanized work is most aided by music, but as the task becomes more complex

When music first was introduced for seventy-five minutes in mid-morning, twelve factory employees on repetitive work, paid on a straight piece-rate basis, increased their average hourly output by



THE EFFECT OF ATTITUDE on performance in mental arithmetic as shown by the production of ten subjects in a quiet environment and during the playing of music (a) when music is thought by the subjects to facilitate performance, and (b) when subjects believe music interferes with performance. Note that the music facilitates when subjects believe it to, and interferes when they believe it an interference—Adapted from K. H. Baker, "Pre-experimental Set in Distraction Experiments," *Journal of General Psychology*, Vol. 16 (1937), pp. 471-486; Sidney L. Pressey, J. Elliott Janney, and Raymond G. Kuhlén, *Life: A Psychological Survey*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939, p. 533.

and requires more thought, the beneficial effects of music become less perceptible. This relation seems to hold true because music relieves monotony, it distracts the mind from what seems to be an interminable working day.

6 per cent over their former average. As shown on page 422, production later dropped when music was played twice a day, but it was still 2.6 per cent higher than when no music was played. Production increased again to 4.4 per cent over



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that of the non-music period when music was introduced during alternate half hours<sup>26</sup>

Dance music may be a distraction or an aid to concentration, depending upon the worker's attitude<sup>27</sup> This fact was brought out in an experiment in which one group of subjects was told that music facilitated arithmetical calculations, and another group was told that it interfered with them Charts allegedly based on a previous experiment in which the appropriate finding was made were shown to each group to help create the mental set.

The subjects reacted in accordance with the suggestion in both cases All those who were told that music was an aid to more work produced more work All those who were told that music would interfere did more under normal conditions of quiet. The subjects who were told at the beginning of the experiment that their performance without music would probably exceed their production with it appeared to work harder under conditions of quiet. Their remarks, changes of posture, and appearances of concentration gave this impression. The subjects who were led to believe that music would increase their output stated afterwards that it had helped to keep their minds on their work See chart on page 423.

It appears that "the changes in attitude and accompanying changes in motivation may be all that is necessary to account for differences in performance under various experimental conditions."<sup>28</sup>

### **Night work**

Scientific study of the effect of night work on production is difficult to make

because many uncontrolled variables prevent it. However, *Modern Industry* editors surveyed a number of plants to find out what problems are posed by night shifts and how the problems are handled In some plants night shift workers appear to be more relaxed than day shift workers. Occasionally, they act as if they are doing the company a favor by being on the shift at all

In general, night workers equal the quantity production of the day shift, but the quality of the work record is usually not as good For that reason, simple routine jobs may be the best choice for the night shift Surprisingly, night workers seem to have fewer accidents than the day shift Perhaps this is because there is less movement of materials at night.

Personnel experts estimate that less than 25 per cent of all workers actually want to work at night Most of the rest won't do it at any price Today the usual night-shift premiums (4¢ to 10¢ an hour, or 5% to 10% of earnings) provide little incentive to the worker who doesn't like the night shift to begin with That's particularly true of the third shift.

Neither does it seem to make much difference whether shifts are rotated so men work each shift for a certain number of weeks, or permanently set, with men definitely assigned to one shift or another Each has a few things to recommend it, and a good many drawbacks

When shifts are permanently set, workers with most seniority and highest skill will get the preferred day jobs That leaves the less-experienced, less-skilled workers for the night shifts On the credit side, there is that small, reliable corps of men who actually prefer night work. And permanent assignment to it lets them arrange their lives accordingly<sup>29</sup>

Rotating shifts assure good workers on all shifts. However, because foremen and lead men do not usually rotate, it's harder to build teamwork between

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workers and supervisors. Also, when shifts rotate, workers must constantly change their eating and sleeping habits.

Because top management, engineers, and production specialists are not regularly in the plant at night, it is difficult to keep night-shift workers informed of company plans and policies. A special effort should be made to get such information to the night-staff—both by word-of-mouth and by means of bulletins and memos.

### **Accidents**

Many managements have considered industrial accidents as a phase of faulty or inadequate machine design, the lack of proper machine guards, failure to safeguard hazardous areas or the conditions of work such as night work. Recent studies by insurance companies, the National Research Council, and the Industrial Health Research Board of Great Britain have agreed that from 80 to 90 per cent of all accidents are due, not to defective machinery nor to a physical or mental defect or lack of skill in the worker, but to an *X factor* in the person injured.<sup>30</sup>

Accident proneness on the part of certain individuals has been indicated by findings such as the following.

1. Analysis of accidents among 946 employees of one mill revealed that employees who had disabling injuries averaged 6.5 minor injuries in the year, while those who had no disabling injuries averaged 3.1 minor injuries. Employees who had one or more doctor's care injuries averaged 5.5 minor injuries and those with no doctor's care injuries averaged 3.0 minor injuries. Evidence indicated the fallacy of the chance distribution theory of accidents and favored the theory of unequal liability: 49 per cent of the employees accounted for 94 per cent of the accidents, 29 per cent of the employees for 80 per cent of the accidents, 11 per cent

of the employees for 50 per cent of the accidents, and 3 per cent of the employees for 24 per cent of the accidents.<sup>31</sup>

2. The reason why insurance companies are reluctant to accept automobile policies for drivers who have a record of previous accidents is adequately demonstrated by the results of a group study completed by the Personnel Research Federation. Four and one-half per cent of the drivers had 30 per cent of the accidents—seven times their quota. In another group, 800 drivers had 4,000 accidents—an average of 5 per driver, 400 had 3,200 accidents—8 per driver, and 800 had 10,800 accidents—13½ per driver! One hundred drivers who had accidentally killed one person each had previously killed three, and had had 38 other accidents. One Connecticut study showed that 4 per cent of the drivers were responsible for 36 per cent of all accidents.<sup>32</sup>

3. One large company which employs a great number of truck drivers became concerned about the high cost of its automobile accidents and tried to analyze the causes of accidents in order to reduce their frequency. The company examined the accident records for each driver and finally transferred those who had the most accidents to other occupations. While this reduced the company's auto accident rate, interestingly enough, the drivers who had had a high accident rate retained their accident habit in their new occupations. This would seem to be another clear indication that there exists an accident-prone person<sup>33</sup> and that these individuals are accident-prone in any occupation—and in their everyday life.<sup>34</sup>

Several significant clinical studies have been made of accident-prone persons. Alexandra Adler,<sup>35</sup> for example, studied 100 such industrial workers of Europe and 100 Massachusetts applicants for workmen's compensation. Some of her findings were:

Among American accident-prone workers, over one fourth of the accident-prone workmen were over-fearful. She found that fear of accidents can produce them. More than 23 per cent of Ameri-

can accident-prone workers had a fatalistic attitude that they were unlucky. Almost 20 per cent wanted to be pampered. More than 13 per cent had a revengeful attitude toward parents or teachers.

Among the European workers, a revengeful attitude was responsible in 56 per cent of the individuals. These men were bitter, antagonistic, revengeful, particularly toward parents and educators.<sup>36</sup>

Flanders Dunbar, a researcher in the field of psychosomatic medicine, has made extensive investigations of the personality profiles of accident-prone and other hospital patients. In one study of 1,600 patients that led to the development of distinguishing profiles, she found that 80 per cent fell into recognizable profiles of significance in regard to accident record.

It is clear from a brief review of these personality profiles that two important diagnostic points are the sphere of life in which the patient had his major conflicts, and his characteristic means of reaction and of attempting to solve these conflicts. The area of focal conflict of patients with the accident habit is in the realm of authority. The authority may be, first, parents, then school, and later, church, job, wife or husband. The characteristic response to these difficulties is to strive for independence and autonomy outside such relationships and to minimize and avoid conflicts with authority whenever possible, although without submitting.

Any dynamic formulation relative to the profile of these accident-prone personalities should begin with an investigation of the nature of their defenses. By focusing their values on immediate concrete experience, striving to find satisfactions and security outside the authoritarian hierarchy, and avoiding any marked submission or domination in vocational or social roles, accident-prone persons get along without serious conflicts with authority. The defenses work most of the

time. When thwarted, deprived, or subjected to unusual strain such as unemployment, or the pressure of a mother-in-law in the family, these persons "do something" to modify the situation or get away from it instead of keeping their anger bottled up inside. It is significant that these patients have a health record far above the average.

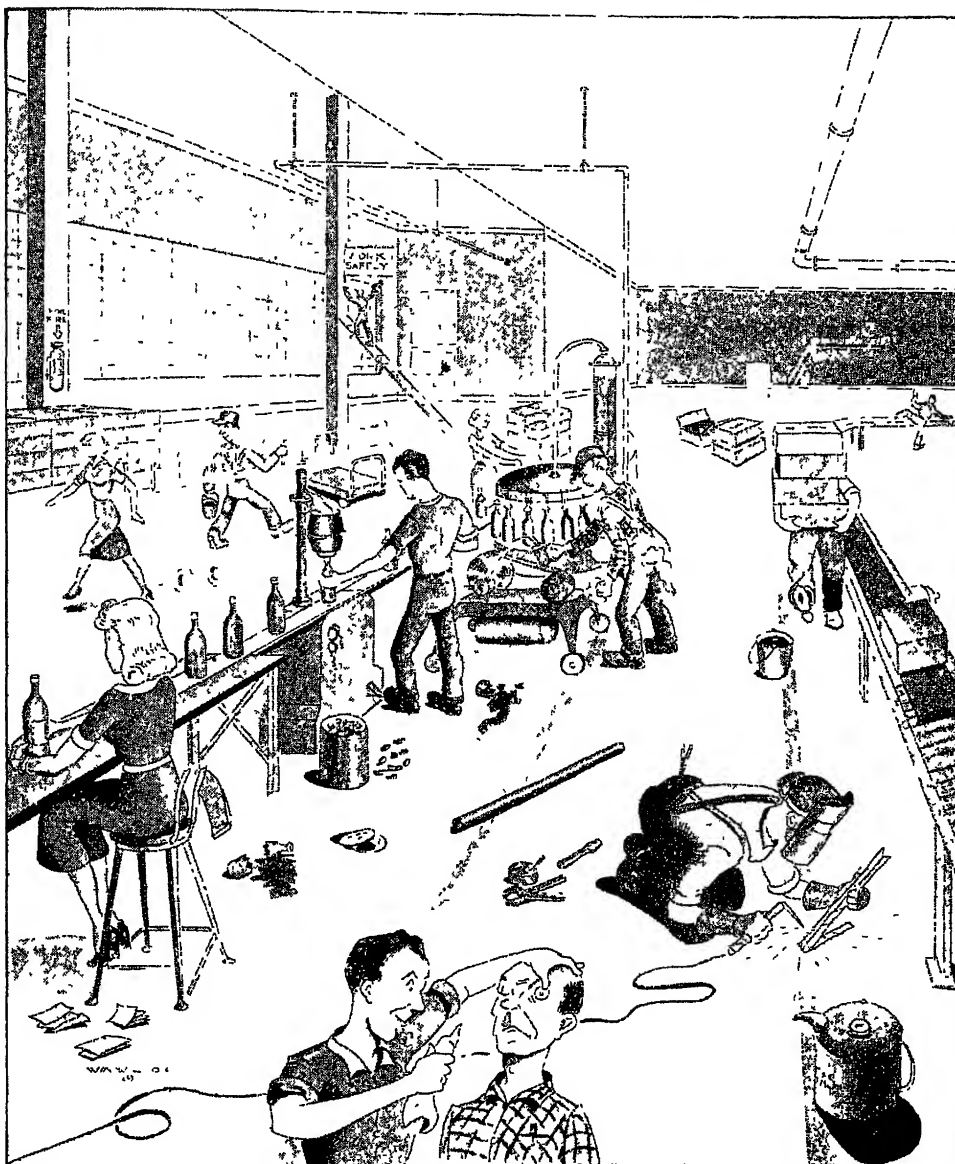
When the characteristic defenses fail and conflict with authority becomes unavoidable, the accident happens. Aggressiveness may break out in an act which appears to punish the victim or those responsible for his frustration, or both. Or it may come near enough to the surface to cause the kind of confusion which leaves the person defenseless in the danger situations normally encountered from day to day. Unlike depressed persons who consciously attempt suicide, the accident-prone individual usually reports no conscious premeditation. It is a "hunch" that "something was going to happen today" or that by the statement made so frequently by these patients after the accident has happened: "You can't get around fate, I got mine today, you'll get yours tomorrow. . . ."

These profiles may be useful to the physician not trained in psychiatry, as an aid in knowing what kind of questions to ask, which emotional problems should be approached first and what *not* to do in general therapeutic management of the patient. Too often if a mother-in-law or a sexual problem turns up, the psychosomatic-minded internist or surgeon concentrates on this and fails to realize that although he may make the patient happy by listening, he will do nothing that is effective in curing the accident habit unless he attempts to deal with the fundamental problems of his patient in terms of both the area of the patient's greatest sensitivity and the inadequacies in his habitual manner of attempting to solve his conflicts.<sup>37</sup>

Several investigators have tried to find psychological tests that identify the accident-prone person. Farmer, summarizing the results of studies on industrial workers, air pilots, and drivers, indicates "that people who are slow and inaccurate on certain sensorimotor tests tend to have

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HOW MANY UNSAFE PRACTICES CAN YOU SEE?



UNSAFE WORKING PRACTICES are illustrated in the manner of the old picture puzzle. One employee found 34 violations of safety in the above bottling house scene. See Appendix, page 687, for his list. Courtesy of Joseph S. Finch and Company, Schenley, Pa., Stanley S. De Vault, Safety Director. Cartoon by William Wilson.

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a higher accident rate than others," although "the predictive value of these tests is not high." They discriminate well only on the extreme ends of the distribution "Nervous instability" is also assumed to be related to accident rate, and Farmer<sup>38</sup> expects that progress in the diagnosis of accident proneness will be derived mainly from a direct study of the affective make-up.

### *Fatigue and boredom*

Certain biology teachers have likened man to a machine and tried to compute his efficiency in a manner similar to that used in measuring the efficiency of motors. In terms of chemical energy consumed, the Diesel engine and the high-compression automobile engine surpass man's efficiency as a machine. In terms of chemical energy consumed as food and converted into external mechanical energy, man's efficiency usually ranges from 15 to 20 per cent <sup>39</sup>

The term fatigue has various meanings. To the layman it simply means "feeling tired." Researchers usually call this type *subjective fatigue*, and it may be thought of with reference to certain muscles only, or it may be rather general and involve drowsiness. Laboratory experiments often show that subjective fatigue may be quite pronounced but that the person having such feelings actually may be doing as much work as ever.

Subjective fatigue often is distinguished from mental fatigue, the tiredness that develops from work of a mental rather than a muscular nature. The fatigue that results from doing accounting or writing a book may be considered to be somewhat different from the subjective fatigue caused by the use of mus-

cles. Perhaps the difference between the two is only one of degree or source. At any rate, mental workers often wish to change to some other activity, but the other activity at the time may have a greater appeal simply because of vague psychological influences and not because of physiological changes in the body.

Of course, physiological conditions have pronounced bearings on the feelings of fatigue. For example, in hot industries workmen are given salt in tablet form or in drinking water in order to remedy the deficiency of body salt lost through perspiration. Glass-making, baking, steel, and similar industries furnish salt to workers, especially during heat waves. Some football trainers feed salt, or bouillon, which is more palatable, to football players.

In some fatigue experiments, the subject of the experiment may not feel tired but may do considerably less work. This decreased capacity for work because of exhaustion of energy-producing materials such as sugar products, especially glycogen, and the accumulation of waste products, mostly carbon dioxide and lactic acid, is called *objective fatigue*. Objective and subjective fatigue do not always correlate, especially when the individual is offered a greatly desired reward for continued output.

In most cases, psychological and physiological factors in fatigue are closely interrelated. Differentiation is difficult. However, the "feelings of fatigue" and "boredom" have been differentiated by Brozek:<sup>40</sup>

Boredom is characterized by discontent, restlessness and yawning, whereas the "feeling of fatigue" appears as weariness and can be relieved only by rest. Fatigue which accompanies heavy or very intensive work is

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regarded as a subjective sign of physiological changes produced by the work. In some cases, such as sprinting, it is possible to identify and measure some of the physiological changes such as the rise in blood lactate, oxygen debt, and so on.

What are the personal characteristics of the boredom-prone individual? Wyatt and Langdon<sup>41</sup> investigated four personality traits: general intelligence, divided attention ("ability to think of other things while working"), perseveration (interference of the preceding activity) and introversion-extraversion. The differences between the average scores of "least bored" and "most bored" workers were found to be statistically significant for the first and last traits studied. Higher intelligence and extroversion tend to be associated with greater susceptibility to boredom.

Individuals who were classified as "most bored" registered also a higher number of complaints against working conditions. In three plants where studies were made on sub-groups comprising 54, 34 and 26 workers, bored workers registered on the average, 19 per cent, 23.7 per cent, and 21.3 per cent more complaints.

Workers spontaneously develop antidotes to boredom such as talking, singing and day-dreaming. Features introduced and tested experimentally in previous investigations included such factors as rest pauses and changes in the form of work.

More work is done per hour when authorized rest periods are given to clerks than when there are no authorized rest periods. Even when the length of time consumed by pauses is added to the length of the working day, this increase holds true. These findings were made for a group of sixteen women, comptometer operators, who were computing applications for crop loans in a government agency.

When the experiment was started, the only authorized rest pause was the 45-minute noon recess. Observers noted that the women took rest pauses when it was convenient. During the second

part of the experiment, rest periods were installed from 10:22 to 10:30 A.M. and from 2:23 to 2:30 P.M., and the fifteen minutes thereby consumed were added to the length of the workday. During this part of the experiment a decrease in the amount of unauthorized rest and an increase in the amount of production per hour was proved. Although in this particular case only six of the sixteen operators preferred authorized rest periods, the complaints of the majority were directed not at the system itself but

TABLE 51\*

REST PERIODS—SALARIED MALE AND FEMALE  
EMPLOYEES—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Male Employees		For Female Employees	
	COMPANIES		COMPANIES	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Rest periods given	78	24.1	135	42.1
Not given	237	73.1	175	54.5
Not shown	9	2.8	11	3.4
Total	324	100.0	321	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

at the crowded restroom. Such negative aspects of the work situation should, of course, be corrected if authorized rest pauses are inaugurated.<sup>42</sup>

Although rewards such as rest pauses and bonuses facilitate production markedly, they have little effect on reported feelings of tiredness and boredom. This was found in an experiment in which subjects were told to "work as hard and as fast as you can" at monotonous laboratory work that simulated the type of work done by many industrial workers daily. The study was made to determine

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the effects of various suggested attitudes or mental sets on work productivity and boredom. Authors tested eighty-eight college students—divided into groups to test various attitudes and conditions. The manual work (motor tasks) performed were simple, but equipment prevented it from becoming automatic even toward the end of the four-hour test period.

Indulgence in activities such as talking or laughing tends to objectify the working situation and also tends to inhibit to some extent reports of tiredness and boredom.

The introduction of positive motivation, in the waking state, facilitates production considerably, and produces fewer reports of tiredness and boredom.

The introduction of negative motivation, in the waking state, inhibits production significantly but has little effect on reports of tiredness and boredom.<sup>43</sup>

TABLE 52\*

REST PERIODS—MALE AND FEMALE HOURLY WORKERS—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

<i>Practice</i>	<i>For Male Workers</i>		<i>For Female Workers</i>	
	COMPANIES		COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1st Shift				
Have rest periods	160	37.8	190	51.6
No rest periods	263	62.2	178	48.4
Total, 1st Shift	423	100.0	368	100.0
2nd Shift				
Have rest periods	94	29.0	103	35.2
No rest periods	230	71.0	190	64.8
Total, 2nd Shift	324	100.0	293	100.0
3rd Shift				
Have rest periods	48	26.4	49	30.6
No rest periods	134	73.6	111	69.4
Total, 3rd Shift	182	100.0	160	100.0
Split Shift				
Have rest periods	3	13.0	2	10.5
No rest periods	20	87.0	17	89.5
Total, Split Shift	23	100.0	19	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

Under ordinary working conditions, reported feelings of tiredness and boredom were found to be in inverse proportion to the amount of work done. There also was found to be an inverse relation between observable boredom and tiredness as rated by experimenters and amount of work done. Additional findings were

Knowledge that a rest pause is imminent retards production for the period immediately preceding the pause.

Workers often reduce their boredom at repetitive work through conversation. They provide their own rest pauses if management does not systematize rest for them. However, when McCormick and Company, Baltimore, reduced the working time 5 per cent by giving everybody a cup of tea every two hours, production went up 9 per cent.<sup>44</sup>

*Caffeine* is often used to overcome fatigue or to increase alertness. In general, caffeine, when administered as the raw

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alkaloid or as caffeine citrate, tends to reduce simple motor-sensory reaction time from 6 to 8 per cent, depending upon the individual.<sup>45</sup> Hollingworth has reported studies of differential effects of dosages and found that the speed of performance at typing was quickened by doses of one to three grains of caffeine but retarded by larger doses of four to six grains. Small doses seemed to decrease errors and increase speed in typing, but doses greater than six grains had opposite effects.<sup>46</sup>

In general, the effects of caffeine appear to be slight on the average, but they vary greatly with the type of work performed and the person involved.

*Tobacco* is used by many persons as an aid to efficiency in work. Numerous experimenters have tried to investigate its effects by setting up controlled conditions, using control subjects for comparisons, and attempting to eliminate influences of suggestion. Most of these studies have failed to exclude the influences of variables such as habit, attitude toward smoking, body weight, suggestion, and others. Accordingly, a few researchers have used rats as subjects for experiment. Nathan W. Shock has summarized the studies regarding many of our psychophysiological relations,<sup>47</sup> including certain experimental results on effects of tobacco.

Pechstein and Reynolds<sup>48</sup> exposed rats to tobacco smoke over a period of 30 minutes to 3 hours daily for 30 to 60 days. The animals were exposed to smoke from 5 gr. of tobacco, so there is no indication whether the effects were produced by nicotine, carbon monoxide, pyridine, or some other combustion products of tobacco. After fuming, the animals were transferred to the maze, and learning curves were obtained. It was found that rats fumed with a limited amount of

tobacco smoke excelled all normal and experimental groups in maze learning. Animals who were fumed over longer periods of time were less effective in learning, with greater variability in the female group. The authors concluded that tobacco smoke to a small degree acts as a stimulant and enhances learning, while excessive smoking depletes learning capacity to the point of inability by the fourth generation.

Professor Raymond Pearl, biologist at Johns Hopkins University, published several studies showing that tobacco smokers do not live as long as non-smokers.

This conclusion was based on life tables for the number, out of groups of 100,000 non-smoking men, 100,000 moderate smokers (men), and 100,000 heavy smokers (men), who were still alive at each age level after 30 years. At age 60, for example, 66,564 of the 100,000 non-smokers were still living, 61,911 of 100,000 moderate smokers were living, and 46,226 of 100,000 heavy smokers were still living.

The studies show that smoking is associated with a definite impairment of longevity. This impairment is proportional to the habitual amount of tobacco usage by smoking, being great for heavy smokers and less for moderate smokers, but even in the latter sufficient to be measurable and significant.

The effect of tobacco smoking on length of life is different from that of alcohol in that moderate as well as heavy smokers live less long than non-smokers, whereas moderate drinkers do not have appreciably shorter lives than total abstainers, although heavy drinkers do.

The effect of hard physical labor on length of life was also studied by statistical methods. Up to the age of about 40 years, hard labor either indoors or outdoors has no effect on life expectation, but after about age 40 such labor "definitely and considerably" shortens the length of life of the individuals.<sup>49</sup>

Although no conclusive findings have been made regarding the effects of smoking on the human body, the general con-



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sensus in the medical profession is that smoking has no outstandingly beneficial effects. Two physicians, Kahn and Gildea,<sup>50</sup> believe that smokers fall into two categories, the lusty and the tense, described briefly as follows

The lusty smoker enjoys the so-called good things of life, such as excellent meals and pleasant company, whereas the tense smoker is characterized by inner tensions. The lusty smoker, who prefers cigars and pipes to cigarettes, smokes for sensual pleasure, whereas the tense

their tensions their efforts to give up smoking are unsuccessful. This is the reason why the substitution method—chewing gum or sucking candies—by itself practically never effects a cure. It does not get to the root of the habit. If a fundamental cause of tension is suddenly removed, as by an inheritance or dissolution of an unfortunate marriage, breaking the habit may be easy. However, in most cases fundamental causes of tension cannot be eliminated entirely, so that relaxation must be achieved

TABLE 53\*

SMOKING DURING WORKING HOURS—MEN AND WOMEN—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

<i>Practice</i>	<i>For Hourly Workers</i>				<i>For Salaried Employees</i>			
	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	COMPANIES		COMPANIES		COMPANIES		COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Permitted with restrictions	291	72.7	284	80.0	97	29.9	229	71.3
No restrictions	78	19.5	41	11.5	207	63.9	59	18.4
No smoking allowed.	28	7.0	30	8.5	7	2.2	17	5.3
Not shown	3	0.8	.	.	13	4.0	16	5.0
Total	400	100.0	355	100.0	324	100.0	321	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

smoker smokes to alleviate tension. The latter can be distinguished from the lusty smoker by the quick, nervous way he takes the cigarette from the package, lights it, and inhales the first puff. He smokes half absentmindedly, half ritualistically.

If the tense smoker wishes to discard the smoking habit, the factors such as work or home difficulties that have created his tension usually must be removed, or he must adjust himself so as to be comparatively free from tension. Getting to the cause of tensions is ordinarily difficult, but must be done if the tense smoker is to give up smoking. Because people do not realize the true causes of

through cultivation of a hobby or a new interest.

Breaking the habit should be done on the basis of *one* decision, and at once. If it is done for reasons of physical health, a physician can aid the patient to make the decision and emphasize the strength to quit smoking. He can do this by helping the patient to gain insight into the reasons for his smoking. After the cause of tension has been determined, past conditioning must be overcome. Long-established smoking habit patterns must be rechannelized. Substitution of something other than tobacco now will help. Instead of pulling out a cigarette and putting it in the mouth, one may substitute

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a mint, peanut, or toothpick. Occasionally an old habit may be given up by substituting a new one, but this requires stronger motivation than ordinarily is available.

### **Summary**

In general, we can say that fatigue and efficiency of the individual are influenced by many chemical and psychological influences. Furthermore, the individual can accommodate himself to almost any conditions. Man has permanent settlements in towns that frequently have winter temperatures 50 degrees F below zero and in deserts with sun temperatures of 150 degrees. Attitude is exceedingly important toward the adaptation. An experienced stevedore, for example, can toss

freight all day without appreciable fatigue but will be worn out by several hours of simple effort while on a shopping trip with his wife who is looking for a hat!

In the case of industrial workers, Britain's Industrial Health Board has summarized recent researches on the effects of working hours and similar factors on output of workers.

It used to be thought that worker's and employer's interests were opposed — the worker wanting plenty of leisure and pay, the employer wanting the most work for the least expenditure. But now psychological researches into industry have shown that the best conditions of work for the greatest output are exactly the same as those that give health and a low accident rate to the worker.<sup>51</sup>

### **PROJECTS**

1. Conduct a study among fellow students or associates regarding effects on efficiency of listening to the radio while reading or studying. Note the kind of music listened to, the loudness, and other pertinent factors.
2. List the factors in lighting that tend to improve productivity in industry. Which recommended factors or principles are you violating in the lighting of your own study or work environment?
3. Consider the colors of walls, ceilings, and furniture in your study or work situation. Are the colors conducive to study or work? What improvements would you like to make in the colors of your work or study environment?
4. What kinds of noises do you usually have in your study or work environment? If certain ones distract you from study or work, how do you try to adapt yourself to them? Do you simply ignore them? Does ignoring them appear to affect your productivity or your comfort? Have you ever been in a work situation in which the noise factor was a major problem? How was it solved?
5. What is the effect of music on your mental efficiency? Do your tastes in music annoy anyone else who studies or works in your environment? If others are annoyed by your preferences in music, what reasons can you suggest for the different preferences?
6. What period of the day can you do your best mental work: early morning, mid-morning, noon, mid-afternoon, late afternoon, early evening, or late at night? When is your mental efficiency lowest? Do you try to schedule difficult mental tasks accordingly?
7. Do you know an automobile driver who has had several automobile accidents? If you do, describe any psychological factors that may be influential in his high accident rate. If you were a traffic court judge, what sentences would you impose on traffic law violators who are "repeaters"?
8. If you use tobacco, how does it seem to affect your mental efficiency? If you were the executive in charge of a large office, what rules would you have about smoking?

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## Problems in supervising employees

*Good management organization, by reliance on authority instead of skilled and understanding leadership as the basis for handling men, easily destroys the desire for co-operation. A higher type of leadership adapted to democratic conditions is necessary. Management, if it is to be successful in the years which lie ahead, must rely less on authority and more on leadership which transcends authority.<sup>1</sup>*

ANYONE WHO HAS WORKED UNDER THE supervision of several foremen or executives knows that each supervisor tends to develop a work-situation that has a unique psychological atmosphere.<sup>2</sup> Just as every home that one visits has a psychological atmosphere of its own, so each work environment has its distinctive atmosphere. It may be one that is tense because it is dominated by an authoritative boss or a neurotic fellow employee. Or a relaxed, cheerful atmosphere may result where democracy prevails, every member enjoys the confidence of his colleagues, and group decisions govern conduct. When the supervisor of such a place arrives at work, a current of enthusiasm fills the place. Faces become brighter. Movements become faster. Work seems to flow along more smoothly. Other supervisors have the opposite effect: fears

arise in employees, they become tense, their work becomes harder and gloom settles over them.

The importance of proper "atmosphere" is exemplified by an experience reported for one company.

A simple questionnaire was handed out to employees. The idea was to find out how the men got along from the standpoint of cooperation. Employees were asked to describe the attitude of their fellow-workers, whether friendly or unfriendly, and to comment on working conditions.

Replies revealed these surprising facts:

Departments with friendly and cooperative operators had a far better all-around production record than those departments in which employees showed a disgruntled attitude toward one another. The "friendly" departments produced an average of 10 per cent more, with spoilages about 40 per cent less than the "non-cooperative" departments.

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In these latter departments, the foreman's lack of friendliness was often commented upon. One worker had this to say (Since the questionnaires did not need to be signed, he felt free to get his gripe off his chest) "Who does our foreman think he is? The big cheese himself? Why don't he get wise to himself? He's no better than any of us here. He acts like it costs him money to say good morning to us" <sup>3</sup>

When a supervisor's presence induces feelings of dissatisfaction in his employees, the individual employee tends to adjust to the situation in one of three typical ways (1) by quitting the job (or remaining only until he can get another job), (2) by projecting his discontent in overt criticisms or some other form of negativistic expression; or (3) by becoming ill—the bad foreman often becomes a real pain in the neck.<sup>4</sup>

Fortunately, most foremen are reasonably well liked by their employees. When *Factory* magazine made a survey of a number of employees in regard to their appraisals of their foremen, 60 per cent of the foremen were rated as good, 31 per cent as average, and 8 per cent as poor. A supplementary question, "If you had your way, what changes would you make in the way your foreman does his job?" brought this response. 62 per cent said "No change", 27 per cent made critical comments, such as "The foreman should learn how to handle men; be more considerate, show no partiality"

The typical foreman in American industry is recognized as a key factor in employee morale. He, rather than the heads of the company, represents the company to the individual employee. The foreman's responsibilities are far more numerous than most persons appreciate. When the National Foremen's Institute summarized the answers of 1,000

recipients of the *Foreman's Letter*, in twenty different industries, some findings were the following

TABLE 54

"WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DUTIES EITHER  
PARTLY OR FULLY HAVE BEEN  
ASSIGNED TO YOU?"

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Foremen</i>
1 Training of employees	83%
2 Enforcement of work rules and disciplines	83
3 Good housekeeping	80
4 Safety control	74
5 Handling of employee grievances	70
6 Work scheduling	70
7 Proper handling of materials	68
8 Attendance at supervisory meetings	68
9 Quality control	64
10 Promotion of employees	62
11 Firing of employees	56
12 Routing of materials and completed work	52
13 Issuance of tools and equipment	51
14 Hiring and induction of employees	46
15 Relations with union representatives of the rank and file	36
16 Determination of wage rates	28
17 Participation in union contract negotiations	9

It may be said that 4 duties are typical of the chores of practically all supervisory employees. These duties are training of employees, enforcement of work rules and discipline, good housekeeping, and safety control. An additional 9 duties have been assigned to more than 50 per cent of all correspondents. These are handling of employee grievances, work scheduling, proper handling of materials, attendance at supervisory meetings, quality control, promotion of employees, firing of employees, routing of materials and completed work, and issuance of tools and equipment.<sup>5</sup>

The functions and activities of foremen are not fully recognized by other members of management, as shown by a nation-wide survey conducted by *Modern Industry* magazine.<sup>6</sup>

Duties of supervisory employees were divided into 10 classifications, and a representative group of foremen was asked in

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a *Modern Industry* questionnaire to break down its work week

At the same time, top personnel men in these companies were asked to give their estimates of the time spent by their foremen in these varied supervisory activities

In only three of 10 duties—machine setup, receiving instructions, and training new employees—were the actual experiences of working foremen and the estimates of their superiors virtually identical

In other supervisory functions the disagreement between foremen and their employers ranges from 25 to 50 per cent.

Probably most significant is the revelation that foremen spend only a little more than a day in each week actually supervising—giving orders—a figure that is only 75 per

of his own limitations and desires for doing a better job were stated

As was expected, foremen's attitudes toward personnel relations vary between companies. Nevertheless, 37 per cent of the supervisors participating in the survey desire more opportunity to make suggestions to higher management about the company's methods of handling personnel problems. A similar number want more thorough explanations of the workings of the union contract. Regarding trends of company business and the outlook for the future, one-fourth of the foremen would like additional information from the front office that can be passed along to bolster worker morale.

Many foremen are dubious of the em-

<i>Supervisory Activity</i>	<i>Time Spent per Week as Estimated by</i>	
	<i>Foremen</i>	<i>Management</i>
Direct supervision	9 hrs , 26 min	12 hrs , 42 min
Inspection	8 hrs , 20 min	6 hrs , 20 min
Paper work	6 hrs , 12 min	4 hrs , 18 min
Machine setup	4 hrs , 22 min	4 hrs , 6 min
Receiving instructions	4 hrs , 7 min	4 hrs , 18 min.
Training employees	4 hrs , 4 min	4 hrs
Industrial relations	1 hr , 45 min	3 hrs , 24 min
Employee counseling	1 hr , 43 min	2 hrs , 12 min
Indoctrination	1 hr , 33 min	1 hr , 1 min
Other (Meetings, training, etc)	1 hr , 27 min	1 hr

cent of management's estimate of their time spent on this function

On the other hand, foremen report that they spend three fourths of a day weekly on paper work, while management thinks that they spend only half a day on "red tape."

Most outstanding discrepancy is that between management's estimates of time spent on labor relations (3 hours, 24 minutes) and that actually spent (1 hour, 45 minutes).

Most foremen are aware of the importance of human relations in industry. They want to better their own performance in this respect and they have a desire for closer integration into the management team. When surveys of attitudes of foremen of a dozen plants were analyzed, the typical foreman's recognition

employees' understanding of some company policies, and in more than a few instances, admit their own lack of knowledge . . .

For example, this question was asked: "Do you feel that you have sufficient information to explain to a worker what happens when he gets sick or too old to continue at his job?" Twenty-six per cent said "Yes", 29 per cent were "undecided", and 45 per cent said "No" .<sup>7</sup>

A fundamental concept of the modern foreman or supervisor is that he is a teacher and a leader—not a boss. He realizes that if he is a poor leader, his record will show his weaknesses in the form of lowered production, higher costs, increased absenteeism, and numerous grievances. If he is a good leader, he also

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knows that he can prove the effectiveness of his supervisory methods by means of favorable production figures. Furthermore, he enjoys handling people. He gets as much thrill from a skillful handling of an ornery employee as a fisherman gets from landing a game fish.

Schuyler Dean Hoslett has described examples of good and poor supervisory procedures

1. Here are two examples of the foreman's problems in human relations

EVELYN (Getting up reluctantly and going over to Anne at the desk) Well, Dottie you only made 30 units yesterday. Did you have any special trouble? After I brought you all your work, too.

ANNE I didn't feel good.

EVELYN Did you have any machine trouble or anything?

ANNE Yes, I did.

EVELYN Well, why didn't you put your little red light on?

ANNE I don't know. I guess I forgot. And the thread breaks all the time.

EVELYN Well, you should tell me about those things so I can help you. You'll do that after this, won't you? And you'll try to do better too, won't you?

ANNE Yes, but I don't know if I can. It's hard to do.

TRAINER That's fine. Now let's talk about this case.

The role-taking continues with suggestions of using check studies and additional training. In the discussion of "making excuses," the Personnel Manager thinks the supervisor should find out whether the girl has any personal problems. Because the trainer knows that Evelyn has caused resentment by prying into personal affairs of her girls and because he wants to criticize the argumentative technique without criticizing her personally, he sets up a special situation.

TRAINER Let's see how Mr. Jones (the Personnel Manager) would tackle this prob-

lem. I'll be the girl, the same girl Anne was last time. (Sits at the "machine.")

MR. JONES Well, it just seems to me this way. There's lots of things that might be holding the girl back. Possibly she got a letter from her boy friend that had bad news in it, or something like that.

TRAINER Well, let's try it out and see how it works.

MR. JONES (Getting up from his chair) What did you say your name was?

TRAINER Dottie Sholley.

MR. JONES (Now acting the role of supervisor) I have some bad news for you here, Dottie. It seems you have fallen down a little in your units. What seems to be the trouble?

TRAINER Well, I didn't feel so good.

MR. JONES But when you asked me to be your supply girl you seemed to be feeling well enough.

TRAINER Well, I got some machine trouble and that slows you up. And these old threads break all the time. You can't do much when that happens.

MR. JONES (Pauses for a moment) Did you go to the show last night?

TRAINER No.

MR. JONES Anyone in your family sick?

TRAINER No.

MR. JONES Did you have a date last night?

TRAINER No! I'm married.

MR. JONES And you say you haven't been feeling well?

TRAINER No, I wasn't feeling well, but that was just yesterday.

MR. JONES You don't feel sick most of the time?

TRAINER No, that was just a little stomach trouble. There's nothing wrong with me.

MR. JONES (*laughing*): You're sure bucking me. I give up!

BILL If you let them get into an argument with you, you'll never get out. They answer and answer and answer.

TRAINER Thanks. I certainly was being a tough one. Now let me give you my reactions. When you came up saying you had bad news I felt nervous. I didn't like that, so I was sort of on the defensive. I was thinking, now what am I going to say? I thought of something, and then while I thought of that I

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thought of something else to have ready for the next question. Then he asked me about my family and that scared me. I thought maybe something was wrong. Then he asked me if I had had a date, and I was married. That made me so mad I nearly slapped him. And when he asked me again about my health I tried to assure him that I was in good health because I was afraid maybe he would fire me if he thought I was sick all the time. Now, this is the toughest kind of case you will get. A girl who doesn't do what she can do, and you just can't find out why. Now would you like me to try the skunk oil method?

BILL: Yeah, I think so.

TRAINER: O.K. You be the girl, Bill.

BILL: Sure, I'll answer your questions.

TRAINER: You try to be the same girl that Anne was and that I was. Be as tough as you want to.

BILL: O.K. (*Sits down at the table*)

TRAINER: (*Approaching Bill with the sheet in his hands*) Hello, Dottie. Here's the unit sheet for today. Let's see, where is your name? (*Turning the sheets with Bill's help*) I guess it's over on another page. What have you been doing?

BILL: Well, I made 30.

TRAINER: How does that compare with what you've been doing? Is that good for you or not so good?

BILL: Well, I have done better.

TRAINER: How long have you been on the job?

BILL: Oh, about eight or ten weeks, but they change me around so much.

TRAINER: How long have you been on this job?

BILL: About six weeks.

TRAINER: Well, it usually takes a girl three or four months to make 60. You say you have done better?

BILL: Yes.

TRAINER: Have any trouble yesterday?

BILL: Yes, the thread breaks all the time. And I had such little bundles. I had to get more all the time.

TRAINER: Oh, I'm sorry. I told you yesterday I was going to bring you a lot.

BILL: But they're too little. You run through them in no time.

TRAINER: What you want to do is not worry about your progress one day or another day. How much do you suppose you will make a week from today? Maybe you'll get some small bundles and maybe your machine will give you trouble, but counting that in, what do you suppose you will make in a week?

BILL: I don't know. I might make 40 or 45.

TRAINER: You think you could make 40 or 45! Why I've known girls who have taken three or four weeks to get up there from 30! What's the best you have made?

BILL: I think it's 48.

TRAINER: Well, maybe you could then. How'd you like to try and make 40 by next Friday?

BILL: You mean just do 40 by next Friday?

TRAINER: Yes, that gives you a good chance in spite of machine trouble and those things that you can't help that come up. Do you think you could do it?

BILL: I believe so.

TRAINER: Now I don't think you can do it if you have troubles that aren't your fault. Now on the matter of thread breaks, sometimes that's the way you hold your cloth and sometimes the trouble is with the machine. When you get trouble like that, we can call the mechanic in or we can get the trainer over to see what's wrong. You want to have perfect working conditions. I'll come over Friday to see if you've made it, and I'll come around every other day, too, to see if I can help in some way. (*End of role playing*)

MR. JONES: Fine!

TRAINER: I don't think I did that very well, but I was trying to use a different technique. Now what's the difference?

MR. JONES: Well, you weren't on the defensive all the time.

TRAINER: You mean Bill didn't put me on the defensive?

BILL: What he means is when you were the operator you answered him back. And I could answer all your questions to me this time, but there never was any blame on me.<sup>8</sup>



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The discussion continued for fifteen minutes on the details of how to avoid arguments, putting a person on the defensive, the use of production goals, why the trainer tried to make a goal out of the *lower* of the two estimates given by the girl, and so on

### *Conclusion*

There is no standard spiel which can fit every situation, no standard spiel that will work with every kind of personality. More important than the specific words are the attitudes the supervisor brings to this kind of discussion. If he tries to build up a fellow instead of tearing him down, if he sets up a goal the worker can accomplish, the chances are pretty good he will get cooperation.<sup>9</sup>

2 A boss is usually the center of the men's attention. For one thing, his word carries more weight than theirs, he has authority. And for another, he, either actually or from the men's point of view, knows more and is a more able person in one way or another, he is their leader. This being the case, it is difficult for him not to prompt in others—in at least some others—a variety of emotional stirrings that seem to have nothing to do with the boss-worker relationship.

Wherever you look, you will find that authority and leadership always generate in the followers feelings of jealousy, need for personal attention, desire for help and assistance, wish for praise, and so forth. And when you honestly appraise your reactions to the man whom you consider endowed with authority and leadership, you probably will admit to yourself that he is the man to whom you would like to take your troubles, whose personal attention and interest please you, whose praise you want and whose criticism you fear. In a way, your feelings

toward him are not unlike the feelings you used to have toward your father . . .

To give an illustration

A foreman had noticed that one of his men displayed an indifference and hardly-concealed resentment for which there seemed to be no reason. He couldn't get any clue to the fellow's strange behavior and he finally decided to pay the man a visit at his home. Being within his own domain, the foreman thought, the fellow would probably feel free to say what was on his mind.

Much to his surprise he found that the worker's wife greeted him with a great deal of reserve. And it was she who almost immediately launched into long and intemperate remarks about "snobbishness and favoritism." It seemed that she was sore at him because he, the foreman, had failed to play with her kids at the company's last picnic. But he did spend a lot of time romping around with the kids of another fellow, "not half as good a worker as my husband."

The foreman didn't laugh, he didn't even feel like laughing. To be sure, the complaint wasn't any too reasonable. But then, from the man's and his wife's point of view, it was important that he, the foreman, should act as just the person for whom they had previously felt a great deal of respect and admiration. Because the foreman had failed to pay any attention to their children, he had shown himself unworthy of the good sentiments the man and his wife had had for him. They felt cheated, neglected and hurt.

Just how persuasive the foreman's explanation of his own conduct at the picnic was, he did not know. He only noticed that, having spoken her piece and having listened to his comments, the woman seemed to be somewhat mollified—and her husband looked as if he would find great pleasure in having a tooth pulled. At any rate, the talk proved to be a great success. The man again turned into the cooperative and attentive worker he had been before.<sup>10</sup>

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### ***Some findings from the Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan***

One direction of the research program by the staff of this center is a series of explorations of group functioning in face-to-face relations as related to various criteria of group productivity. It is believed that a research focus on the behavior of small groups provides one opportunity to push toward an integration of individual psychology, social psychology, sociology, and social anthropology.

Rensis Likert and Daniel Katz<sup>11</sup> have given a report on supervisory practices and organizational structures as they affect employee productivity and morale. Significant excerpts concerning supervisory attitudes and procedures are the following.

One of the first studies was made in the home office of a life insurance company. There the situation provided objective measures of productivity on comparable groups doing substantially the same work. A similar research study was made in a large public utility company.

*Life insurance company* In order to speed up services to policyholders, the company divided its ordinary policy department and its industrial policy department into a number of parallel divisions. The ordinary policy department was broken into six different divisions, each comprising eleven sections. Each of these six divisions does identically the same thing, as aptitude tests indicate, they have employees of comparable ability, and the flow of work is the same for all divisions. The company has productivity measures in terms of cost-accounting records on each of the sections and each of

the divisions. Except for fewer divisions and sections, similar structure and function are found in the industrial policy department.

Sections and divisions which had consistently been above or below average in productivity for a six-months period were selected for study. About 815 people, including all the workers in the high and low sections, their supervisors, the assistant managers of the divisions involved, and the managers of those divisions, were interviewed.

*Public utility company.* No adequate measures of productivity for the various departments were available. The usual measures of productivity did not apply to substation operators or to certain other types of workers. It was decided that one satisfactory way to proceed would be to use measures of morale.

A comprehensive written questionnaire, covering the many aspects of morale on the basis of pilot studies and pretesting, was constructed. This questionnaire was administered to all nonsupervisory employees, about 8,000 in number. Individual workers were not identified, but they did give the name of their work group so that work groups could be compared. A work group consisted of employees under a first-line supervisor.

On the basis of the returns in the written questionnaire, the forty work groups with the highest morale and the forty work groups with the lowest morale were selected for study. All the employees in these groups, about 800 in all, were interviewed. In addition, all the supervisory and managerial personnel involved, from first-line supervisors through immediate supervisors, all the way up to the presi-

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dent of the company, were interviewed. An effort was made to find out what they did and how they did it in order to get some insight into what produced high and low morale. Some of the more significant findings are given below. They are based either on supervisory or employee reactions.

### *High-production or High-morale supervisors*

1. They see to it that in group discussions the opinions of the employees are recognized, respected, and encouraged.

2. They strive to create employee initiative—which, in turn, breeds responsibility and hence greater job satisfaction.

3. They spend very little time in production work themselves; they are more “employee-centered”—feel it is important to keep the worker happy.

4. They have a strong sense of security in their own job. They feel they know where they stand with the company—furthermore, they feel they are “on top” of their jobs.

5. They instill in their workers a feeling of security—the workers feel their supervisor goes to bat for them and is reasonable in what he expects from them. He lets them know where they stand, what he thinks of their work and how they are doing it.

6. They like dealing with people and have a strong personal interest in them. They have a honest, genuine, sincere interest in employee problems.

7. They praise people more than they criticize them.

8. They know the job, and can explain it clearly to the worker, yet they are willing to listen to constructive suggestions or criticisms.

9. They are astute judges of people and they are skilled in handling them.

10. They keep their employees posted on how well they are doing.

### *Low-production, Low-morale Supervisors*

1. They constantly put pressure on the employees.

2. They complain of a lack of delegation of authority. They feel the need for more clearly defined company policies.

3. They tend to be more “work-centered” than “employee-centered.”

4. They tend to be more authoritarian in their employee relationships, more dictatorial, more dogmatic.

5. They spend a great deal of work in actual production.

6. They do not have a strong sense of security about the job, or their own future status in the company.

7. They are inclined to deal more with the job and work patterns, rather than with problems of their workers.

8. They *tell* the employees what new company regulations mean, or *tell* them what to do and to do it—there is little chance for employees to discuss new rulings in democratic group discussions.

9. They do not keep their employees informed about what is going on in the company.

10. They brush off employees' suggestions and their men do not feel free to discuss important things about the job with them.

Many workers emphasized that one of the major factors in their morale was the quality of this first-level supervision, the level directly over the employee. However, our data suggests that the situation is more complex than that, that it is not just the immediate level of supervision that counts, but those

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levels of supervision that exercise certain important controls as well. For example, it is the second or third level over the rank-and-file employees that exercises important controls in terms of promotion, pay increases, and matters of that kind. And in a situation involving a promotion it is not what the first-line supervisor does, but what the person does who really exercises the controls over promotion that counts.

Another morale factor is the personal interest the supervisor takes in his men and his understanding of their problems. For good morale, a good supervisor takes an interest in how his employees are getting along on the job. This can be called the personal-interest factor—an honest, genuine, sincere interest in one's subordinates. Here again, this attitude is not innate, it can be developed. A person who, himself, has not originally shown interest in personnel, can become progressively more interested in people. Your technically trained engineer, who, by and large, has been interested in slide rules and mechanical measurements, can begin to develop other attitudes over a period of time if he really feels it is essential and honestly believes that it is an important part of his job. Personal interest, it should be recognized, is related both to security and to other ego motives.

A new pattern of motivation is beginning to emerge. We find consistent evidence of its development in many of our findings. It is an internalized type of motivation, by which an individual works hard because he has become identified with his job. He has taken over and internalized the values of the group. He is working now, not because he may get an extra day's vacation, but because he is excited about the work he is doing. This occurs in even fairly routine types of work.

The more democratic internalized type of motivation makes possible the full utilization of human resources. The dictatorial form of government organization that exists in certain parts of the world today, relying as it does upon fear and external sanctions, can never achieve the level of productivity in industry and of human happiness in the job that we can achieve within a democratic structure.

Thus the big question is: "What are the forms of internal motivation and how are they developed?" Our evidence today suggests that participation—giving people a genuine feeling of involvement and making them a part of the decision-making process—is important. There are other factors still to be discovered. We suspect that some of the problems we face are caused by the fact that the basic pattern of management is changing. Hence, we must recognize that some of the things which executives did successfully 20 years ago may no longer be effective today.<sup>12</sup>

Important changes in the character of American society have taken place. No longer can foremen employ fear "You do it—or else." The growth of unions and the values of our society increasingly emphasize a democratic rather than an authoritarian pattern of motivation. Those foremen who still adhere to the "old school" ways of supervising feel helpless and baffled in what they regard as a changed situation.

Research findings are an important means for gaining acceptance from management of new ways of handling problems of human relations. The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan is now in the process of experimenting with ways in which personnel management can use research findings to influence the thinking of the various management levels in a business organization.

### *Group methods of training supervisors*

Numerous procedures for training supervisors, particularly factory foremen, have been developed in industry. The first and most commonly used methods naturally repeat the schoolroom procedures. Executives or teachers hired for the purpose give lectures or conduct classroom instruction of an informative na-

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ture. These traditional methods have not been so successful in industry as in the academic fields, chiefly because the teaching of supervisors is not mainly a problem in giving information. Supervisors need a kind of stimulation that causes them to drop old habit patterns and to adopt new attitudes toward human relations. Mere verbal understanding and acceptance of new ways of dealing with employees is not sufficient. What the supervisor does in everyday contacts with employees is the important measure of the effectiveness of the training program.

Lectures have little effect on the kind of foreman who, for example, is 60 years of age, attained his foremanship the hard way while working on a night shift, is now arbitrary and set in his habits. Such a foreman's supervisory tactics were described by a college student who worked for him one summer.

### *Incident 1.*

FOREMAN (*To a man on the loading crew, paid on an hourly rate basis*) "Want to go on piece rate?"

EMPLOYEE "Yeah, sure"

FOREMAN "You paint tomorrow" (*The next night the worker came in T-shirt and dungarees, not suitable for spray painting. The foreman made a vague reference to mask and goggles and the man started to work without them. After several hours of hard work during which the worker got smeared with black paint, the foreman came over.*)

EMPLOYEE "Hey, boss, what's the rate on this stuff?"

FOREMAN "It ain't been timed yet. You're on your regular hourly rate." (*The material was in regular production and the employee knew it had been timed.*)

EMPLOYEE "The hell it isn't timed"

FOREMAN (*Indignant*) "I said it ain't timed."

EMPLOYEE (*Throwing the spray gun in a bucket of thinner*) "I quit"

FOREMAN "Wash up and report to the loadin' dock"

The following night as the worker reported for the job

FOREMAN "Yur paintin' tonight"

EMPLOYEE "I am like hell—it took me the whole damn day to get clean"

FOREMAN "I said you paint"

EMPLOYEE (*Walking away*) "I quit"

FOREMAN. "Go on help Mike unload steel"

### *Incident 2.*

A crew of men who had been working hard unloading a boxcar decided to sit down for a smoke. While they were smoking, a worker from another crew came over and bummed a cigarette. He was generally disliked for his subservient attitude toward the foreman. Shortly, he disappeared in the direction of the foreman's office, and a little later the foreman appeared followed by this man. The foreman then reprimanded the crew in unprintable terms.

FOREMAN (*Turning to the informer*). "Ya go on piece rate tomorrow!"

### *Incident 3.*

The men were paid on Friday night by a short well-dressed man, with an overbearing attitude, who casually tossed the pay envelopes to the men as they came in. It was his habit to leave as soon as possible, often before 5 P.M. when the work started.

EMPLOYEE "Hey, where the hell is the paymaster?"

FOREMAN "He's went"

EMPLOYEE "I didn't get no pay, and I need it for groceries"

FOREMAN "Come tuh work on time"

EMPLOYEE "But I need it"

FOREMAN (*Turning away*). "Come tuh work on time"

The authoritarian type of supervisor believes in the old philosophy that men will work only when they are controlled by a firm disciplinarian who uses fear as a motivator. Fortunately, modern managements gradually are developing supervision directed toward democratic leadership. Democratic leadership means that the foreman strives to satisfy the egos of the members of the working group and

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de-emphasizes his own ego. He does little shouting at people, sits quietly, listens to people, gives them a sense of participation in solving the fascinating problems that are the daily part of the job.

The authoritarian person tends to regard others as either superior or inferior to him, and he adopts conduct adapted to the situation. The authoritarian person does not love or respect others. "In the last analysis, the alternatives are to fear or be feared."<sup>13</sup>

The democratic supervisor endeavors wherever possible to share with his group the decision-making about work planning, assignment and scheduling. Where a decision must be made by him, he helps the group to understand clearly the basis for his decision. He is careful to develop as much participation, opinion-giving and decision-making as possible, and a feeling of responsibility for the success of the work on the part of everyone. He is concerned that each employee clearly understand his work and has opportunities for success in it. His praise and criticisms are always delivered objectively in terms of work results and never personally in terms of what he may or may not like. He encourages worthwhile suggestions and the development of new procedure.<sup>14</sup>

The traditional training techniques of the past failed to develop the desired changes in attitudes and behavior of foremen and other supervisors. Foremen could be convinced intellectually that they ought to greet employees with a smile when they reported for work, discuss common problems with them, and behave in ways which show an interest in people, but still fail to supervise their workers in that manner. The latter obviously recognized their insincerity, because their words and actions did not express their underlying attitudes. After all, employees often react to a supervisor's attitudes rather than his words and actions.

The attitude of the supervisor is highly important in another respect. Not only do his actions tend to reflect his attitude, but his attitude also influences the way he will view or interpret the behavior of employees. For example, loafing, insubordination, failure to cooperate, disregard of company property, and being unwilling to do a full day's work are largely supervisory interpretations of actions which might also be interpreted, respectively, as resting, face-saving, lack of skill, an accident, and a reluctance to begin a job that cannot be completed. The differing interpretations are highly important, since the problem which confronts the supervisor depends on his interpretation rather than on the actual behavior. The procedure that the supervisor will follow depends in turn upon the problem he sees, so that inaccurate interpretations invariably result in inadequate procedures.

Interpretations of behavior are greatly influenced by an attitude of suspicion. When employees do not trust supervisors and supervisors do not trust employees, misunderstandings in great numbers are created. Grievances that seem small and childish to management are seen as fundamental issues by workers. When mutual trust is present, grievances are rare, and when they do appear, remedies are easily found. Trust is an attitude that must be developed, and when the supervisor has this trust, his attitude is recognized and it develops mutual trust.<sup>15</sup>

Recent advancements in training supervisors are designed to influence attitudes as well as teach techniques for dealing with people. These training programs are of three general kinds:

1. Conference
2. Permissive (nondirective)
3. Role-taking

### ***1. The conference***

The conference may be defined as a group training method in which problem situations of common interest to the supervisors are discussed in an effort to for-

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mulate a solution through the contributions of all members of the group

Advantages claimed for the conference method are

1. The subject matter is of immediate interest to supervisors

2. Opportunity for participation by members is provided

3. The supervisors themselves do most of the talking

4. The level of discussion usually matches their learning speed

5. The method tends to develop qualities of self-reliance and the ability to recognize and solve problems

A typical conference usually consists of four steps

1. The conference leader shows why a given problem or subject applies to the members of the group

2. The nature of the problem is discussed and defined

3. The discussion centers around wrong and right methods of handling the problem.

4. Analysis is made of right and wrong ways for the prevention of the problem in the future

The conference method enables the leader to present informative material as well as conduct a discussion. Principles may be developed and emphasized. Problems involving the principles may be used for emphasis. When doubts arise concerning the applicability of a principle, the leader can clarify the principle more fully and illustrate its applicability to everyday situations in the plant. The leader also may give special assignments which are to be carried out on the job. Later, the supervisors may present the reactions to their attempts to carry out the assignment. During the discussions the leader encourages the whole group to

participate. His role is to keep the discussion on the problem or topic under consideration, to bring about opportunities for face-saving, and to make contributions which clarify the issues or emphasize neglected aspects of the discussion. In some cases, he functions as a democratic leader and in other instances as an expert.

Most conferences for the purpose of training supervisors have been deficient in regard to the measurement of the extent to which the supervisors actually learn and practice the principles developed in the discussion. The facts supposedly learned during the conference can be checked by means of examinations, but examinations too are usually neglected. Furthermore, many of the ideas generated in the training sessions are not translated into action, and no follow-up normally is made in regard to the effects of the training in the daily behavior of the supervisors.

One of the important advantages of the group conference, as practiced in the better concerns, is that the leader or secretary of the group can summarize the principles learned in the meeting. These principles can be mimeographed and reviewed by the supervisors and members of management. The supervisors can be provided with a textual guide which can be reviewed and re-emphasized. Most supervisors like to have some kind of written statement which summarizes what they think they have learned.

An effective conference includes a summary of the conclusions developed by the group. Conferees will feel that the conference was worthwhile and that something definite was accomplished if they are given a formal statement of the thoughts and conclusions brought out in

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the discussion. Such a formal statement usually includes the recommendations of the conference leader as exemplified in the following statement, which was developed during several discussions on disciplinary problems of supervisors.

As a supervisor, you are the leader of your men. Most of your contacts with them deal with the work and the ordinary everyday instructions to them. Most of your thinking and conversation with employees is of a positive friendly nature.

Occasionally, however, you find it necessary to handle problems that involve discipline, problems on the part of employees who have violated some company regulation or failed to do what is expected of a good employee. These problems in violation or failure must be handled with good judgment and offer you a chance to give employees the kind of leadership that builds strength and loyalty to you and the company.

Here are some suggestions and principles that may help you handle the fellow who gets out of line.

1. *Believe in the rules or practices which you expect employees to obey.* Every good rule or regulation has sound reasons back of it.

If you understand the reasons for the company's rules and expectations, you can wholeheartedly represent the company in regard to the expected practices by employees.

Employees are very smart. They soon recognize whether the supervisor really believes in a rule or is willing to shut his eyes and ears at certain times. Most employees naturally fall into line with what they think is expected of them.

Of course, if a rule has become a dead letter and everybody ignores it, somebody ought to find out whether the original reasons for the rule have changed and, if they have, the obsolete rule should be declared null and void. Review the old doubtful rules with your superior and get his decision about the rules that appear to need review.

If you yourself understand the soundness and fairness of the rules that your superior

wishes you to enforce, your part in enforcing them will be easier.

2. *Getting employees to obey rules is an educational matter, not a policing job.* Years ago, a lot of plant foremen and other supervisors thought that the main part of a boss' job was policing employees. As a result, those old bygone foremen had a lot of policing to do. The employees were like the small boys in the old schoolmaster's schoolroom—they often raised hell because their teachers were poor teachers. The good teachers kept the boys so interested in their work that they forgot most of the hellraising.

The same principle applies to the good supervisor of today—he keeps his employees so busy and interested in their work that they usually do the right and neglect the wrong. The good supervisor is a good teacher who explains the right so enthusiastically that employees do the right. And he explains the right before, not after, trouble arises.

3. *The good supervisor has good discipline and still has most employees like him.* A lot of poor supervisors think that the employees do not like the supervisor who expects employees to obey the established rules. Actually, most employees have more respect for the supervisor who takes good discipline for granted and enforces it on the part of the few employees who need disciplinary attention.

Bear in mind that the children who usually have the least respect for the parent are the children who are allowed to do as they please. Employees who know that they can get away with anything usually have little respect for the supervisor who lets them get away with it.

4. *Disciplining an employee who needs it is not only a matter of being fair to him, but a matter of being so fair about it that the other employees approve of it.* Now and then, it becomes necessary to fire an employee. Every supervisor and personnel man who fires a man hopes that he can do it in a way that makes the fired employee feel that he was treated fairly. In addition to making the employee feel that the drastic treatment given him was fair, it is also necessary to make the other employees feel that the treatment was fair.



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No one wants to punish an employee for his bad conduct just for the sake of punishing him. We do not punish our grown-up friends who work with us, but we do find it necessary to tell them that we will have to get along without them until they learn that we insist on working with each other in ways that are fair to all of us—fellow employees, the company and customers.

5 *Good housekeeping and good discipline tend to go together.* The supervisor who keeps his equipment and materials in clean orderly fashion usually finds it easier to have his employees work in an orderly manner.

The supervisor who allows employees to get into sloppy habits of work in surroundings unnecessarily dirty, where raw materials are wasted and unused tools litter the place, must expect his employees to ignore a lot of good rules essential to efficient production.

6 *When the good supervisor finds that one of his best employees has lied to him or violated an important work rule, the good supervisor thinks of himself as also partially guilty.* He thinks of himself as also partially guilty because every employee under his supervision cooperates because his supervision is good. And the bad employee is also partially bad because of bad or poor supervision.

When a normal employee lies to his supervisor, it means that the supervisor has not established the kind of relationship that produces frankness and confidence on the part of the employee. (Of course the chronic liar is another kind of problem.)

When a good employee knowingly breaks a work rule, the good supervisor realizes that he failed to train the employee to appreciate the sound reasons for the rule.

In the long run, the good supervisor tends to attract and hold good employees. And the poor supervisor tends to attract and hold poor employees.

To the supervisor who finds that he has too many problems in discipline, the following "Don'ts" may be of help.

1 *Don't threaten* an employee. Explain. State the facts. Let the plain facts tell their own story. If repeated explanatory statements of the facts do not produce satisfactory results, act. Weak men make threats and use sarcasm.

The parent who constantly threatens his children seldom gains obedience. The parent who teaches the right and holds his children to good conduct gets the desired action without threats.

2 *Don't criticize or find fault only—point out the right.* Stress the right. When an employee has knowingly failed to do the right, let him explain his side of the story before the reprimand or criticism is made. Perhaps special circumstances were involved.

3 *Don't blame "higher-ups" for the rules.* The poor supervisor hides behind the old dodge: "Don't blame me for the rules—I didn't make 'em!" And every time the supervisor says that or its equivalent, he admits that he is not really a full-fledged member of management. Any rule that ought to be obeyed has a good reason back of it and the average employee knows it. The average employee has greater respect for the man who stands on his own two feet than for the supervisor who passes the buck to someone else in management.

4 *Don't try to make the wrongdoer feel guilty—try to get him to see the right.*

Perhaps you've seen a mother grab her small son by the shoulders, stare in his face and yell at him. "Tell me you're sorry or I'll do so and so." In most cases, the mother is more interested in building up her own ego by wringing an admission of remorse than in getting the child to do the right. The child must learn to understand why right is better than wrong.

The supervisor who likes to make the wrongdoer confess his guilt is likely to be the kind of sinner himself who feels bitter about his own sins when others confess their sins to him!

5 *Don't carry the whole discipline load on your shoulders.* Let the employees feel responsible for their own conduct and the conduct of their fellow employees.

A good supervisor respects his own employees. He shows by his manner and conversation that he likes them, trusts them, and expects them to conduct themselves sensibly. His manner of brotherhood toward them helps to develop a feeling of brotherhood on the part of the employees toward each other. Sometimes their suggestions and influence

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will help to keep one of their fellow employees in line

Discuss your problems of discipline with your superior. Keep him informed and ask his advice. The two of you usually can handle any disciplinary problem within reason.

### **2 The permissive method**

In recent years many psychologists have given a good deal of attention to the use of nondirective techniques in psychotherapy. The usefulness of these methods has been demonstrated in dealing with some inadequately adjusted individuals. In the nondirective technique, the individual subject or client is encouraged to think through his own problem and develop a solution or procedure that appeals to him rather than to the counselor.

A few psychologists have applied the method of nondirective or permissive principles to the training of supervisors. One of these, Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo, has prepared a series of audio-visual aids for discussion leaders on the development of morale in industry. Permissive conferences differ from most other conferences in the fact that the leader does not attempt to teach principles verbally; he stimulates the members of the group to develop their own principles.

After the audio-visual material has been presented to the group, the leader allows the members of the group to develop their own discussion and to discover answers for themselves. The leader is cautioned to remain silent and wait for the members of the party to take hold, even though they may flounder. Even if the leader is asked to give help, he refuses to start the discussion. A basic principle is that what the leader tells is not important, rather what the group members

want to know must indicate where discussion should start.

The leader does not take the position of a teacher or tell the group members what is right or wrong. They must find out for themselves what is right. They must participate, explain to themselves, and develop their own insight. When the leader remains neutral and refuses to agree or disagree with the member of the group who makes a statement, the latter is left free to decide his answers, to decide how he feels, and what position he wishes to take on any issue. The leader does not take sides because taking sides is likely to start an argument. When an argument is started, some persons will disagree but remain silent. Instead, the leader compels members of the group, by his silence, to sweat through their own problem and take the position which they themselves finally choose. Cantor gives several examples of the typical leader who takes a position versus the leader who does not take a definite stand on a question.

The problem used by him in this example of the permissive method relates to the importance of seniority.

#### *When the Leader Takes Over*

FIRST SUPERVISOR Shouldn't the fellow with seniority be the one to get the promotion?

LEADER Of course. He's been on the job longest and should be the first one to be up-graded.

SECOND SUPERVISOR (*A foreman who is having trouble because he wants to by-pass an older employee and recommend a younger one in point of service*) I don't agree. A worker with seniority isn't necessarily the most competent for the job.

LEADER (*Who feels embarrassed since his authority and judgment have been questioned in front of the group*). Well,

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- you're wrong. A man who's worked longer will be more skilled.
- SECOND SUPERVISOR: That's not so. I know a lot of guys who've been here a long time and they just haven't learned their job.
- THIRD SUPERVISOR: Well, that's not my experience. The older men do know more.
- LEADER: Sure, it is reasonable to suppose that the longer you work at the same thing the more competent you'll become.
- SECOND SUPERVISOR: That might be your experience. It's not mine. The newer men in my department are way ahead of the older men. They're faster, they've caught on quicker, and they're producing more. And you can't convince me otherwise.
- LEADER: Well, if you're going to feel that way, I don't suppose there's any point in arguing about it.
- SECOND SUPERVISOR: I don't want to argue either. I know my crew and I know I'm right!

This leader did a very poor job in the above discussion. He took a definite stand on the question of seniority. This led to a heated argument. His judgment was immediately questioned and he was put on the defensive. It is easy to imagine that others wouldn't participate in the discussion because they felt they'd be on the spot, too. The easiest thing to do was to keep quiet and take no chances of getting into hot water either with the leader or their fellow-supervisor.

Now let's see how a more skilled leader, who realized he should not take sides, would have handled this question.

### *When the Leader Uses a Permissive Technique*

- FIRST SUPERVISOR: Shouldn't the fellow with seniority be the one to get the promotion?
- LEADER: (*Waits a few seconds to see if anyone would reply—but no one does.*)
- SECOND SUPERVISOR: I don't agree. A worker with seniority isn't necessarily the most competent for the job.
- LEADER: I see what you mean. This is becoming very interesting. Some of you feel seniority should count and others feel

- that merit should count. What do the rest of you think? I guess this isn't an easy question to answer.
- THIRD SUPERVISOR: Well, maybe there's something to both sides of the question. Maybe seniority and merit both play a part?
- SECOND SUPERVISOR: Sure, seniority should count provided the guy knows his job, too.
- LEADER: You mean that as between two men equally competent the one in service longer should get the promotion?
- SECOND SUPERVISOR: Naturally, seniority should count in that case.
- LEADER: Are all of you agreeing, then, that seniority is an important factor but not the only one, that merit must be considered, too?

In this instance you will notice that nowhere does the leader take sides on this question. He merely makes clear what the different speakers are saying and expresses the issue very clearly. He leaves it to the group to decide on the importance of seniority versus merit in the matter of promotion. The leader by keeping his own views out doesn't pre-judge the matter. The group members don't have to fight *against* his position. They are free to express their differences. And if the leader doesn't put them on the spot by his views they are more likely to modify their original position.<sup>16</sup>

Cantor illustrates the effectiveness of the permissive technique in his discussion of why the leader should not argue with any member of the group even though the group criticizes the technique being used.

*Do not argue.* As a rule, when people argue what they say is much less important than how they feel. To contradict a speaker is to invite a restatement of what he said. People want to feel important. When they speak, they want to be respected. To argue with what they said, especially in a group, is to "show them up." It is to be expected that the speaker will resent this. Do not try to "sell" a point to anyone. People must convince themselves. All the leader can do is

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to offer another way of looking at the issue and leave the speaker free to disagree at the time. Let's turn to an example or two.

(*A film on Morale in Industry has just been concluded*)

SUPERVISOR I don't think supervisors need this kind of high-fallutin' stuff. We know how to handle our men!

LEADER Yes, but the guy who wrote this is a specialist and he ought to know.

SUPERVISOR I'll bet he's never been on an operating line in all his life. He's read something in books.

LEADER Well, even so, we can learn something out of books, too.

SUPERVISOR No, not on this job.

Now let's look at what took place. The supervisor made a statement. The leader argued for his position. The discussion ended just where it began. Here is the way a skilled leader might have handled the same question.

SUPERVISOR I don't think supervisors need this kind of high-fallutin' stuff. We know how to handle our men!

LEADER I see what you mean, Joe. You feel it sounds completely foolish and it's a complete waste of time?

SUPERVISOR Oh, I wouldn't go that far and say it's completely foolish.

LEADER You mean there may be something to it, after all?

SUPERVISOR Oh, I guess we could still learn something new.

Here the leader doesn't argue. He simply shows Joe that he respects and understands how he feels, and therefore, helps *the supervisor* to modify his former rigid position.

SUPERVISOR This business of morale is a lot of baloney. Give the worker a living wage and he's got all the morale you want.

LEADER Well, I notice that supervisors get a living wage and still they're not doing such a grand job. Production has fallen in several departments. How about that?

SUPERVISOR You said it. Production has fallen because the men aren't satisfied with their take.

LEADER No, I meant the supervisors aren't doing *their* job.

SUPERVISOR Oh, yes we are. But you can't get the work out of people who aren't paid a decent wage.

It's obvious in the above example, that the leader is unskilled in handling the issue of morale. He is fighting the supervisor and the supervisor fights back. The leader really starts the argument. A more skillful leader would have handled this question differently.

SUPERVISOR This business of morale is a lot of baloney. Give the worker a living wage and he's got all the morale you want.

LEADER I see what you mean. The only thing that interests a worker on the job is the money he gets. He's not interested in the kind of supervisor he works for.

SUPERVISOR Oh, sure, that makes a difference, too.

LEADER You mean, he'll be more satisfied and happier on the job if he has a square shooter for a supervisor than a crab?

SUPERVISOR Naturally. That's just common sense.

LEADER Then, if I understand you, you are saying that besides his wage he wants to have good relations with his foreman?

SUPERVISOR Sure, that's right.

LEADER And that's good morale?

SUPERVISOR I see what you mean.

In this instance, you will note, the leader doesn't argue but helps the supervisor to see for himself that the relationship between supervisor and worker is important.<sup>17</sup>

One of the chief values of the permissive or nondirective technique is in the contribution which the technique makes to the personality development of the leader himself. Very few discussion leaders can use a nondirective technique effectively unless they have a personality development that characterizes individuals who are emotionally secure. A leader who attempts to use the nondirective technique with a discussion group cannot have a temperament that is characteristically on the defensive. He first of all must

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feel secure within himself as a person and be able to hear criticism of himself without emotional disturbance on his own part. Discussion leaders who have learned to use the nondirective technique are likely to be individuals who have an unusually high type of emotional control and poise in social situations or they acquire such a level of social development. True personal leadership and long term patience in getting benefits from it are necessary for the effective use of the nondirective technique. As yet, its application to the training of supervisors has not been widely used, but it gives promise of considerable future effectiveness.

### **3 Role-taking**

Role-taking (also called role-playing) is a grown-up form of "Let's Pretend." In the training of supervisors, the supervisor acts out a situation that involves a human relations problem. The basic principles used are very old. Companies have used them for years to teach salesmen. Psychotherapists have employed them in the psychodrama technique. In recent years, studies made by Alex Bavelas, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and his associates used the "Do and Learn" technique in the training of supervisors in handling human relations problems. In the role-taking, the supervisors not only discuss the techniques which supervisors should use in dealing with employees but they also demonstrate them in the presence of their colleagues.

Several large industrial concerns have used the Bavelas studies as a basis for their supervisory training. In the American Typefounders Company and in other companies, the principle works as follows:

- 1 The staff-training department calls a meeting of the foremen to set up principles for handling a certain type of case.
- 2 A foreman is briefed to be the "worker" in the role-taking—usually from actual case histories of labor disputes.
- 3 Two other foremen, one at a time, are called on to hear the "worker's" grievance, and deal with it.
- 4 Recordings of the discussions are played back, and criticized by the two foremen-players first, then in open discussion.
- 5 The group then decides how the grievance should have been handled. If there's time, a foreman and "worker" play the roles that way.<sup>18</sup>

When supervisors are inducted into this form of training, they at first tend to dislike the idea. They feel that they are not actors and that the whole idea is a lot of foolishness. However, after several sessions have been conducted, the members of the group learn to enjoy the role-taking and begin to volunteer for roles. Sometimes a competitive spirit makes the sessions quite lively. Of course, some supervisors refuse to change their beliefs merely because they have seen others play a role with which they did not agree.

Allan H. Tyler, training supervisor at American Typefounders, after the plan had been in operation about a year, noted considerable improvement in the ways in which supervisors handled their grievances. Quality and quantity of production rose. Supervisors spoke up at meetings with other management men. One of the last foremen to accept the principles developed under role-taking instruction was a tough old-timer who ran his battery of machines and crew of men in the traditional manner. The first time this foreman played a role, he had to handle a charge of carelessness: a worker accidentally had dropped a wrench into

## *problems in supervising employees*

a machine, damaging it. The foreman, in demonstrating the role that he would play in such a situation, promptly fired the man in five acrid sentences.

Then the old-timer watched while another supervisor took over the same role. The new man reprimanded the "worker" and showed him the right way to handle a wiench. After the playback, the old-timer still insisted he was right. A dope who damaged a machine ought to be fired. But the group voted him down, it decided a reprimand and short lay-off would be enough penalty for a first offense. At this point, the old-timer relented a little—maybe he had been too rough. Since then, Tyler reports, the foreman has mended his ways somewhat. Tyler credits the role playing with the change.

Tyler believes the great value of role playing is this. Supervisors learn, by practice, to think on their feet. They never know what the "worker" will say next, hence they learn to make quick decisions under realistic pressure and anxiety. Then, too, they learn by seeing how others cope with situations. And—when they act an employee's part—they put themselves in the place of a worker and see his point of view.

Other companies have had much the same experience. Role playing is firmly set in training programs at Owens-Corning, Armstrong Cork Co., General Foods Corp., Sharp & Dohme, Inc., Esso Standard Oil, and elsewhere. The Michigan Industrial Training Council recommends it to its member-training directors. The American Society of Training Directors recently gave considerable time at a convention in Cleveland to a demonstration of the technique.

At least one union has adopted role playing. The Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers (A.F.L.) uses it to teach shop stewards how to handle workers who fancy they have a grievance, and how to put grievances effectively to foremen.<sup>19</sup>

Role-taking is a process in which supervisors spontaneously act out problems that face them. It differs from demonstrations in the fact that demonstrations are previously prepared. In role-taking, one

of the group takes the part of the supervisor and the other member the role of the employee. The scenes are discussed by the members of the group and the skills and principles pertinent to the particular type of problem are clarified and stated. One of the chief values in role-taking is that it enables the supervisory trainee to participate in his own training.

Meaningful participation is a key to efficient learning in any field of activity, as indicated by references to experiments by Gordon Allport and others.

The classic experiments by Gates wherein learning scores jumped 100 per cent when four-fifths of the subject's time was devoted to recitation rather than to passive reading.

Haggard and Rose's review of learning studies, concluding that in all cases learning seems to be facilitated if the subject himself overtly takes part. This conclusion is summarized under a Law of Active Participation as follows: "when an individual assumes an active role in a learning situation (a) he tends to acquire the response-to-be-learned more rapidly, and (b) these response-patterns tend to be more stably formed than when he remains passive."

Allport's own finding, based on inquiry of 250 college students, that 75 per cent of their vivid memories of school work in the eighth grade were of situations in which the subject himself was actively participating (i.e., reciting, producing, talking, playing, as against passively listening or watching).

The emphasis in Rogerian non-directive counseling on self-propelled activity.

The Kenny treatment for infantile paralysis which requires the patient to take more and more responsibility and action.

The conclusion of Angyal that psychiatrists can easily convey healthy ideas to the patient on the intellectual level without the slightest benefit resulting.<sup>20</sup>

The effectiveness of personal relationships in industry depends upon specific social skills. Like other skills, they may be learned by practice. Thus far, the most



1 "Damn it!" the irate employee at ATF, Inc., yells at his foreman in the familiar way a grievance is initiated almost everywhere, "I'm getting a bum deal."

2 "It happens out there all the time," the foreman reports to his superior—and how well management knows it. In getting supervisors to handle grievances effectively, ATF had the same problem that most employers have experienced. That's why the company sought a better way to make each foreman a human-relations expert.



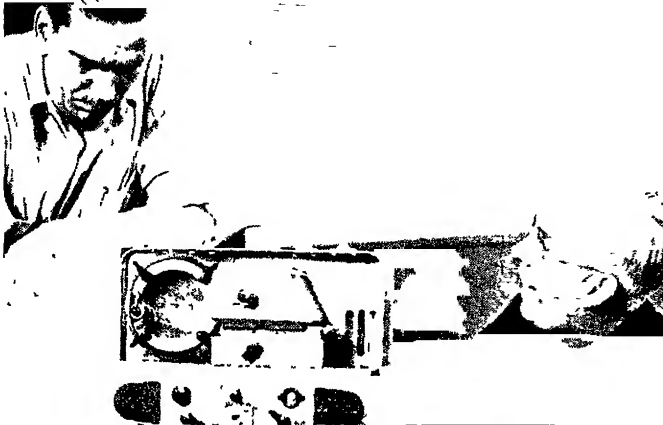
3 ATF thinks it has found the answer in role-playing—a development in psychotherapy which the company aims at its specific training objectives.

A GRIEVANCE when first presented is usually a

4 Role-playing is a modern version of childhood's play-acting—with a serious purpose. Here the foreman acts out the role of the irate employee, pouring it on a younger foreman, who handles his part as he would do it in the shop.



- 5 Still acting as the aggrieved employee, the foreman tries the routine on a supervisor who is an old hand. Unabashed, the old-timer mobilizes his experience, lays his argument on the line like the capable veteran he is



- 6 The old-timer and the younger foreman hear a recorded playback of their exchange with the aggriever. They are critics of each other and of themselves. This gives them a chance to stand off and check their own performance, to see what they did wrong

- 7 How they have handled their parts is measured against company standards for best ways to settle grievances



**CASE OF BASE RATE PAY**

**OBJECTIVES-**  
 Keep good relations with  
 improve his production  
 Maintain rules and policies

**HOW TO HANDLE-**  
 Put at ease  
 Listen to story and get facts  
 Explain performance review  
 Compare record to standard  
 Tell how to improve  
 Don't discuss pay  
 Show why no increase now and  
 how to get one  
 Sell policy



**HOW TO HANDLE GRIEVANCE PROBLEMS**

STEP I Accept the responsibility  
 STEP II Investigate the facts  
 STEP III Decide on the proper action  
 STEP IV Explain the decision to the aggrieved party

- 8 A discussion, led by training experts, clarifies what good practice is, and how it's best achieved — *Business Week*, April 9, 1949



## *problems in supervising employees*

effective method for teaching these skills appears to be the common-sense one—"Watch others, let others watch you, discuss and evaluate differences, and try it again." Alex Bavelas has described the principles and procedures of role-playing in several published articles. Excerpts from one are.

. . . Group discussion may effect considerable changes in motivation, and may raise the group's level of understanding regarding the problems of face-to-face relationships, but it is not very effective in transmitting behavioral skills. It is this defect in the discussion method that has led individuals interested in the problem of training social skills to experiment with role-playing. The central idea of role-playing is the assigning of roles to various members of the training group and the acting out of problem situations .

. . . Whatever the form of role-playing [strictly-defined roles, or highly-spontaneous roles] if it is well planned and directed, the following advantages for teaching are usually gained

1. Playing a role before an "audience" makes an individual self-conscious. Since the purpose of role-playing is not to present a finished performance, this self-consciousness is desirable because it makes the individual aware of his actions in a new way. He becomes as it were, "sensitized" to himself.

2. . . The foreman who is playing the role of a *worker* can report how it made him feel when the *foreman* treated him the way he did. This helps the trainees to get a better insight into the effects of their actions on others.

3. Rotation of roles causes certain factors to operate.

a. the individuals waiting for their turn take full advantage of the chance to see what the fellow "at bat" will do, and thus eliminate errors from their own performance.

b. the individuals who have already been at bat, elated with their success or chagrined at their errors, are also only too ready to find and point out

the good and bad points in the current play.

c. very often an individual who has just played the role of *foreman* takes the role of *worker* in the very next play. For him this offers the stimulating experience of "feeling the difference" between the foreman's and the worker's position in a difficult situation.

4. Role-playing shows you how to *do* something rather than *telling* you how to do it.

5. People learn by *doing*.

Several years of trial and error in the use of role-playing in management training seems to indicate that an effective procedure for teaching specific skills requires (1) the use of carefully planned "stereotype" situations as basic training material, and (2) rather close controls of all roles being played, with the exception of the role primarily under consideration—that one being left entirely free to be played as the individual sees fit.

. . . And there is always the task of constructing the situations which will be acted out. Almost always they must be planned anew for each group and organization, and it is not easy to find the problem situations which will yield the most fruitful material. It may appear on the surface that certain types of problems are common to all foremen—attendance, discipline, work delegation, employee training, etc. But in reality these are areas of responsibility, not problems. . . . The planning of situations for role-playing rests finally not upon generalizations from the picture of industrial management as a whole, but upon individual diagnosis of the organization in which the training is to be done.

. . . The question often arises "Granted that role-playing is an efficient training method, can individuals be trained to use it?" The answer is a qualified "yes", based upon both failures and successes. Attempts to train individuals to direct-role-playing yield very questionable results when reliance is placed upon lectures, demonstrations, and trainers' manuals. Experience indicates what should have been self-evident: that the directing of role-playing can best be taught by the use of role-playing itself.<sup>21</sup>

## *problems in supervising employees*

The concept of democratic leadership on the part of supervisors means that authority resides in the group rather than in the leader. The group is something more than a collection of individuals. Problems are solved by group decision. Training supervisors in democratic leadership is a training in obtaining the whole group's participation in solving problems and making decisions. If possible, unanimous agreement should be obtained.

### ***Good supervision recognizes the importance to employees of status***

Very few supervisors have ever formulated the principles involved in social status, but many able leaders of men have the insight that enables them to sense its importance. A good supervisor, for example, will assign tasks to employees in accordance with the established status systems in his own organization. The long-service and the more highly skilled craftsmen of the group often are given special recognition by both supervisor and fellow employees. Researchers who have studied the status systems among industrial employees have defined and described them. Chester I. Bernard and William F. Whyte\* have described their findings, some of which are summarized here.

In the first place, we must learn to look upon industry as a social system, a system of human relations, which regulates the behavior of the individual members. The behavior of the members will vary according to their individual personalities, to be sure, but it will be importantly influenced by the place each individual occupies in the system of human relations. We find that people occupying the same place in this system tend to

have similar attitudes and reactions toward other people. Therefore it is not possible to think constructively or act skillfully concerning the problems of individuals in the organization unless the nature of the social system is first explored and analyzed.

Whyte's analysis has centered upon three key ideas that may be stated briefly:

1 The factory is, in one respect, a status system, and this system is closely related to the status system of the community. The two systems are mutually interdependent so that changes in one inevitably have an impact upon the other.

2 The factory has a formal organization (as everyone recognizes) and also an informal organization. The factory cannot operate harmoniously unless these two types of structure are adjusted to each other.

3 The social system of the factory exists in a *state of equilibrium* when a customary pattern of status and human relations has been built up over a period of time. When changes are introduced, the system tends to react so as to reestablish its equilibrium. When sudden and drastic changes destroy this equilibrium, the members react with feelings of anxiety or aggression, loyalty to the organization is undermined, and effective cooperation breaks down.

When we talk of status, we must recognize that industry cannot be divorced from the society of which it is a part. The individual has status in his community and also at his place of work, and his behavior cannot be understood without a consideration of his position in both areas of his life.

This is clearly demonstrated in Warner's study of the strike in the Yankee City shoe factories. There it was found that the factory system had changed over a period of years and consequently had destroyed the orderly progression in status that the worker had enjoyed as he moved up step by step to more highly skilled jobs and gained for himself the accompanying status recognition in the community. The advance of technology, destroying status distinctions among workers,

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\* From *Industry and Society*, by William F. Whyte, editor. 1946. Courtesy McGraw-Hill Book Company.

made possible for the first time the growth of union organization. The course of the strike was also influenced by changes in status among the managerial personnel. The local leaders of industry were no longer the top people of Yankee City society, and, in fact, some of those social leaders gave their support to the strike. Since control of the factories had passed out of the community, it became possible to symbolize the union efforts as a strike against outside, enemy forces. This drama, so important to industry, was acted out not in the factory alone but in the total community.

These changes in status in factory and community have given rise to labor unions as organs of conflict with management, but, as Starr points out, the organization of conflict is by no means their only function. The changes described by Warner have upset the old social order based upon close personal relations between social classes with leadership and social responsibility resting in the hands of those of high status. As the old social equilibrium is destroyed, the workers need to reorient themselves to a new system of human relations. This reorientation takes place, not only in the factory, but also in their relations outside the factory. It involves readjustments in their total participation in community life. Unions have stepped in to function in this area also.

Just as the top executives of industry have been losing their power to act as spokesmen representing the workers of their factories, we find them also losing their leadership of the working class in the life of the community. As Starr points out, organized labor has been playing a steadily expanding role in furnishing leadership in social welfare and civic activities. The figures he gives are evidence of the very fundamental changes that have been taking place in our American society. These changes do not point to an inevitable class struggle, but they do suggest that, for harmony in the community as well as in the plant, the social and business leaders must learn to deal with workers through the leadership arising in worker organizations themselves.<sup>22</sup>

A person's status in an organization is determined by the ways he and his posi-

tion are evaluated by management and other employees. A person's responsibilities, privileges, and restrictions as made known to others in the organization affect his status. Each person's status is recognized in every formal organization.

A person's personality may be a means to a change in status. Status ordinarily refers only to the individual's formal position in the organization. However, a new employee whose status is in the lowest level in a group may gradually acquire a higher status in the eyes of his co-workers because of unusual ability, a keen sense of humor, or pleasant personality characteristics. These characteristics may make him an informal leader in his group, and eventually, when management recognizes his informal status, it may improve his formal status.

Two kinds of status in the factory and office may be differentiated: *functional* and *scalar*. *Functional* status depends upon the function, or type of work a person does, within an organization. Although different functions generally denote different degrees of value to the organization and carry with them different amounts of prestige, a person's functional status does not determine the extent of his authority. *Scalar* status, on the other hand, is the instrumentality which determines where employees stand in the chain of command. It is the means by which an employee knows over whom he has authority and to whom he is responsible.

Nearly all members of formal organizations, such as those of the factory and office, are much concerned about matters of status, and the leaders or managers of such organizations are concerned almost constantly with problems of status. The organizational apparatus by which status

## *problems in supervising employees*

is established and maintained may be described as including the following categories (1) ceremonies of induction and appointment (insignia and other public indicia of status), (3) title and appellations of office and calling, (4) emoluments and perquisites of position and office, (5) limitations and restrictions of calling and office

Some employees have a personality development that makes the attainment of higher status especially important to them. They acquire superior knowledge, skill, or service records, and expect everyone in the organization, particularly the supervisor, to recognize their status. Any special privileges granted to some, but not all, employees must be granted in line with each employee's concept of the status of the individuals. As Barnard has stated

No one who watches the contemporary parade of diplomas, degrees, public honors, and the award of innumerable insignia of achievement and distinction, and who observes the reaction of individuals, of families, of organizations, and of the public to them can doubt the importance of these recognitions in nearly every field of individual and social activity

. . . The abler individuals press for segregation corresponding to the observed differences in abilities and in contributions. To be lumped in with inferiors in ability seems an unjust withholding of recognition, an injury to the integrity of the person. Their escape from this position will probably be more individualistic than that of those of inferior abilities who must more often resort to group solidarity. One escape, or attempt to escape, for the superior individual is to try to organize the group, to adopt a function of leadership, or to dominate without authority. Another is to leave the group for various alternative activities—to found a new sect, start a new business, establish a party, and so on.

Much experience demonstrates that those

who are unequal cannot work well for long as equals. But experience also demonstrates that where differences of status are recognized formally, men of very unequal abilities and importance can and do work together well for long periods.

This discussion of the relationship of integrity of the person to systems of status is not exhaustive or comprehensive, but it is enough to suggest that personal need of status system is one of their foundations.<sup>23</sup>

### *Sociometric tests of group structure*

"The difference in physical strength and mental alertness begins to affect the group organization as soon as babies are able to walk and to move around freely. The group begins to develop . . . leaders, dependents, and isolated members."<sup>24</sup>

By studying the reputation that the leader enjoys in his group and the factors that have contributed to his reputation, one may ascertain the qualities that leadership implies in a particular group. Leadership is defined by Gardner Murphy as a function of interpersonal relations, dependent upon the complex give-and-take between the members of the groups, it is relative to the group processes concerned. Leadership is dependent therefore upon the dynamics of a particular group.<sup>25</sup> It cannot be defined in terms of certain static qualifications. No simple variable such as length of time in a group explains the choice-status of an individual. Instead, the reciprocal interplay maintaining between the individual and those in the same field *and constituting the individual's personality as the latter view him, appears to be the underlying basic explanation of isolation and leadership.* This finding grew out of a systematic exploration of the choice process by H. H. Jennings, using sociometric techniques.<sup>26</sup>

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The sociometric technique, devised by J. L. Moreno, is a method of studying relationships that exist between persons within groups. This technique, and modifications that have been tested by other psychologists for measuring the amount of group organization and the interplay of personalities within groups, is known as the sociometric test.

Its purpose is to analyze a person's relationship to other members of a group. At the same time certain facts about the group are clarified, such as to what extent it is cohesive, whether there are cliques and cleavages, and who the dominant personalities are. Bronfenbrenner defines the sociometric test as a method for discovering, describing, and evaluating social status, structure, and development through measuring the extent of acceptance or rejection between individuals in groups.<sup>27</sup>

It must be emphasized that only a test that tries to ascertain feelings of group members toward one another and to ascertain them in respect to the same criterion (that is, for a concrete situation in their group life) can be called sociometric. The feelings and attitudes of the testees are of prime importance, as it is on them that validity of the whole test rests.

In order to make a sociometric test, all members of a group are requested to select a certain number of persons whom they want to associate with in the context of a particular situation. Ideally, subjects participating in the test should have some reason for expressing their interpersonal likes and dislikes truthfully. Their choices should, in some way, affect their lives. For example, if all testees are living in assigned quarters, they might be informed that their choices will be the

basis for reassignment in accordance with their own preferences instead of the convenience of the assigning authority. It is reasoned that, if the subjects are given the opportunity to improve their own life situations through the test, their choices will be truthful and the test will not incur the odium commonly felt for a test.

After choices have been made by each group member, they are calculated and charted, and a definite pattern of group and subgroup formation can be observed. The fact that some members are highly regarded and desired by many members emerges. These much-chosen individuals are the "key" individuals. They are in many situations also the actual leaders, in some cases they are not. But they usually are the ones whom the leader must attract and direct in order to exercise influence and attain power. Other members may be chosen by no one. These are the isolates. Between these two extremes are many intermediate statuses. For example, one individual is chosen by one person and himself chooses that same person. In other cases a person chooses only one person and that person does not choose him. Obviously, in the latter case, such persons are not wanted by others as colleagues in the situation for which the choices were given.

Thus the cohesiveness of a group in its interpersonal structure can be tested. If many group members are linked in mutual chains of preference forming a network to which the large majority of members are connected, a fairly cohesive group exists. By classifying an individual in relation to others on the basis of his associates' opinions, his importance as a unit in the group is measured, and his part in the sociodynamic situation in

which he lives for at least part of the time can be evaluated. Inevitably the individual acts upon the group of which he is a member, and the group acts upon him. Thus the extent to which he accepts the group and the group accepts him determines whether individual growth and constructive group activity will be encouraged, or whether membership in the group will militate against good adjustment of both individual and group. As Bronfenbrenner has stated: "The sociometric test, while it may show where people stand in the group, does not indicate why they are placed there. In other words, a person may be the 'star' or 'isolate' for a wide variety of reasons—some of them good, others bad. The natural tendency to interpret rejection as an indication of unsatisfactory adjustment and wide acceptance as signifying superior social relationships is therefore not always justifiable."

Different experimenters have employed varied techniques in the testing situation.<sup>28</sup> Some have set no limit on the number of choices allowed group members, and some have allowed expressions of rejection in addition to expressions of choices. Some have retested the same group after an interval of several months in order to ascertain the extent to which choices remain the same over a period of time.

While doing sociometric work for the Navy during World War II, Jenkins formulated the nominating technique. Although it is similar to all sociometric methods, it is particularly adaptable to solving the problem of selecting suitable industrial leaders.

Under Jenkins' direction, members of a group made four selections apiece. Each named two persons, inside or out-

side the immediate group, with whom he most preferred to work. He also named two with whom he most disliked the thought of working.

Modifications often are made in the method by framing the question in accordance with what is desired to be learned, e.g., "Who, in the group, would be the best foreman?" Number of choices allowed each person also varies in accordance with the purpose of the experiment.

Results are graphically illustrated by representing each group member as a circle and a number. An arrow is drawn from the circle representing the chooser to the circle representing the one chosen. When all choices have been charted it will usually be apparent that one person is chosen more often than others. "Isolates" and "mutual admiration societies" appear also by this modification of the original Moreno technique. Cliques and cleavages within the group are also exposed. The figure on page 462 is a small sociogram.

Little imagination is required to envision how useful this method might be in choosing a leader. He would be the most highly regarded, thus the one likely to get greatest cooperation.<sup>29</sup>

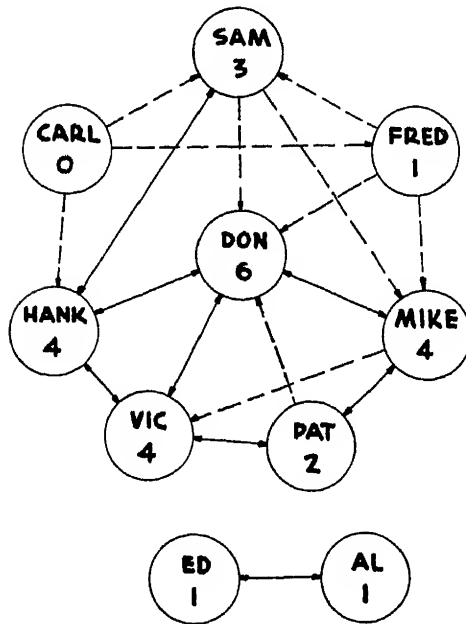
Although leaders of social groups in our culture are usually chosen by the group of which they are a part, this is not true of leaders in industry. Leadmen, foremen, superintendents, are usually selected by some person or group in authority. The desires of the group which is to be led or supervised are not of prime importance, although the chosen leader must not be so unacceptable to the group that he will be ineffective in the leadership role. The fact that leaders and supervisors in the work situation are not chosen by the group as they are in social

## *problems in supervising employees*

situations contributes to much of the jealousy and divided loyalty found in industry. This is accentuated when leaders are seemingly arbitrarily appointed

ate with optimum efficiency. If, in addition, there is petty feuding and overtly expressed discontent, all possibilities of a smooth-functioning unit may be disrupted.

SOCIOGRAM OF TEN EMPLOYEES



EACH CIRCLE represents one man. His name and the number of choices he has received are contained in the circle. Arrows show the direction of choices, e.g., Carl chose Sam, Fred, and Hank. Carl is an isolate, because no one has chosen him. Don, with more choices than anyone else, is the functional leader. Hank, Don, and Vic comprise a clique because they chose each other. In addition to illustrating a clique, Ed and Al illustrate a "mutual admiration society" because they are not a functional part of the group yet chose each other. The fact that there are no choices between them and the other eight men means that there are really three groups in this unit of ten men, instead of one cohesive group. Ed and Al illustrate a cleavage.

or removed. As already stated, leadership is a function of the group. The leader must fulfill the needs of the group. If the group has mental reservations about its leadership, it will probably not oper-

ate with optimum efficiency. If, in addition, there is petty feuding and overtly expressed discontent, all possibilities of a smooth-functioning unit may be disrupted. Snags of this type of tension arise when, for reasons of economy, the number of supervisors is reduced. For example, the foremen in a certain industry were told to reduce the number of leadmen (foremen's assistants). Accordingly, one foreman assigned two of his leadmen back to their old jobs as mechanics. He explained to them that they had been selected for demotion because they had less seniority than the other leadmen in the department. One of the demotees continued to help the men who formerly had been under him. They wanted him to do so and he was pleased. The leadman to whom these men had been newly assigned was delighted at the help. However, when the demotee asked the foreman for a raise and was refused, he became antagonistic toward the foreman, and his ex-subordinates imitated his attitude. The foreman met this antagonism by staying away from the clique.

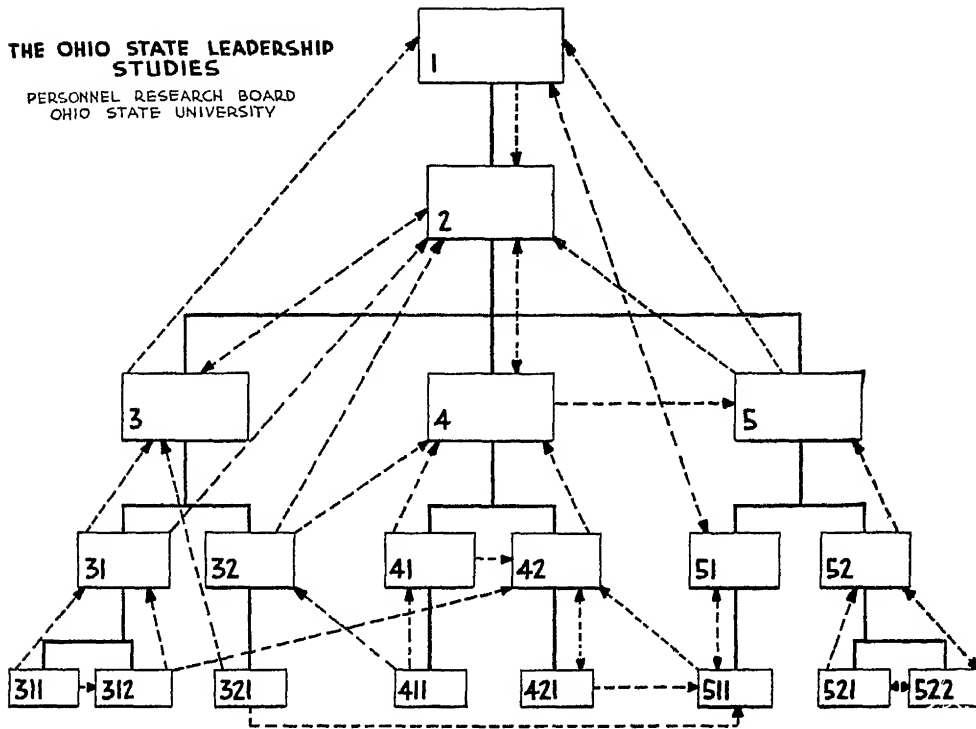
The other exleadman has apparently been much disliked. So great was the display of enmity toward him by two of his former operators that he asked their present leadman to intervene in his behalf. When this proved unfruitful, he spoke to the foreman. The afternoon that the foreman reprimanded the men, a bolt was thrown at him. Next the disliked exleadman sprained an ankle as a result of a peculiar "accident." After all this, the foreman decided that things were out of his control. He took his troubles to the superintendent.

Although the superintendent advised the foreman to clarify to his department

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reasons for the demotions and to talk with the disliked exleadman about his personality, he informed the foreman that the real reason for all the departmental trouble was that he had lost touch with the men under him. Even

though pressure of other types of work may make it difficult, contact with the group, individually and collectively, must be cultivated if the group is to be a harmonious, cohesive unit. It will be torn with major and minor strife unless there



IN THE FIGURE ABOVE, the formal organization chart is shown in solid lines with the pattern of interpersonal relationships in checked lines. The checked lines show the first two choices, that is, the two persons within the group with whom most time is spent. The arrow points in the direction of the person named. Thus, number 51 named number 1 and number 511, and number 1 named number 2 and number 51. One can see what are sometimes called "violations" of the organization chart. The studies of various staffs suggest that "violations" are a normal activity. The informal or interpersonal work structure represents day-to-day relationships. Staffs are usually fairly familiar with the organization chart, but little has been done to acquaint staff members with an understanding of the "interpersonal chart."—The informal structure is one index of the dynamics of getting work done, and it appears that for efficiency it will necessarily deviate from the formal structure. Extreme deviations, however, may hamper rather than promote efficiency.—In the organizations studied thus far, executives who devote a relatively large amount of their time to planning rank high in being chosen as ones "with whom most time is spent in getting work done." In eight out of ten organizations studied, those executives who were frequently chosen attempted to delegate a comparatively high degree of authority to subordinates. It thus appears in the staffs studied that high sociometric ratings, planning activities, and delegation of authority go together. From Carroll L. Shartle, "Leadership and Executive Performance," *Personnel*, American Management Association, March 1949, pp. 370-380.



## *problems in supervising employees*

is sufficient personal contact to breed understanding and mutual respect

The discerning foreman or executive utilizes the functional leaders in his group and thereby prevents the development of cliques. He eliminates cliques by integrating the functional leaders into the life of the larger group.

Research in this area is being conducted in several institutions. One study, at Ohio State University, is a ten-year program on the subject of "Leadership in a Democracy" as it applies to administrative positions. The figure on page 463 presents one significant chart from this study.

Sociometric ratings based on "with whom most time is spent in getting work done" are superimposed on the formal

organization chart. Noticeable deviations between the formal organization and the informal organization as revealed by the sociometric ratings have been found in every case studied. As might be expected, the charts of the formal and the informal or interpersonal work structure differ markedly. Unfortunately, staff members are usually given some instruction regarding the formal organization, but very little information regarding the structure of informal interpersonal relations. In actual practice, the informal structure is more important in the dynamics of getting things done. Each administrative person or key employee must learn as best he can the structure of the informal organization. Alert supervisors, in time, do learn it.

### PROJECTS

1. Discuss the good and bad aspects of the foreman's procedure described in the following example.

I recall a situation where a foreman in charge of an unloading crew went to the superintendent and recommended that inasmuch as certain roller conveyors had been put into use in the unloading of cars, a reduction in the tonnage rate paid to workers for unloading cars should be put into effect. His recommendation was accepted and a reduction in rates was installed.

In announcing this reduction to his workers, the foreman explained to them that the superintendent had called him in and told him that rates would have to be cut.

"In spite of everything I could do and in spite of every argument I could put up against this cut in rates, the superintendent insisted it had to be done anyhow," the foreman explained.<sup>30</sup>

2. Construct a rating scale for the use of an executive who wishes to have his employees rate him on his executive characteristics and ability. Keep the tone and

purpose of the rating scale constructive rather than critical in nature.

3. Tell how you would deal with the following kinds of employees who are in need of executive attention:
  - a. The employee who asks for a raise but does not deserve it.
  - b. The employee who thoughtlessly gives a company secret to a competitor.
  - c. The rank-and-file employee who masquerades as an important executive of the company.
  - d. The salaried employee who was absent because of intoxication.
  - e. The employee who pads his overtime card.
4. What rules should the supervisory executive follow, in order to be certain that his instructions to an employee are thoroughly understood by the employee?
5. What should be done by the executive who happens to appear unexpectedly among a group of workers on a day-wage basis of pay and finds that most of them are loafing on the job?
6. Tell how the autocratic type of executive

## *problems in supervising employees*

- might handle the cases listed in this chapter. What would be some of the possible reactions of the employee in each case? How could an intelligent, well-adjusted employee handle himself in such circumstances?
- 7 The foreman is a key figure in labor relations. Work out a system for selecting foremen in a large factory. Describe specifically each quality you would want to consider and how you would use it in the selection plan.
8. This chapter has presented certain differences between the methods of the autocratic and the democratic types of executives. Apply the same principles to the methods of present-day statesmen and rulers. Describe each of several statesmen and evaluate his methods from the point of view of the welfare of his nation.

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## 2I Employee relations: attitudes— how to measure and influence them

*Five thousand years ago an ancient Egyptian by the name of Ptah-Hotep wrote*

*"If you are in the position of one to whom petitions are made, be courteous and listen to the petitioner's story Do not stop his words until he has poured out all that is in his heart and has said all that he came to say A man with a grievance loves the official who will accept what he states and let him talk out his trouble fully A kind word will illuminate his heart, but if an official stops the flow of his words people will say, 'Why should that fellow have the power to behave this way?'"<sup>1</sup>*

SYSTEMATIC SURVEYS OF EMPLOYEE ATTITUDES began in the early 1920's. Now similar investigations are made each year in hundreds of companies with thousands of employees. One reason for the rapid growth of attitude surveys in industry is exemplified in this incident.

Recently I inquired of one of a certain company's drill press operators, "Joe, How's the food in the plant cafeteria?"

"Food's okay," he replied. "But the prices they soak us is terrible."

"Aren't they less than you'd have to pay outside?" I pressed him.

"Maybe so," he agreed reluctantly. "But with the company able to buy in quantity, they must get everything cheap. Us guys figure they're makin' plenty of dough right out of the food they serve us!"

Later this same day the company's President said to me, "Our workers know we're sincerely interested in their welfare. Take our plant cafeteria. We operate that entirely for their convenience. It's losing us just under fifty thousand dollars a year."

Clearly here was a case where management had failed to explain itself to its labor. Here, too, was a case where, because of this failure, labor was resentful toward management. And finally, here was a case where management was entirely unaware of its workers' antagonism.<sup>2</sup>

Attitude surveys have developed because the better managements in large concerns realize that they do not have effective two-way communication with

their employees. Executives like to forestall labor trouble by locating and correcting sour situations. A survey provides a picture of the status of morale in an organization and enables management to evaluate its own successes and failures in employee relations.

#### ***Procedures for evaluating employee attitudes***

Employee attitudes are indicated by many different kinds of data, such as labor turnover, labor disputes, absenteeism, grievances, production costs, and suggestions made by employees. Psychologists have been active mostly in regard to investigations that use questionnaires, attitude scales, "Why I Like My Job" contests, and various types of interviews, such as the unguided interview. In the *unguided* interview the employee is encouraged to talk about whatever is on his mind. The interviewer listens, avoids asking direct questions, but stimulates the employee to talk further. This procedure has been called also the industrial relations interview and is exemplified in the Hawthorne studies of the Western Electric Company.

In the *guided* interview an interview schedule is followed. The interviewer has specific questions that he may ask in an apparently unguided manner or in a rapid-fire direct manner. Usually, the procedure is informal and the interviewee is encouraged to volunteer his ideas and to reflect his feelings.

In the *printed questionnaire* procedures we find the various kinds of customary examination questions, such as Yes-No, True-False, Multiple-Choice, and Open-End. A question may be stated in open-end form to encourage comments for example, "What suggestions

do you have to improve your working conditions?" or as a check list that forms a crude scale for example, "Do you think that your working conditions are (a) *above average* —, (b) *average* —, (c) *below average* —?"

The content of the questionnaire, regardless of the form used, is usually developed in conferences of members of management and groups of representative employees. Once the inquiry form is completed, the supervisors and employees must be given assurance that the results will be to their advantage, that nothing from the survey will be used to anyone's disadvantage. To assure this, most surveys use a type of questionnaire that is not signed by the respondent. Details of administration are planned and pilot studies may be made of small groups of employees to correct ambiguities in phrasing or errors in the program. The type of study made varies with the preferences of the psychologist, personnel man, and management involved in the survey. Each procedure has some advantages and limitations. The major procedures given further explanation here are the following:

#### ***The industrial relations interview***

The Western Electric Company developed a systematic plan of interviewing for learning what the employees really thought of their jobs, working conditions, fellow employees, supervisors, and their company.

Men were interviewed by men, women were interviewed by women. When the interviewers used prepared questions, the employee often wandered away from the questions and discussed some other matter, seemingly irrelevant but actually

## *employee relations: attitudes*

very important to the employee. The use of prepared questions was discontinued and the employee was encouraged to talk, not only about grievances toward the management but about any personal matters which bothered him. Gradually, the industrial relations interviewers' techniques were improved, as described by Roethlisberger:

During the period from 1928 to 1930, members of the industrial relations staff of the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company interviewed some 20,000 employees. In the beginning they hoped to get "facts" in the strict sense. From these data they hoped to improve working conditions and company policy. But what they did get from the interviews was an inextricable mixture of fact and sentiment. This outpouring of human sentiments could not be used in the simple fashion originally conceived. However, it is to the credit of management that they did not throw this material into the rubbish heap. They began to see that sentiments, when properly understood and interpreted, constituted social data of the greatest importance.

Probably one of the most interesting developments of this interviewing program was the experience which the interviewers themselves received and in turn communicated to supervisors. When some of the more enterprising of the interviewers realized the nature of the material they were eliciting from employees, they began to devise rules and techniques for ferreting out and trying to understand the employees' sentiments. Curiously enough, the very rules they devised to improve their interviewing technique, they found were easily translatable into simple rules for the supervisor in handling his personal relations. These rules apply to the first-line supervisor as well as to the higher executive in his relation to individuals with whom he has face-to-face contacts.

The first rule is that the supervisor should listen patiently to what his subordinate has to say before making any comment himself. Probably the quickest way to stop a person from sufficiently expressing himself is to in-

terrupt. Of course, it follows that, besides actively listening and not interrupting, the supervisor should try to understand what his subordinate is saying. Moreover, he should show his interest in what is being said.

The second rule is that the supervisor should refrain from hasty disapprobation of his subordinate's conduct. It is not his business, in the first instance at least, to give advice or moral admonition. If the employee says, "This is a hell of a company to work for," the attitude of the supervisor should not be, "Tut, tut, my good man, you are not displaying the proper spirit." Instead, he should try to get the employee to express himself more fully by asking why he feels as he does. In many instances employees by themselves are not able to state precisely the particular source of their dissatisfaction, but if they are encouraged to talk freely the effect is not merely emotional relief but also the revelation to the critical listener and (sometimes even to the speaker himself) of the locus of the complaint.

The third rule is that the supervisor should not argue with his subordinates. It is futile to try to change sentiments by logic. The best way for the supervisor to avoid arguments is to see that the employees' sentiments do not act on his own. It will be remembered that, when Bill told his employer that his piece rates were too low, he acted upon his employer's sentiments. The employer felt that he had to defend his wage rates.

The fourth rule is that the supervisor should not pay exclusive attention to the manifest content of the conversation. The interviewers had discovered that there is a tendency to rationalize sentiments and that in ordinary social intercourse the participants are likely to become more interested in the truth of the rationalizations than in the sentiments that are being expressed. Bill's employer, it will be remembered, paid attention only to the manifest content of Bill's complaint, with the result that he failed to learn anything about Bill's personal situation.

The fifth rule is that the supervisor should listen not only to what a person wants to say but also to what he does not want to say or cannot say without assistance. A person has

difficulty in talking about matters which are associated with unpleasant and painful experiences, and many sentiments tend to remain so much in the background of a person's thinking that he is unaware of them. It is important to listen for what a person regards as so obvious and so common that it never occurs to him to doubt or question it. These implicit assumptions are of the greatest importance in assessing a person's values and significances.

In short, then, as a result of interviewing experience at Hawthorne, a new conception of leadership was developed. This conception began to percolate to the higher ranks of supervision and to the higher executives of the company. They found that one of their functions as supervisors and managers was to listen to, and become better acquainted with, the sentiments of their employees and with the nature of that social structure, or system of sentiments, called the "company." They began to see that each industrial concern had a social structure, that this social structure was related to the wider social structure of the community. They began to see that it was very important for them to understand their own social structure, for this structure defined the limits and degree of collaboration. When they listened to the complaints of their employees, they realized they were listening to the creakings and groanings of their own social structure. When they saw the newly arrived young college man "making an ass of himself," annoyed at the "red tape" which seemed to block his movements at every turn, they began to realize they were watching the painful adaptations of a logically tutored individual to a complicated social structure with which he was unacquainted. They began to understand better the battered and mutilated state in which their own neat plans and policies finally reached the worker, after having been transmitted through an elaborate supervisory hierarchy. Also they began to understand better why the reports they received from their immediate subordinates as to what was happening at the front line, after having been transmitted through an elaborate supervisory hierarchy, did not quite coincide with what they learned from the interviewing program.<sup>3</sup>

The company has developed a permanent personnel-counseling procedure.<sup>4</sup> Approximately 300 employees are assigned to each counselor. The average length of time for the interviews is 80 minutes. All findings are strictly confidential so far as names of employees are concerned in the making of complaints. Only the complaints and suggestions are given to the management. The few employees who do not care to be interviewed are not interviewed.

The skilled industrial relations interviewer can spot many misunderstandings, grievances, and personal problems which often can be cleared up through frank discussion. When the employee talks himself out and achieves a psychological integration with his working relations, he tends to have fewer frustrations, obsessions, and feelings of fatigue. He feels that he "belongs" and that he is in control of himself in relation to his world.

#### *Attitude scales*

Several psychologists have done considerable research work in devising scales and schedules which are designed to reveal the nature and causes of dissatisfaction and satisfaction in the attitudes of employees. Attitude scales are a special variety of printed questionnaire that has been constructed by a calibration technique which presents a list of items of varying degrees of favorableness in regard to the matter under question. The items with which the employee agrees are to be checked by him.

One of these investigations by Woods used the Thurstone<sup>5</sup> technique of just noticeable differences<sup>6</sup> and involved six years of study. Seventeen of 53 groups of statements of job segments were found

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to be statistically significant Excerpts  
from the scale form are the following

### Job Segment Evaluation Scale<sup>7</sup>

This scale is designed to analyze the attitudes of employees in various jobs. Each of the following statements represents a numerical value indicative of a degree of attitude. We are not interested in individual attitude measurement in this case, therefore you are asked not to write your name on this form.

You are asked to check the one statement in each of the following groups which most closely represents your opinion on the subject.

	<i>Scale Value</i>		<i>Scale Value</i>
1. Our supervisors are capable men	8 7	7 The work we are doing is not very essential	1 6
2 If the supervisors were more capable they wouldn't be criticized so much	2 1	1 It is a pleasure to do favors for fellow workers here	8 7
3 Our officers are the very best men for the job	8 6	2 An employee should, if necessary, go out of his way to help fellow employees	7 6
4 The officers have earned their positions by being good administrators	8 5	3 Employees should do favors for each other	7 3
5 Most of the officers are good men but there are a few who aren't	6 9	4 It is all right to do favors for fellow employees if they have done one for you	4 9
6 Officers are just like anyone else, some are good and some are bad	6 5	5 It is best to let fellow employees know that they cannot expect favors from you	1 9
7 There are a few good fellows among the officers	4 7	6 If you start doing favors for fellow workers you will soon be imposed upon	1 3
8 The officers would be better liked if they didn't act like they were so much better than anyone else	1 0	7 It is all right to do a favor for a fellow employee now and then	4 3
9 The officers are a bunch of politicians	1 0	8 Nothing is gained by doing a fellow employee a favor	0 6
10 The officers would be better liked if they weren't a bunch of capitalists	0 7	1 I like the work here because it is so interesting	8 9
1. The work we are doing is really a great service to mankind	8 8	2 There is absolutely nothing interesting about the work here	0 6
2 Our work is really a racket.	0 6	3 The work is so monotonous I'm glad to forget about it after quitting time.	0 7
3. Our work is not so important but somebody has to do it.	2 7	4 This work is so trying I am really glad when it is time to quit	1 2
4. The public should be encouraged to support the work we are doing	7 4	5 I wish something could be done to make this work a little more interesting	1 3
5 The work we are doing is one of those necessary evils	1 8	6 I really hate this job but what can one do about it.	0 5
6. It is only fair to advise the public that there are better ways of investing their money than here.	0 8	7 I wouldn't change jobs with anyone	9 1
		8 I would like my job better if there were any future in it	4 4
		9 An employee here cannot be blamed for looking for a better job elsewhere	3 0
		10. There is no reason to object to a job in this organization.	7 6
		11 The future possibilities of this job are unlimited	9 0
		12 This is a good chance for a career.	8 7
		1. Political pull rather than training makes for advancement here	1 5

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	<i>Scale Value</i>
2. The management makes it worthwhile for an employee to improve his training	8 0
3 The management offers the employee unlimited opportunity for training to improve his work and service	8 9
4 There is little use in bothering with outside training for the management has most of us pegged where it wants us	1 1
1 Employees here are well paid in proportion to their ability	8 3
2 The best way to get a raise is to tend to business.	7 8
3. You never get a raise here unless you ask for it.	3 3
4 Some employees here are paid according to their ability but others are not	3 3
5. The employees would be better satisfied if they were paid on the basis of ability.	3 3
6. If an employee feels he isn't getting what he is worth it would be to his advantage to discuss the matter with management.	8 6
7. The most able employees are not always the best paid	4 2
8. Working overtime without pay is all right once in a while, but that happens too often here	3 4
9 We are always glad to work overtime, for extra effort is always recognized in some way here	8 4

These examples, taken from an attitude scale consisting of 427 statements, were arranged in haphazard order in the questionnaire. The printed instructions requested the employee to check only those statements with which he agreed. This kind of attitude scale is especially helpful to the investigator who wants to make surveys that can be treated statistically. Morale scores can be compared for various occupational and other groups, such as foremen, old employees, depart-

ments, members of one sex, and so on.

Unfortunately, some of the academic psychologists have become so enthralled by the statistical aspects of attitude scales that they have ignored the spirit of their use. An attitude scale can be psychologically worth while only when it is first developed by the cooperative action of management and employees. The nature of the scale or schedule is not so important as having employees or their representatives participate in the construction of it. The positive side of the situation often deserves more attention than it is given by a questionnaire such as an attitude scale. This attention can be obtained by means of a contest that stresses positive thinking on the part of employees.

### *The "Why I Like My Job Contest"*

In 1947 General Motors Corporation conducted its well-known contest that elicited 175,000 letters. The writers gave some 1,250,000 reasons for liking their jobs. Psychologists classified these into 58 fairly specific categories and transferred them to punched cards along with other data about the employee, such as sex, age, length of service, job, and division where he worked.

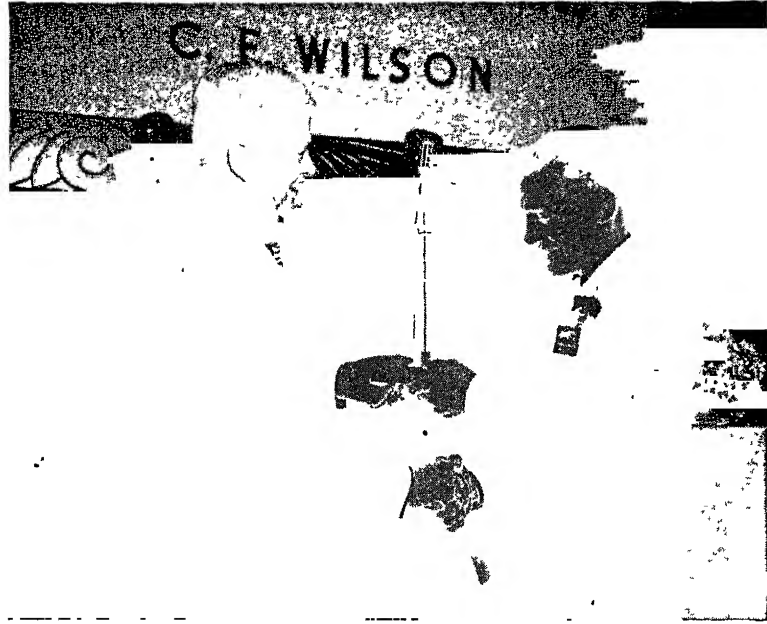
Of all the reasons for liking the job, General Motors employees gave "liking the boss" first place (given by almost 48 per cent of the entrants). Next in order were the worker's "associates," "wages," "the character of the work," and "pride in the company." Toward the bottom of the list were the reasons "the success achieved by the employee," "the parties and open houses sponsored by the management," and "pride in building a good product."



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The implications in the studies being made have led to several industrial-relations programs within the corporation. It was established fairly clearly that workers liked to get information about their jobs, their environment, and the world in general. One result—the creation of employee-information

chological standpoint, of course, is that the letter-writers joined the contest voluntarily, wrote of things they liked. Asked about the negative aspects, they might have been suspicious, irritated—or even flattered. The absence of those elements gives the whole study an authentic air on which G. M. is banking



AWARD OF A KEY symbolizing possession of the top prize in the General Motors "My Job and Why I Like It" contest is being made here by C. E. Wilson left, president of General Motors, to Thomas E. Anslow of the Buick Motor Division, Flint. Mr. Anslow won a brand new Cadillac for writing the best entry among some 175,000 from G. M. employees over the United States. Forty automobiles in all were given away, the awards being made at a banquet in Detroit.

racks from which workers can help themselves to pamphlets and booklets.

G. M. doesn't fool itself about the definitive value of "My Job Contest" averages. It is satisfied that many of the submitted papers were influenced by the desire to win a prize—by writing things the judges might like to read. Consequently, there is no attempt to read into the findings any conclusion that Reason A is twice or three times as important as Reason B.

The beauty of the study, from the psy-

chological standpoint, of course, is that the letter-writers joined the contest voluntarily, wrote of things they liked. Asked about the negative aspects, they might have been suspicious, irritated—or even flattered. The absence of those elements gives the whole study an authentic air on which G. M. is banking

### *Illness and attendance records as measures of morale*

A New York City mail order house employing 600 employees found that there were great differences in the number of latenesses and short medical ab-

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sences in the different departments. An illness lasting one, two, or three days was termed a short medical absence, and a long medical absence was one of four or more days duration. The rate of lateness and short medical absence in each department was found to vary less from quarter to quarter than the rate of one department varied from that of another. A close relationship was found to exist between the frequency with which employees were late or had short medical absences and the morale and emotional attitudes prevailing in the department in which they worked. Latenesses and short medical absences were most frequent in work groups in which the morale was low. These factors did not have any effect on frequency of long illnesses, however. The authors summarized their findings by stating:

The analyses demonstrate the importance of membership in a particular group in determining the incidence and duration of an individual's medical absences. Individuals take on the dominant attitudes and morale of their work group, and manifest them not only in the frequency with which they are late but also in the duration of their industrial incapacities from short illnesses . . . The life situations, the day to day associations, and the interpersonal relationships in work groups are closely related to the frequency with which individuals develop short medical incapacity<sup>9</sup>

### ***Some results of surveys of employee attitudes***

The use of an audit of the employee's attitudes and morale is exceedingly helpful in revealing to the management the extent to which its imagined altruism is or is not appreciated. The writer has used with effective results the simple type of schedule appearing in Table 55. The use of this kind of schedule as part of an extensive list of questions in one com-

pany resulted in Table 56, showing the percentages of employees who were and were not satisfied with their placement within the company. The employees' job dissatisfactions were largely the reflection of the lack of any worth-while personnel program or department. The man who had the title of personnel director was also the comptroller of the company, a former officer of the Marines, and an example of adjustment by means of "closed mind compartments." Eventually another man was appointed to take his place.

Psychologists and others who have made researches of industrial relations by means of attitude scales and similar morale audits often find the following

1. *Grievances.* Many workers react more intensively in terms of things that annoy them than in terms of what management does for them. Workers express their grievances freely, frequently, and with intensity if they feel that they are free to do so.

Workers react to specific factors in the work situation. The writer made an attitude study of the office employees of one company and found that the most important problem to many of the women employees was the rough corners on the office desks. The women were tearing their stockings on the desk splinters. Several women had complained about the situation and the supervisor had asked the janitor to correct the situation. The janitor sandpapered the corners of the desks but new splinters always appeared in a few weeks. The girls had grown tired of making the same complaint and having the same ineffective remedy applied. Accordingly, the morale score for the department was low partly because their annoyance over an incident

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TABLE 55

Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around the one of the five standard answers that approximates your feeling or conviction about the question. The degree or intensity of your feeling can be indicated by the type size of the "Yes" or "No" that you encircle

	?				
	YES, I STRONGLY AGREE 1	yes, I agree 2	Yes and No or I don't know 3	no, I disagree 4	NO, I STRONGLY DISAGREE 5
Your job					
Do you like your present job in this Company?	1	2	3	4	5
Would you prefer some other job with only comparable pay in this Company?	YES	yes	?	no	NO
Do you feel that your best vocational potentialities and training are being utilized in your present job?	YES	yes	?	no	NO
Do you feel that, all factors considered, you are adequately compensated for your job?	YES	yes	?	no	NO
Has your present supervisor discussed your compensation with you and explained to you wherein you have met requirements for the job or fallen short? (If you have been under the direction of your present supervisor less than 6 months, do not answer)	YES	yes	?	no	NO

tal factor had spread to other aspects of the work situation. When the department head realized how the girls felt and why, he corrected the difficulty by means of a few dollars' worth of rubber over the offending desk corners

2. *Workers are greatly concerned about what their fellow workers think of them* Managers often fail to appreciate that a workman's allegiance is bound to be felt more strongly toward his fellow workers and friends than toward the company. T. North Whitehead has reported considerable evidence of this fact as found in the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne plant studies of industrial relations

One of these studies has been described briefly on pages 382-383 of this book. It related to a group of five women who performed routine assembly work. The girls worked together in a small room for about five years, they were skilled

workers, they were paid on a system of group piece-work. Very detailed reports of output, physical conditions, and social relations were made, and among other interesting facts it was found that output began to rise only when the girls began to form friendships within the group. Also, individual weekly fluctuations of output did not correlate with any recorded physical circumstances such as room temperature. Rather, the fluctuations in output synchronized with the extent to which any two girls developed an interest in one another. The interplay of social relations within the group definitely influenced the morale and efficiency of the workers. The girls increased markedly their output in the course of the experiment.

However, the same company conducted an experiment with fifteen young men who did wiring, soldering, and inspecting of electrical apparatus, and ob-

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TABLE 56

SUMMARY OF EMPLOYEE PREFERENCES REGARDING PLACEMENT AS FOUND IN  
ONE COMPANY HAVING 323 EMPLOYEES

	<i>Per Cent</i>
1. Percentage of employees who are completely <i>satisfied</i> regarding the department in which they are employed	32
2. Percentage of employees who are <i>satisfied</i> with the department where they are now, but have also named one other department in which they would be equally satisfied	6
Total <i>satisfied</i>	38%
3. Percentage of employees who are <i>dissatisfied</i> with the department where they are now and have indicated a department where they would be happier	34
4. Percentage of employees who are <i>dissatisfied</i> with the department in which they are now but are not certain as to which one of two or more departments they would like to be transferred	12
Total <i>dissatisfied</i>	46
5. Percentage of employees who failed to indicate their choices, most of these employees were too old to want a transfer or too recently employed to know what they preferred	16
	100%

tained quite different results from those found in the experiment with the women workers

Nine wiremen were organized in three groups of three men. Each group of three wiremen had one solderman. Two inspectors judged the work of these twelve men, and one supervisor was in charge of the fourteen employees. All fifteen men worked together in a small shop. Payment was on the basis of group piecework. Within the group, the supervisor had the highest official status, the inspectors ranked second, the nine wiremen third, and the three soldermen lowest. However, a more elaborate social organization soon developed. The group split into two cliques. These cliques were not divided according to the social status levels but cut across one of the wiring groups and across the various occupations. Each clique had its own leader.

The customs that developed within the group related mainly to the organization and performance of the work. Out-

put and performance of the work were soon controlled through the customs which developed among the men. Certain levels of output from each individual were decided upon and controlled by the men themselves. They maintained their output at the levels they determined through breakdowns, interruptions, and other behavior that wasted time. If any worker indicated that he was exceeding his allowance of work, he was "disciplined" by the others. The supervisor, too, was more or less forced to accede to the workers' control. The control of output which was exercised by the workers was largely for the purpose of protecting the group from managerial interference. They jealously guarded what they believed to be their rights and privileges as workers. However, the workers were not protecting themselves against economic injustice but against social ignorance on the part of management.

The contrasting results of the experi-

## *employee relations attitudes*

ment with the two groups of workers of the same company, the five girls versus the fifteen men, cannot be attributed to a sex difference but rather to the fact that the girls' group ways and sentiments were integrated to a much greater extent with the economic purposes of the management

One lesson revealed and emphasized by the experiment with the fifteen men is that the administrator should appear to the members as one who is guarding and developing *their* life and the emotional character of *their* group, rather than representing only the economic policies and wishes of the management. The men resisted outside threats to the character of *their* group. This suggests that an executive should not only promote the efficiency of his employees but should also guard and develop their social sentiments toward each other.<sup>10</sup>

Industrial workers have a group consciousness. They are loyal to their fellow workers. They recognize a gap between themselves and the executives and professional workers. Many of them are descendants of men who were grossly mistreated by executives of a generation or two ago. Some of the old men who recite their tales of abuse were treated cruelly by perhaps but one employer. Yet that one unfair employer becomes a symbol of employers in general. As with all of us, the dramatic instance outweighs an overwhelming array of opposing figures. Horrible accidents to fellow-workers knit the others closer together. Poverty and mistreatment of workers in other parts of the world arouse a sympathetic feeling and accentuate the group consciousness. Need we marvel that the labor union leader is a welcome messenger?

This group allegiance does not mean

that an executive should judge employees according to one standard and his associates by another standard. Rather, the executive must treat employees as associates and raise them up to where they can understand some of the problems of management. We do not develop children into strong adults by keeping them only with other children and treating them as children. No, we prepare them for adulthood by gradually treating them as adults and by giving them grown-up problems and situations to meet. A similar policy guides the business leader who merits his position and wishes to meet his responsibilities to society and future business prosperity.

3 *Most workers do not want important jobs.* Responsibility or more important work is surprisingly seldom desired by the lower ranks of workers. The worker does not feel any too certain of his present job. Why should he seek more difficult problems? When he reads about "the heights by great men reached and kept," as captains of industry are described in the inspirational magazine articles, he does not see any relationship between the efforts of those masters and his own position and opportunities. Like all human beings, he rationalizes and believes that "pull" is what lifts all men above the lower rungs of the ladder. He sees no chance of breaking through. True, he knows that he could attract the attention of the boss by working a little harder or a little longer than his fellows, but that would brand him among his friends as a "bootlicker," a "sucker," or a "tool of the capitalists." Moreover, he may have tried it once and have done the wrong thing and the boss may have given him "hell" for his well-meant efforts. Besides, some of the old men of

the shop who have grown gray in the company's service seem to be getting just about the same pay that he is getting.

4 *The immediate supervisor is the most potent representative of management.* He, rather than the major officials of the company, influences attitudes by his personality, mannerisms, ability, and personal leadership

The corporation and business as a whole are personified in the foremen who are over the employees. The workman has no profound philosophies or attitudes regarding the splendid service that his company and he are rendering society by the work that is done in the shop. The part he plays in the manufacturing of the company's product is so isolated and infinitesimal that he has much difficulty in placing a halo around it. He does not work for an abstract principle but for a very ordinary foreman who is just as human as he. To the factory employee, the company is "but the lengthened shadow" of the foreman. Psychologically, the worker is in a state of readiness for a precipitating stimulus that will give an outlet for his dammed-up feelings. The foreman may be an able man, but he is in a difficult position. His simplest criticism of error when handling a workman may release an accumulation of feeling or action that is wholly out of proportion to the seriousness of the foreman's offense. Truly, the foreman needs much training for his job, in order that he may fulfill his function in one of the key positions in industry.

5. *The industrial worker protects his job.* The job is to him very important. He is not so greatly concerned about the nature of the job as the fact that he has a job. For this reason he tries to have the job last as long as possible. He does not

hurry, even though he may be full of energy that he would prefer to let loose on the job. He believes that the less he produces, the greater will be the number of jobs available to other workers. When his job is displaced by a machine that is far more productive than he or his gang, he cannot understand the justice of his misfortune. The academic economists may tell him that increased production means a higher standard of living for the masses of people, but that is offering him a stone when he asks for bread. He is lost in the changes being wrought by the new American tempo. To himself, he appears to be tossed about as driftwood on the turbulent sea. Can we blame him? When a war has ended, the government must rehabilitate some of our veterans. It is probable that, eventually, we shall have to set up rehabilitation bureaus to readjust the veterans of industry to the changes of our times.

6 *Life is insecure for most workers.* Life is filled with insecurities for all of us, but especially so for the man whose sweated brow marks his position in the industrial and social scale. His job is insecure in the presence of the "robots" of business, the many mergers, the possibilities of ill health, and the whimsicalities of executives whose word is law. The worker is not blind to these ever-present menaces to his job.

One winter afternoon, the writer called at the office of a personnel manager of a large industrial firm. During our pleasant chat an elderly working man came into the office, with tears in his eyes, and said to the executive. "I know I didn't do what I should 'a' done, but I'm willin' to do the right thing. I'm sorry." He took his discharge slip and left. This workman was a skilled worker

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who had taken excellent care of the company's many elevators for twelve years. That morning he came to work as usual, but one of the main elevators that transported factory employees happened to be out of order. He worked feverishly to get it repaired. While he was working, various employees kept ringing the bell in spite of the card that hung at the shaft on each floor which stated that the elevator was out of order. In the midst of his labors, someone continued to ring the bell. Exasperated, he yelled several words of profanity up the shaft to the "boob" who kept ringing the bell. The "boob" happened to be one of the company's young executives, and the repairman was immediately discharged. Hundreds of incidents of this type happen every day, and we always shall have them, but the workman who sees or experiences them realizes the insecurity of his position, and he sometimes harbors a bitter feeling of injustice when he notes that he loses his job while the executive receives tolerant smiles when he smashes his golf club merely because the ball sliced into the woods. To such a worker the whole scheme of society and industry is unjust.

### *Psychological principles developed from morale surveys*

1. The findings of many surveys do not agree in regard to the relative importance of the influences that affect employee morale. The rankings of the factors that employees consider most important in their work relations vary from company to company. Generalizations about the importance or unimportance of wages, for example, have little reliability. Comparisons about morale determinants have little consistency, but

they do point one moral for management, as indicated by one survey, made in twenty-four plants. In this survey, the foremen in these plants were asked to rate the ten key factors they considered the most important worker-desires. Next, workers in the same plants were asked to rate the same factors. The two lists were matched, and the table below tells the story.

THE "BIG TEN" IN WORKER-FOREMAN RELATIONS<sup>11</sup>

	<i>Worker Rates</i>	<i>Foreman Rates</i>
Full appreciation of work done	1st	8th
Feeling "in" on things	2nd	10th
Sympathetic help on personal problems	3rd	9th
Job security	4th	2nd
Good wages	5th	1st
"Work that keeps you interested"	6th	5th
Promotion and growth in company	7th	3rd
Personal loyalty to workers	8th	6th
Good working conditions	9th	4th
Tactful disciplining	10th	7th

The surprising results point this moral for management. "Emphasize the morale factors your workers really want emphasized—not those you think they want."

2. Low morale may be caused by a wide variety of factors, some of which have little or nothing to do with the work or the employer. Domestic difficulties, social problems, and health are examples. An employee may have high morale, yet feel that he is underpaid. He even may dislike his supervisor and still have high morale. Morale itself may be a complex of many features—an employee may have several morales. Some think of morale as the sum of an employee's attitudes toward a number of aspects of his work. Each morale, to be measured, must be identified.

Scores of the morale of members of a

group and of groups vary considerably, even though working conditions are very similar. As stated by Woods, after making a survey by means of his attitude scale

The only facts that we may draw from these results are (1) that employees differ in their opinions of similar situations and (2) that with respect to certain factors employees tend to indicate agreement of opinion. Certain employees tend to rate generally high and others generally low. However, there is the fact that the lowest scores for both the high score employees and the low score employees tend to be associated with the same factors of work in many instances. In other words (assuming that these scores were a measure of morale) the employees with the lowest morale and the employees with the highest morale both think about the same with regard to many factors in their work situations. Morale, then, does not necessarily lie in the work itself.

The study conducted at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric Company has contributed an abundance of material relative to the influence of factors in the work situation. Some of the significant findings are indicated in the following direct quotations of the experimenters.<sup>12</sup>

"At least two conclusions seem to be warranted from the test room experiments so far: (1) there was absolutely no evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the continuous increases in output . . . could be attributed to the wage incentive alone, (2) the efficacy of a wage incentive was so dependent on its relation to other factors that it was impossible to consider it as a thing in itself having an independent effect on the individual."

"From this point of view it can be seen how every item and event in the industrial environment becomes an object of a system of sentiments. According to this way of looking at things, material goods, physical events, wages, hours of work, etc. cannot be treated as things in themselves. Instead they must be interpreted as carriers of social value."

"When social conditions of work are such as to make it difficult for the employee to

identify his task with a socially meaningful function, he is liable to obsessive response and diminished capacity for work."<sup>13</sup>

To know the morale of a man you must know his behavior. If he is making persistent effort to do his job you may presume his morale is good. If he shirks or avoids his work you may infer his morale is bad. Hence, *the criterion for determination of the condition of the morale of the men in this study was their behavior in their work.* To what extent were they [military service men] putting forth their available energy to do their work?

Little can be determined about a man's morale by asking him his opinion. He will tell you he doesn't like his work, that he gets insufficient leave, that his quarters are bad, that the food is lousy, he may tell you all this yet continue to do a good job. His morale, you may be sure, is good. But if he is quiet, inattentive, never complains, and his work is indifferent he isn't responding as a man of good morale should. It is generally agreed that complaints about food, etc., are accepted elements of favorable military attitude. Richard Tregaskis noted

"The United States Marines are the best fighting men in the world. The reason for their supremacy is simple. They have the best morale. Many times on Guadalcanal I heard Marines complain bitterly about food, mosquitoes, rain, but never did I see one refuse to obey an order to advance, even if it meant standing in plain view of the enemy."

What you can discover from a man's words (and not by any method of direct examination but in casual conversation) is his past and future aspirations. You can determine whether his new military life provides alternatives or continuances or new possibilities within the scope of his thinking. Men who have lost opportunities or prestige in civil life and who cannot readily see new values in military life reflect it in their work. Their morale is not good. Of 81 men under observation, 21 of them (25.9 per cent) were of this type. The work of six of these men might only be described as representative of bad morale. The remaining 15 were certainly no better than indifferent. Men relatively unsettled in civil life adjust variously to mili-



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tary life Twenty-seven per cent of our 33 "indifferent" men found, readily, new interests Their behavior was a display of interest Thirty per cent of them exhibited, on the other hand, definitely bad morale Of the 27 men who admitted to interest in the war (believed they could win suitable position or rank, considered victory necessary to peacetime contentment, etc) all of them displayed high morale in their work .

The most significant outcome of this study, to my mind, is the fact that it supports the hypothesis that morale is the end-product or by-product of satisfactory status or prestige—a measure of the individual's evaluation of his own relationship at present and for the future to his environment.<sup>14</sup>

3. Most surveys bring some immediate gains in morale because employees "discover" or rediscover that management is interested in their feelings and opinions A survey in itself helps to reduce tensions by letting employees unburden themselves Supervisors in particular are likely to discover or be reminded of some principles which they should practice in their relations with employees.

4 The findings from any one survey present a picture that was indicative at the time of the survey. A month, or even a week later, the morale picture may be changed. It may be changed for the worse, as in the case of a company that suddenly discontinued a Christmas bonus to which the employees had become accustomed. It may change for the better, as in the case of the chemical company that had an explosion wrecking a part of the plant. Every employee worked long hours for a month in order to get the plant back into operation again All gripes were forgotten in the effort to solve the immediate problem Smart managements examine the report of a morale survey, but pay less attention to

the data than to their efforts to give every employee worth-while work problems that are directly related both to employee and to company interests

5. When most managements study the survey results, they are more interested in how they compare with other companies than in improving their own concepts of management. The typical executive's first reaction to a survey is likely to be, "How do we rate?" or, "Which departments (or plants) have high and which ones have low morale?" Such questions are legitimate, but they are not sufficient More than simple remedial action in regard to bad spots in management is desirable The improvement of poor physical working conditions is of secondary value Special conferences, designed to obtain full value from the survey, are necessary to get the full value The situation and a conference procedure for dealing with it have been reported as follows

a special conference technique was developed in connection with a recent survey of employee morale in a large manufacturing company . Two members from *each* of six levels of management were involved, and there were consequently six management points of view exchanged

The representatives were chosen on the basis of three factors

1 The degree to which they influence or "make" the opinions of people on their own level of management

2 The amount of interest and enthusiasm which they show in improving the work efficiency of the organization

3. Ability (for all except the top-level representatives) to speak critically and frankly to higher-ranking personnel, i.e., not to be cowed by the presence of authority

The conference chairman was chosen from outside the firm being surveyed. Broad psychological training and proved skill in con-

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ference leadership were the chief requirements for selection

The conference group met for a two- to three-hour session once a week for more than two months prior to the survey interview period, and for more than a month after completion of the survey report.

Meetings were conducted in an informal atmosphere as free as possible from the influence of rank and position within the company. Meetings were held away from the plant, and preceded by a warm-up period of social talk. They were scheduled at such a time that the members would, upon conclusion, proceed directly to their homes rather than back to the plant<sup>15</sup>

The personnel department of Sears, Roebuck and Company evaluates employee attitudes by means of both questionnaires and nondirective interviews. When the survey team members feel that they have a clear and correct picture of the morale situation in a given store, discussions are conducted with the store manager:

.. With a clearer picture of his organization and a better system for thinking about it, the manager is in a better position to take constructive action directed at the roots of the problem, rather than the superficial symptoms. The emphasis is constantly on helping the manager and his staff work out their own problems. They are most intimately familiar with the organization, and, above all, they are the people who will have to live with the results of whatever course of action is decided upon. It has been our experience that most executives and supervisors have within themselves the resources for dealing with their own problems.

One conclusion of which we are very sure is that problems of personnel relations must not be over-simplified. We are not dealing here with simple cause-and-effect relationships. For example, if employees complain of poor lighting, poor ventilation, or inadequate rest-room facilities, correction of

these conditions may not lead to improvement in morale because the complaints may be only symptoms of more basic difficulties which have little or nothing to do with specific objects of complaint. Unless these basic difficulties are recognized and dealt with, no amount of tinkering with superficialities can do much good.

... Rather than worry about teaching our employees the "*economic* facts of life," it would be better for us in management to keep in mind one of the basic "*social* facts of life"—that attitudes are largely a product of experience. If the worker's experience on the job causes him to dislike and mistrust management, no amount of "education" will change his feelings or his behavior.

... Another common example of superficial thinking has been the tendency in recent years to ascribe much of the blame for poor employee relations to "inadequate supervision" and to attempt to improve matters through supervisory training. . .

In many cases the supervisor is himself the victim of poor handling by his superior or he may be caught in a network of management policies and practices which are largely responsible for his own attitudes and behavior. Many of the real causes of poor morale may be matters over which the supervisor has little or no control. Any effort to bring pressure on him to change his behavior, without first dealing with the forces which are determining his behavior, is likely to backfire. This is even more likely to occur when, as frequently happens, training programs are installed at the lower supervisory levels without any corresponding attention to the need for improving the skills of executives higher up on the line.

One of the primary objectives of our organization survey program is to assist in improvement of executive and supervisory skills at all levels of the organization. From this standpoint, the surveys are in effect an executive and supervisory training program. They have the great advantage of having as their subject matter the specific current problems of the organization itself rather than a set of principles or rules dreamed up by an "expert" in the personnel department or

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purchased ready-made on handy vest-pocket cards <sup>16</sup>

### ***Customary methods of developing good will and keeping employees informed about the company***

One important finding of many surveys of employee attitudes is that employees want to know more about the company, management's plans for the future, and business prospects from the standpoint of employee security

Many companies have failed to keep their employees informed about matters of vital interest to them, even though the matters were of direct benefit Or, when the information was given, it was presented in a cold and boring form.

When the National Industrial Conference Board <sup>17</sup> made a survey of management's methods of communication with employees, the best method was believed to be through the employees' daily contacts with supervisors Other methods of communication were rated in popularity as follows

Bulletin boards	81·6%
Employee handbook	31·0
Letters to employees	30·0
Letters to supervisors	26·7
Employee magazine	23·7
Policy and procedure manual	21·0
Employee newspaper	16·8
Annual report to employees	11·3
Open house programs	6·8

Another survey of 100 companies on methods used to keep employees informed indicated that 47 of the 100 concerns surveyed use magazines; 23 newspapers, 36 sound systems, 99 bulletin boards, 30 large-scale meetings; 46 books and pamphlets; 47 special induction booklets <sup>18</sup>

The biggest "blind spot" revealed in the survey was the reluctance of industry

to discuss economic questions with employees The attitude is clearly shown in the types of policy on which industry informs employees and in the media survey Although 64 companies publish financial reports for stockholders, only 10 distribute them both to stockholders and to employees The survey indicated that there are great unused opportunities to win the understanding of employees by telling them of technological developments, economics of the industry and of the company, the profit story and its relation to wages, and the company's point of view in labor disputes

The management of almost every plant uses some means of imparting the company's directions, wishes, and reasons why the workers should be kindly disposed toward their employer Some of these channels of distributing information to employees in the desire to develop good will toward the employer should be given more careful attention by managements These methods alone are not sufficient, but fuller use of them should eventually lead to higher levels of collegueship and participation.

*Bulletin* boards are necessary to most plants However, in many firms they are performing the function of wastebaskets. Notices are allowed to accumulate on them for months Employees decorate them with witty remarks and cartoons. Hence, when an important notice is posted, it is likely to be neglected by the workers

The bulletin board should be painted, enclosed in glass, and lighted The inside of the board should have a number of brass nails upon which small colored boards can be hung. Every bulletin should be tacked to one of these colored boards. As the colors are changed, they

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gain attention for the new notices. Several headline boards should be prepared for special types of notices, such as, "Read the bulletin to-day," "The cause of an accident," "See our national advertising," "What our competitors are doing"

The bulletin board should have photographs to illustrate the principles of safety. Broken goggles and old shoes may be displayed if they have played an

the employee traffic is heavy but slow. Above or near time clocks are poor choices because traffic is fast. Restrooms are likely to be good locations.

*Company picnics, banquets, dances, plays,* and other events for the pleasure of the employees should be wholly given over to such pleasure. The management should not attempt to give any talks that boost the company. Few things are so annoying to the employees as being com-

TABLE 57\*

METHODS USED TO CONVEY INFORMATION TO EMPLOYEES—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

<i>Method</i>	<i>For Hourly Workers</i>		<i>For Salaried Employees</i>	
	COMPANIES		COMPANIES	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Bulletin board	356	98.9	438	92.4
Payroll insert	182	50.6	184	38.8
Employee newspaper	56	15.6	96	20.3
Employee magazine	71	19.7	156	32.9
Employee handbook	101	28.1	170	35.9
Safety manual	70	19.4	73	15.4
Other special booklets	57	15.8	97	20.5
Letters or bulletins to employees	185	51.4	293	61.8
Letters of bulletins for supervisors	143	39.7	252	53.2
Financial reports	56	15.6	131	27.6
Public address system	43	11.9	47	9.9
Films	56	15.6	107	22.6
Meetings	160	44.4	273	57.6
Total	360		474	

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office" (Revised), *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948.

important part in an accident. Human interest pictures of employees who have caught a big fish while on a camping trip, the bride and groom of a recent plant marriage, and valuable suggestions made by employees are examples of items that can be posted. The bulletin board never should be used for sermonizing by the general manager. It should be kept inviolate for the interest and information of the employees. As a rule, all notices should be changed or reserved for change every three days.

The boards should be located where

pelled to sit and listen to a hired spell-binder harangue them on the "family spirit of business" while they anxiously wait for the entertainment to begin. Years ago all stories for children had a moral tacked on the end. As parents once did, so many managers still deem it their duty to moralize to the employees in return for the company's entertainment. On these occasions of amicability the aim should be to give the employees so joyful an experience that they will be glad they are working for their particular employer. The associations with the job

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should be so pleasant that they consider themselves fortunate to be working there. Dances and plays should not be held at regular intervals or too frequently. They should be spaced far enough apart for the employees to anticipate them rather than to go to them as a part of their obligation to the company. No time should be given to politics or to religious problems at any employees' meetings.

*Moving pictures* can be made educational rather than solely entertaining. Seldom should all the personnel of factory and office be invited to see a film. An appeal to definite groups is better. The invitation should state the nature and purpose of the film or meeting in order that the employees will not come expecting to see a wild west picture and find that they are being given a pictorial description of the sources of the raw materials used in the manufacture of the company's products.

*Displays* of the company's products have greater educational value if they are presented in an informative manner. To put some of the products in glass show cases in the lobby has little value, because most of the factory employees never step into the general office lobby. Such displays should be located where employees congregate. They should include placards which show why the product is made in certain ways, its points of superiority, the costs, the fluctuations in sales, and the pictures of the men who are responsible for the improvements. Practically all this information is given to the salesmen, but for some reason executives seem afraid to tell the factory employees the same facts that are presented freely to prospective purchasers of the product.

*Occasional training courses* can be

given to selected groups of employees, such as foremen, machinists, and salesmen. The chief points that are apt to be overlooked in this area are the systematic organization and aims of the courses. Many executives begin such courses without planning more than the first two or three meetings and then allow the matter to drop without an application or summation of the material. Where it would be burdensome or expensive to have a training course within the plant, it is possible to study the needs of individual employees and to recommend to them suitable correspondence or evening school courses. When college professors or other outsiders are invited to come into the factory and give special courses, the instructor well may outline the course in advance and state his attitude toward capital and labor. A few of these teachers are snobbish toward workingmen, and others are unable to appreciate the problems of management. The fact that they are connected with a well-known institution does not always guarantee the usefulness or objectivity of their instruction. Experience indicates, however, that the employees or the executives within the company are seldom capable or desirous of conducting courses of training for the employees. As a rule, trained teachers are required.

### *Plant tours*

Some companies conduct plant tours or hold "open house" for the members of employees' families and the community. These programs may be conducted as a special week or as a continuous planned program for visitors. Recent study by Dr. Claude Robinson, Opinion Research Corporation, has shown that plant tours can get economic

facts across to people and make them stick

He invited the interested companies to a meeting in New York where he broached the idea and made an offer. The companies would put on plant tour programs designed to teach that capitalism works, Robinson would get the visitors' names and his index researchers would check on the indoctrination's effectiveness. Nine companies eventually agreed to cooperate.

Visitors were followed up within two weeks of the tour date and interviewed at home.

Heretofore most plant tours in these projects have concentrated mostly on technology and refreshments, and sometimes the visitors got free samples. But in Robinson's concept, the technology aspect would only be used to catch interest. The real purpose would be to teach the social values of the business in everyday terms that people could understand. The important thing was to send the visitors away with concise, constructive ideas like "it takes a lot of money to create a job," or "the workers get most of the money the company earns" or "machines raise wages."

All these concepts are surprisingly easy to demonstrate dramatically and convincingly with the proper stage setting. If, for instance, one point is that machines (and therefore capital investment) raise wages, at some stage the tour guide will stop before a machine with a large price tag affixed. His patter would go something like this: "This machine cost a lot of money—\$10,000. Why do we buy it? Well, it pays off—pays the stockholders and especially the people who run the machines. Mary Jones over here, running that machine makes 95¢ an hour. Her mother used to work in this factory and she only got 30¢ an hour, which was considered good at the time. What's more, Mary's work is pleasanter than her mother's—less tiring, better equipment, better lighting and air-conditioning. But Mary gets three times as much as her mother because with the help of that machine, she can turn out more products."

The survey shows that once a company decides on the main points it wants to get across there is no great mystery about trans-

mitting them. The techniques are the same used for any short course in education.

Keep repeating the lesson, concentrate on a few facts illustrating each major theme.

Use of visual displays to dramatize the facts.

Interpret the facts to build up the right conclusions and attitudes.

Results on the tours at the Walter Baker (Dorchester, Mass.) division of General Foods are especially interesting because they compare knowledge and attitudes of both visitors and non-visitors and the sharp differences recorded eliminate the possibility that respondents might know the facts simply out of general familiarity with a local plant. Walter Baker had been running tours a long time but over a year ago the local management asked General Foods to help it plan improvements. Same time, the company started working with Robinson; and Howard Chase, General Foods' public relations director and a good part of his staff went up to the chocolate plant to look things over.

The plant's visitors were mostly housewives, recruited from local church and women's organizations, and the program was tailored especially to impress them. There were four objectives: to humanize the operation by showing that three groups of people—employees, stockholders and customers—are mutually interdependent; to point out that machines create jobs and lower prices, to show how the company's payroll and local purchases make it an integral part of the community, important to everyone there, and to acquaint people with employee benefits and working conditions at the plant.

On arrival, visitors were welcomed by the personnel manager, briefed on the company, its products and its relation to the community. His script during the tour itself made vivid comparisons, described the cocoa silos as pantries, for instance, and also as tools the company used. The visits ended in the conference room, where the guide summarized what had been seen, using charts to illustrate significant facts and figures. One, for example, showed the functions of employees, owners and consumers, another explained how modern machinery provides consumers better products at lower prices.

The survey's comparison between matched

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samples of visitors and non-visitors to the Walter Baker plant are a dramatic yardstick of the tour's effectiveness. Eighty-seven per cent of the housewives who toured the plant said that machines increased the number of jobs, whereas only 21% of non-visitors said so. The tallies were analogous all the way down the list. 85% of the visitors rated the company a good place to work in, only 55% of the non-visitors thought so, 77% of the visitors said machines have lowered prices, compared to 55% of the non-visitors. On the number of employees 68% of the visitors gave the right answer and none of the others even came close. Half of the visitors knew the amount of the weekly payroll compared to 11% of the non-visitors, and 43% of the visitors remembered how much the company spends for supplies while not one of the non-visitors came reasonably close.

But more significant than anything else in the whole report, probably, is the indication that such educational plant tours can predispose people to favorable attitudes. Nothing was said in the Walter Baker tour about company profits but the survey interviewers asked respondents to guess whether the company's profits were very big, reasonable or very small. Only 17% of the visitors thought they were "very big," but 40% of the non-visitors did. A whopping 70% of the visitors guessed they were "reasonable" against 40% of the non-visitors, and 5% of the visitors said "very small," compared to none of the non-visitors.<sup>19</sup>

*The employees' magazine or plant organ* should be written for the benefit and interest of the employees. An employees' magazine can be entertainingly educational as well as merely entertaining. For instance, many employees believe that advertising is a waste of money and that their wages could be raised if those funds were added to the wages. Many others think that orders are easy to get, that any business can borrow plenty of money, that the government could operate all businesses more cheaply than private concerns, that there is a

fixed amount of money in the world, and that factory workers have all the "grief" and office workers all the "snap" jobs. Such erroneous impressions could be corrected by including humorous comic-strips or chatty articles in the magazine which drive home the point. To an extent, some of the editors have seemed to realize this need and have attempted to experiment with cartooning and other features. But most editors, while close to management, in the sense that they identify themselves with management, paradoxically have done a poor job of selling management to the employees.

Such editors have limited their pages to friendly personals, bowling scores, or editorials on plant safety. This type of news is good to a degree. But more and more of these editors are beginning to realize the great potentialities of their media. They are beginning to report such news as information on new orders, installations of modern equipment, certain costs of producing and selling the products, and the allocation of the company's income dollar. In short, these more enterprising editors have taken it upon themselves to explain to the employee the factors operating in a free enterprise system. Some brave editors have ventured to discuss even labor problems—legislation and strikes—in their pages.

Labor editors on the other hand have done a better job of selling their story to their followers. Their language is uninhibited. They come to the point quickly and pull no punches. For example commenting on an NLRB ruling regarding freedom of speech for employers, one labor paper said, "You've got to sit and listen to the boss raise unshirted hell about your union if he calls you and

your fellow workers together on company time for such a purpose "

Company editors and the businessman could learn much from the labor press. As Martin Dodge says: "When the businessman takes the trouble to find out what is being said about him, he also will come upon the whole gamut of gripes, aspirations and delusions that labor harbors, for they are all spelled out in the union press " <sup>20</sup>

The company organ or magazine should avoid being so management-con-

employees cannot get along without management. Each complements the other. It is to their mutual benefit to make the relationship a happy, profitable one within the framework of a free-enterprise society.

#### Information by unions

As stated above, employees' organizations, the labor unions, also present their views of industrial relations questions to employees and the public.

The labor union organizer deals with the workman's most vital interests. He is often a better student of labor psychology than the employer, for the organizer directs his appeals to the worker's problems and interests. And labor has developed a fairly extensive scheme of propaganda. Organized labor has about 1,000 publications in this country in which it presents its aims and complaints. These papers have about 15,000,000 regular readers among working people <sup>21</sup>

It is fair to say that, on the average, each one of the country's unionized workers gets at least one labor paper. This may be either the official organ of the international union to which he belongs, a local labor body publication, or the paper of the state federation. In most cases, union dues entitle the member to a subscription. Distribution usually is through the mail or by hand-out at union meetings. In most cases the paper is taken home and carefully and sometimes laboriously read and reread, for labor editors fill their sheets with information close to the interests of their readers. About half of these publications accept local and national advertising.

The labor press is frankly propagandistic, in fact supplementing the never-

TABLE 58 \*

EMPLOYEE MAGAZINES—PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Salaried Employees		For Hourly Workers	
	COMPANIES		COMPANIES	
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent
Have employee magazine	156	32.9	71	19.7
Have no employee magazine	318	67.1	289	80.3
Total	474	100.0	360	100.0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., Copyright 1948.

scious that the employees rightly feel they are receiving only company platitudes. The idea is not to propagandize the employees, but to create harmony between the employees and management. Whenever the executive of a company has an impulse to explain some policy in the pages of the magazine, he should first discuss the matter with his editor. This editor should be free to express his opinions to superior officers.

The theme for house organs to emphasize is simple. management cannot get along without the employees, and the



## *employee relations attitudes*

ending organizing work which many unions conduct. The function of the labor press is to bring workers information about their trade and industry and to interpret for them their economic interests in such affairs. On the whole, they see their job as counteracting what they consider to be the "anti-labor bias" of the daily press, the radio, and the movies, and as anchoring the member's loyalty to his union.

In view of the two differing emphases in the communication of employers and of union organizations with workers, it is not surprising to find that leaders of both groups see the same situation in differing lights. When a survey was made of about 100 labor and 100 management executives, a few of the highlights were

Leaders of both groups have plenty of complaints about "irritations" with the *personal* characteristics of the other side's leadership. Almost all of the specific gripes hit at the *morality* of the other group, or at its *behavior during negotiations*. Name-calling and the use of stereotyped epithets like 'labor racketeers' and 'business autocrats' are almost universal. Union leadership is especially resentful of the *lack of respect* shown it by management. Company leadership clearly expressed this disrespect, and cited the 'irresponsibility' of labor's executives as a justification. These *personal feelings* are reflected in the *policy demands* of both groups. Neither group is particularly realistic about what the other feels, thinks, sees or hears.

Both sides live in private information worlds. Overwhelmingly, management and labor trust sources of information which are identified in advance with their *own point of view*. . . Thus labor has more confidence in government information, management in the daily newspaper and periodical press.

What comes out of this study as 'cause for alarm' is not the body of issues in dispute between union and company officials. The

most disturbing result is the existence of highly charged emotional attitudes on both sides which will interfere with the reasonable solution of whatever issues there are.

The ways out of this impasse lie along the road to clarification and greater familiarity between both sides . . .

But above all else both sides must have a day-to-day common meeting ground at the plant, industry and national levels. There must be a medium which introduces them to one another, and in which they can both have confidence. Information breeds understanding, understanding produces respect, respect is the sole foundation on which a workable machinery for meeting the nation's industrial problems can be built.<sup>22</sup>

### **Financial reports about the company to employees**

Several leading managements have given much systematic attention to their reports to employees and the public. One example is a 24-page booklet by General Mills, Inc., Minneapolis. Analysis indicates the following.

- 1 The objectives are firmly fixed at the outset
- 2 The information to be used is reduced to the simplest possible terms and divisions
- 3 The story is presented visually and dramatically
- 4 The emphasis is on *people* and their relationship to the company and the program
- 5 The company is described in various ways, as
  - (a) a human institution of which the employees can be proud, (b) a good corporate citizen, (c) a job-maker, (d) a new market-developer, (e) a public servant, (f) a modest profit-seeker, (g) a sound business with a future.
- 6 The program is justified on the basis of known necessity and successful factual results.
7. The importance of the employees in the program is clearly and repeatedly stressed.<sup>23</sup>

Many business leaders believe in the doctrine of sharing operating facts with

## employee relations: attitudes

TABLE 59\*

### FINANCIAL REPORTS TO EMPLOYEES— PRACTICE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Practice	For Hourly Workers		For Salaried Employees	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Provide financial reports to employees	56	15 6	131	27 6
No financial reports to employees	304	84 4	343	72 4
Total	360	100 0	474	100 0

\* From a survey reported in "Personnel Practices in Factory and Office (Revised)," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, Number 88, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. Copyright 1948

their employees. They publish financial reports for the benefit of employees as well as stockholders. They make surveys of the rate of profit that the employee


considers fair and show that the rate actually made by the employer is less than that. Yet, when this fact is pointed out to the employee, he still believes that the company makes too much! This attitude has been extremely disconcerting to executives who sought to gain the good will of employees by means of published reports about the company, its profits, plans, and so forth.

The procedures, mostly ineffective, used by managements in attempts to gain acceptance, by their employees of facts favorable to the company have been the following:

1. Managements have presented the facts in a "protestation of virtue" manner, particularly about profits made and salaries paid officers of the company.
2. The basically sound reasons for the effectiveness of free enterprise as an

4-5-49	42	130	5460	130	5590	500	50	56	830	166	25	39 63
PERIOD ENDING	TOTAL HOURS	RATE	REGULAR	EXCESS FOR OVERTIME	TOTAL	U.S. SAVINGS BONDS	INSURANCE	F & A & S I	INCOME TAX	ANNUITY	COUNTY CHEST	BALANCE OF EARNINGS
YOU EARNED AND THE TODD CO., INC. PAID						WE PAID OUT THE ABOVE AMOUNTS FOR YOU						
BUT SAVINGS BONDS!						EVERY 75¢ SAVED IS \$1.00 EARNED	MAKE YOUR DOLLARS GROW!					
N <sup>o</sup> 12345												



**CASHIER**  
INSURE  
SEE BACK

**THE TODD COMPANY**  
INCORPORATED

ROCHESTER N Y

**THE TODD CO. INC. \$39 AND 63 CTS**

N<sup>o</sup> 12345

50 17  
223

**PAY**

TO THE ORDER OF

\* \*\* MARY L. JOYCE \*\*

**SAMPLE NOT VALID**

TODD

Jonathan Doe

MANY EMPLOYERS overlook a potential source of employee good will—in the way they make out paychecks. According to the surveys made by the Todd Co., of Rochester, N Y, which designs payroll systems, many workers think their take-home pay is all they are getting from the employer. They often do not even know what their gross pay is. Todd's solution: Emphasize gross income; itemize all deductions clearly, point out that "deductions" for savings bonds are earnings, too. The check is not patented by Todd; it can be used by anybody.

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economic system have been used as an argument for friendliness toward the employer.

3 Managements have thought of security in terms of sickness benefits, old-age pensions, and guaranteed annual wages. Employees have thought of security as a sense of job satisfaction. As Keith Powlison stated

Isn't it possible all of this means that job security—from the standpoint of wage protection, sickness benefits, and so forth—is not so important as the feeling of amounting to something as an individual, the feeling of pride that comes with recognition of and reward for a job well done? A retirement plan is no substitute for a sense of satisfaction in today's work. Furthermore, the reference management usually makes to security is a negative appeal to the emotion of fear, and that is no foundation upon which to build longrange, constructive employee relations <sup>24</sup>

4. Managements have assumed that the technical terms of accounting and finance are beyond the comprehension of most employees.

Business leaders, particularly those in the accounting fields, have recognized the psychological ineffectiveness of current methods of giving information to employees. Accordingly, the Controllershship Foundation, Inc., made a special survey of the problem. They discovered that 71 per cent of the factory laborers and 41 per cent of the white collar employees never see the annual report. These employees indicated that their company's report never reaches them.

Those employees who did see their company's financial reports (40 per cent white-collar employees, 16 per cent factory employees) like the brief version of the annual report, but tables and com-

plicated statistical treatment of the reports were disliked <sup>25</sup>

Ross G. Walker made a study of the Controllershship Foundation, Inc., report. A few of his more significant conclusions are

That there appears to be general agreement with the premise that lack of understanding and acceptance of the facts and figures of business are not altogether due to the way reports are prepared, but that this is part of a larger problem with which management is confronted, viz., that of creating acceptance for, and instilling confidence in, our American capitalistic system

... That in the case of employees, personal contact is regarded as being more effective than written messages

to me the survey findings make one conclusion unavoidable that management is typically bent on looking for appropriate remedial action in handling the misinformed

NO FANCY pie charts are used by Coleman Co., Inc., Wichita, Kan. in its monthly *Spot-Lite* to tell employees the story of fringe-pay benefits that add a goodly sum to their weekly take-home. It amounts to 10 1¢ an hour, and is worth clinching in the memory—The art isn't the best, but its use shows ingenuity that makes this complete collection of pictures more effective than many articles on the same subject in more pretentious publications—The interest-engaging angle here is *Spot-Lite's* use of snapshots taken by employees, mixed in with pictures by the plant photographer. On page following pictures, editors of *Spot-Lite* identify persons in each photo and tell of each incident. Man enjoying sick pay, they are glad to report, will soon be back at work. Man scanning insurance contract is identified. Everyone in plant knows retired beneficiary of Social Security—he's regular visitor. Medical service shot strikes familiar chord, and so does recess picture. To Wichitans, bathing girls are obviously in a local park, and young woman near hanging rock is on vacation. These informal snaps beat any slick chart job. From "Explaining Profits to Employees," *Modern Industry*, March 15, 1949, p. 43.

0 3¢—Sick pay, 0 5¢—Insurance, 1 3¢—Social Security, 0 7¢—Medical service, 2 6¢—Recess periods 2.5¢—Paid holidays; 2.2¢—Vacation pay. Total—10.1¢.

PICTURES TELL TALE OF "FRINGE" BENEFITS



## *employee relations attitudes*

employee exclusively within the agreeable master-servant framework. If there is a failure of 'confidence' at the lower levels of organization, management feels it must be from some error in the direction of affairs within that framework, and whatever action is taken must be consistent with the basic acceptability of that framework as an industrial way of life<sup>26</sup>

Of course employees will not believe facts presented to them as long as the employer presents them in the master-servant framework. The employer can hope to gain acceptance of facts when he keeps in mind the old psychological principle: "People believe as they participate." Facts in themselves are not sufficiently forceful in changing the attitudes of employees toward the employer. The devices of communication such as financial reports, conferences, and house organs cannot be effectively used as ends in themselves nor even as means toward educating employees and supervisors to understand management. Rather, the devices of surveys and communication should be incidental parts of a social philosophy of management. The philosophy should be one of a desire to exchange ideas, to participate mutually in the work of the enterprise, to understand and respect each other in the daily face-to-face relationships. This is well stated by Roethlisberger:

It seems to me that the greatest change in the past 25 years has occurred in our ways of thinking about what motivates people to work. Let us take, for example, the widely held notion that people at work are primarily motivated by economic interest and that in their pursuit of economic gain they are essentially logical. Wherever and whenever this assumption has been seriously investigated in the light of the facts, its universal validity has been shown to be questionable. Investigator after investigator has agreed on

this point. Far from being the prime and sole mover of human activity in business, economic interest has run far behind in the list of incentives that make men willing to work.

. . . A close scrutiny of the situation at the social level reveals the symptomatic character of the so-called acquisitiveness of modern man. It was a union leader who suggested that people join unions as much because of feelings of frustration and the desire for sociability as the desire for economic gain.<sup>27</sup> Mayo in 1933 suggested that the problem was not so much "the sickness of an acquisitive society" as the "acquisitiveness of a sick society."<sup>28</sup> People at work who are "activated primarily by motives of self-interest logically elaborated" are few in number, says Mayo. "They have relapsed upon self-interest (only) when social associations have failed them."<sup>29</sup>

Although it would be incorrect to say that this oversimplified version of the economic motivation of people at work has been completely discarded, nevertheless another theory has sprung up in the past 25 years with which it at least has had to compete.

According to this view, people at work, executives as well as workers, are not too different from people in many other walks of life. Whether they work at the top, the middle, or the bottom of an organization, they are not entirely creatures of logic; they, too, have feelings.

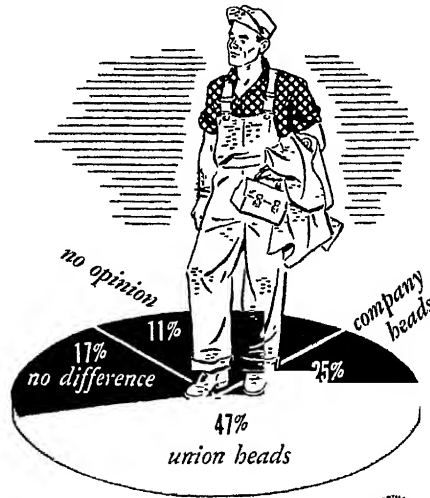
According to this version man at work is a social creature as well as an "economic man." He has personal and social as well as economic needs. Work provides him with a way of life as well as a means of livelihood. To understand his satisfactions and dissatisfactions at work, one must understand the social as well as the physical and economic setting in which his work takes place. One must understand the kinds of relationships he has developed or can develop with his bosses, his subordinates, and his co-workers, as well as with other people and groups in the organization . . .

. . . Although a great deal is being done these days to teach foremen how to deal better with their subordinates. . . No attention is given the problems the foreman faces in trying to apply what he is being taught.

## Workers say **UNION LEADERS** their real friends

There's a big job for industry — first, to put the house in order so that workers have no legitimate grievances, and then to adopt a public relations program which will convince workers that they are well treated. As of today the average factory worker considers the union leaders as their real friends.

When factory workers were asked, "Who would you say is the more interested in the personal welfare of the working man—the heads of your company or the union heads?", they answered as follows:



PICTOGRAPH BY  
*Sales Management*  
3 15-45

Source: Survey by Opinion Research Corp.  
for Factory Management and Maintenance



THE AUTHOR OF THE chart above apparently believes that a public relations program might convince workers that they are well treated. Of course such a program would be inadequate. In the light of the psychological principles presented in this chapter, what else would have to be done by industrial leadership?

Even in courses designed to improve upward communication, little upward communication is practiced. Foremen do not like to be told how they should behave any more than anyone else. Particularly, they resent being asked to deal with their subordinates in a manner different from the way they are being treated themselves.

Nevertheless, it is in these face-to-face relationships at work—whether they be between superior and subordinate, trainer and trainee, staff and line, or counselor and counselee—that the important communications take place. It is through these face-to-face relationships that people at work learn what is expected of them and where they really stand. If in these daily face-to-face relationships people feel insecure, dependent, or frustrated, no organizational manual can tell them where they belong.

. In the capacity of the executive to

TABLE 60\*

### MILK CONSUMERS' OPINIONS ON PROFITS

According to a national poll of consumer opinion by the Opinion Research Organization, 43 per cent of consumers think distributors make from three to nine cents per quart of milk profit. Actually, the profit is less than one-third of a cent per quart according to the Indiana University Bureau of Business Research nation-wide study of 244 companies.

On a dollar basis, here are the cost items in a quart of milk:

Cost of raw milk and plant wages and salaries	81 46%
Sales promotion, general office supplies and services	7 28
Taxes, insurance and depreciation	5 96
Bottles and other containers	3 32
Operating Profit	1 98

\* Pictograph by *Sales Management*, December 15, 1945, p. 99. Material derived from Milk Industry Foundation.

## *employee relations attitudes*

judge correctly and to respond appropriately to what people at work do and say when they talk to him, ask for a raise, sit down, or slow down, lies his skill of leadership<sup>30</sup>

### PROJECTS

1. Visit an industrial plant in your community and note evidences of the management's program for maintaining high morale among employees. Write a report suggesting additions to or improvements in the existing program.
2. Employees can be made conscious of costs involved in the use of their equipment. Do you think that college students could be made cost-conscious through the use of the method of Monarch Machine Tool Company?  
"Employees operating costly machines rarely have any conception of the amount of the company investment entrusted to their care. Believing that a realization of the value of equipment would result in more care being exercised in its use, the Monarch Machine Tool Company tried the experiment of attaching to each machine in its own plant a plate showing what the machine cost the company when it was purchased. Results have been so gratifying that customers are beginning to request that machines purchased from the company be similarly equipped."<sup>31</sup>
3. Would the morale of the employee be improved by employee meetings at which some of the older men of the company describe their experiences and advancements with the company?
4. In one company the coal bill had increased 30 per cent when the board of directors ordered an investigation. The chief fireman reported that he had been shoveling more slate than coal. He knew that the coal was inferior, but he did not think it was his place to report it. Analyze this situation as to possible causes of such an attitude on the part of the employee. How can such attitudes be prevented?
5. Andrew Carnegie wrote his epitaph for himself  
*Here lies a man  
Who knew how to enlist  
In his service  
Better men than himself*  
What attitudes are necessary for an executive to pursue such a policy?
6. How can the management convince the employees that "pull" is not essential for promotion?
7. Collect copies of employees' magazines or plant organs and analyze them as to style, selection of material, illustrations, size, and so on.
8. A Canadian Mountie is credited with the statement "Human beings are only twelve meals away from the dumb animal stage." To what extent do you accept this point of view? How does it affect industrial relations?
9. Ask a number of women who are employed what they like the most and what they like the least about their jobs. Were the replies concerned chiefly with personal relationships or with methods and things? Assume, in each case, that you are the woman's supervisor, and tell what specific action you would take in the light of the information received.
10. Should the employer attempt to obtain the good will of the wives of employees? How can he do so? What are the dangers of such an attempt?

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## 22 Employee relations—organized labor and formal programs

*Two real comrades know all about each other and are tolerant. Each knows what the other is up against and, understanding each other, wanting to work out the common task which is theirs, they make allowances as one man to another. Then there is fun in the day's work, there is that sense of going places with other men, there is a click in the job. That is great, that is a priceless possession. When it exists among men in industry, so-called "personnel management" is simple. But you cannot define this relationship, you cannot blueprint the course of comradeship. It is a mistake to try. But we can create the physical environment that is conducive to comradeship. We can have good "personnel management" and then give comradeship a chance.<sup>1</sup>*

SYSTEMS OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT in industry are relatively unimportant. A given company may have the finest industrial relations mechanisms or formal systems and still have poor industrial relations. Another company may have almost no personnel management mechanisms and yet have fine industrial relations. If the executives have the kind of managerial leadership that inspires comradeship and confidence between management and men, the formal methods of supervision are incidental. Many examples of this fine relationship exist in American industry.

One example is the Studebaker Corporation. At the same time that many of

the largest corporations in the automotive industry were beset by costly labor controversies, this company had little or no disturbance. The company has had no serious labor disturbances since its founding in 1852, when wagons were manufactured. Its factory workers have been organized under the CIO. Investigators who have studied the reasons for its pleasant industrial relations history have been unable to find evidence of any plan or system to account for the results. The company has no formal suggestion system, no employee relations counselors, no music or public address system in the shops, and no athletic association. It does have many spontaneous

## *employee relations and organized labor*

get together that provide opportunity for fellowship. There is also great value in the father-son employment team that keeps the service pin plan in the spotlight. The relationship between management and men is surprisingly informal. The company has no printed statement of labor policy or procedure, no codified

adjustments by individuals. Some labor union leaders have been indicted and convicted of racketeering, others have made splendid contributions to human welfare.

Some reasons why workers join unions are exemplified by statements such as the following, quoted by Thomas G. Spates,

TABLE 61\*

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN PLANTS OF THE 300- TO 750-EMPLOYEE CLASS

	<i>Personnel Department</i>	<i>Operating Executives</i>	<i>President or Other Top Executives</i>	<i>Management Committee</i>
Hires	66.7%	29.6%	3.7%	0%
Evaluates jobs	57.3	28.5	3.6	10.6
Determines promotions, transfers, etc	52.0	44.0	4.0	0
Determines individual wages and salaries	59.3	29.6	7.4	3.7
Maintains personnel records	86.9	8.7	4.4	0
Trains employees	48.0	44.0	8.0	0
Handles public relations	79.0	0	21.0	0
Handles union relations	58.3	29.2	12.5	0
Handles employee relations (handbooks, etc.)	71.0	4.0	15.0	10.0
Administers special services (group insurance, recreation, etc.)	81.3	12.5	6.2	0
Develops health programs	81.0	0	14.0	0
Develops safety work	69.3	15.4	3.8	11.5

\* *Modern Industry* magazine made a survey of 750 representative plants to find out the answers to "Who does what in the typical plant?" The committee form of management was found to a noticeable extent in only three fields. "Best practice, of course, is teamwork between staff and line, with one having prime responsibility for developing and running each program." From "Current Trends in Personnel Administration," *Modern Industry*, February 15, 1946, p. 39.

rules of conduct, and no commitment on the part of the company or its workers except the intent to comply honestly and fairly with a simple union agreement which has fixed wages and working conditions.

### **Labor unions**

Labor unions have so many psychological aspects that any attempt to treat their nature is likely to be a description of human nature itself. Examples of good and bad unionism are as plentiful as the examples of good and bad psychological

Vice-President of General Foods Corporation

From an AFL leader in San Francisco in March 1940:

I think I have said at both of the previous meetings that I have attended here at Stanford that there would be no need for labor unions if there were no dissatisfied workers, that dissatisfaction among employees is the germ which creates labor organizations. I said then and I repeat again, that if employers as a whole treated their employees half as well as they want the public to believe they treat them, we would have a fearful job organizing employees into trade unions.

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In January 1941, from a fine, young AFL business agent who helped organize a General Foods plant on the west coast

If there had been good industrial relations in your plant, I do not think the employees would have joined ours or any union

Early in 1942 from the organizers of the Steelworkers Union:

One of the compelling motives for union membership is the desire of workers to give their personalities dignity and their lives a meaning. They join unions to become something more than a check number. They crave to be recognized as human beings. The dynamic quality, the militancy and the crusading spirit of the labor movement, especially of CIO in the last decade, were nurtured by the failure of management to satisfy the non-economic needs of the workers

From a steel city in Pennsylvania in April 1947

Management hasn't got enough understanding of working people and their problems. Businessmen keep thinking of labor as a commodity instead of human beings. The reason people join unions is because they feel that the boss won't pay any real attention to the welfare of the workers if left to himself. He's got to be forced to do things

From a small town in the Mid-West, July 1947.

Our chief engineer was for some years business agent for the engineers' union in Omaha. He said if management would pursue modern personnel policies, most of the strife between industry and labor would never occur.

From a small industrial town in New Jersey, May 1948

The union believed that the company's pre-unionization paternalism still existed to some extent. The comprehensive personnel program created a fear in the minds of the union leaders that the net effect of the program would be to reduce the employees' in-

terest in and loyalty to the union. . . Developing a sense of solidarity would probably remain the principal concern of local union leaders. But they recognize that the worker's chief interests are in his personal and job situations

In July 1948, from the editor of the *CIO News*:

Workers do not form unions for the sake of having organizations that they can call their own. They form unions because they have learned, often through bitter experience, that they must pool their energies and act collectively if they are to achieve satisfactory or near-satisfactory solutions to their problems in human relations which often plague them.<sup>2</sup>

Unions often may employ strategy to gain their ends. F. Alexander Magoun gives a good picture of this strategy. The procedure usually is

1. Send a scout to listen to all gripes
2. Analyze these and find the most common ones.
3. Send an organizer to stir up trouble, put management on the defensive [dramatize the situation, make labor feel important]
4. Promise the workmen that when they form a union those common annoyances will be corrected at once.

Magoun states that there is really only one way to find out about employees' needs: open channels of direct communication.<sup>3</sup>

Few workers join unions because of coercion. Generally, the things that workers want are not different from those to which employers, professional men, and everybody else aspires. Security, opportunity, an improved standard of living, and recognition are universal ambitions. Revolutions, repressions, reforms, and the American labor move-

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ment have been motivated through lack of satisfaction of these ambitions, or because it was feared by the working man that once he achieved them, they could not be held.

Even the workers who will not join unions are not without desire for security, opportunity, an improved standard of living, and recognition. But they either have resigned themselves to the belief that these things are unattain-

able or have concluded that some other method for getting them is more feasible. These men believe that their employer's good will and good sense will assure them as much as it is possible for them to get, those who prefer to rely on individual effort, and those who feel that only far-reaching political and economic change can effect any real alteration in their circumstances.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, unions are joined be-



AN EXAMPLE OF confused unionism. The picket's sign says, "This job is non-union." Signs on the window say work has been done by CIO and AFL.  
(Photograph courtesy of the Buffalo Evening News)

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cause they render business services to employees. As stated by *Business Week*:

Unions exhibit a diversity of forms and functions, but, fundamentally, they are all business organizations. They are established to provide a service and they market that service to a special group of customers. The union enterprise is cooperatively owned by its members, and income of the enterprise is used primarily to extend the service it provides. Its slogans may be idealistic, and the preamble to its constitution visionary, but there is no "pie in the sky" utopianism about a union's routine or objectives.

With no important exception, American unions today operate on a "pay envelope" psychology. They define their job as raising the paychecks of their members, handling their grievances, getting them greater employment security, and improving their working conditions.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that a union gives its members certain business services partially explains why members do not leave a union even though they know that certain influential officers of the union may have had criminal records and are currently using for their own benefit funds that belong to the union treasury. Also, the fact that a worker joins a union does not mean that he is therefore anticompany. The employer may still be able to gain the good will and cooperation of many of his employees who belong to a union. In some cases, the union employees are "loyal" to the employer and the employer is "loyal" to the union.

Unions have also contributed toward easing some employers' burdens. For example, unions are likely to call the management's attention to rates of pay and other conditions that hinder production. Workmen are more apt to speak their minds freely when they know they have the union to defend their rights. Foremen of unionized plants also must im-

prove their skills in handling their men. Foremen cannot take out grouches on men who are unionized. Recognition of the union tends to clear the atmosphere for the employees and enable them to express their grievances. On the other hand, many unions also act as a kind of wedge between the management and the men, thus preventing management and men from ever understanding each other or cooperating wholeheartedly.

Remsen J. Cole and Associates conducted a questionnaire among employees of a number of Philadelphia companies to find out whether employees are chiefly *for labor organizations* or merely *against management*. The results indicated that the workers probably were against management rather than for labor organizations.<sup>6</sup> This suggests that managements have a heavy psychological responsibility toward their employees.

Emphases in publications intended for management are often on strategies<sup>7</sup> in dealing with union negotiations rather than on techniques for bringing about constructive relations and understanding. Some of the more intelligent leaders in employee relations do appreciate the values of research and responsibility to workers and the community.

Fred Rudge, consultant in management-employee relations, has described management's failures and opportunities in published reports to industry. One of his reports is condensed as follows:

Most managements fail to see that the power behind the unions lies in the faith and support of its members. They do not see that these union members can, when sufficiently irate, demand an accounting of their leaders' actions or their union's activities on big economic issues.

Certainly, management has a good case of economics to present to the workers. But it

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does little or nothing to counteract union attacks on its policies. It does not clearly point out its many achievements. Worse, many managements do nothing to identify company interests with employee interests. It is only natural then that the worker will seek the "truth" from his union, which makes a conscious and strong effort to give him status.

Some of the more progressive companies have gone ahead and tried to work out some answers to these employer-employee misunderstandings.

Their findings point out the need for more studies to reveal the real issues, gripes and sources of dissatisfaction that harass the workers. They have discovered, also, the importance of more conferences participated in by all levels of management. Inherent in these findings, of course, is the need for clear, well-established channels of communication between management and worker.<sup>8</sup>

In certain unionized industries, the unions have established impressive records of cooperation with managements. Some of the best examples of union-management cooperation have occurred where companies were faced with bankruptcy and unions were faced with loss of jobs. In addition to economic adversity, union recognition with a long history of collective bargaining, strength of the union, integrity of intelligent union officials, and genuine sympathy on the part of management have also been important factors in union-management cooperation.

Some unions and companies have cooperated in developing programs of education for workers. Such attempts, when sincerely and objectively conducted, are likely to result in long-term improvements in industrial relations.

The few examples, so favorable to the unions, should not cause one to assume that strikes have been eliminated from industries which have had a long experience with unionism. Continuing high

levels of strikes have occurred in some highly unionized industries.<sup>9</sup> However, the strike records of individual industries vary so greatly that the results of unionization in specific industries are likely to depend upon factors other than extensive unionism. Unionism may become popular in a specific industry because, for example, employees resent certain policies of a particular management. They may be reacting to emotional stress.

### ***Why workers strike***

When an industrial conflict reaches the strike stage, everyone loses, especially if the strike is one of long duration. The employer loses in sales and maintenance costs. The customers and stockholders lose. The employees, in particular, lose wages and savings that may require years of labor to recoup. The Hinds & Dauch Paper Company published figures showing that a strike in one of their mills had cost the workers an amount in wages that would require five years, eleven months to recoup at the rate of increase won.<sup>10</sup>

When New Departure, Division of General Motors Corporation, Bristol, Connecticut, suffered a seventeen-week work stoppage, the estimated loss to workers averaged \$880 in wages and \$475 in savings and debts. At the rate of the employer's proffered increase in pay at the time of the strike, eight years were required for the employees to recoup their losses.<sup>11</sup>

Labor union leaders claim that they do not want strikes and blame pigheaded industrialists for causing them. Industrialists claim that they do not want strikes and blame the irrationality of power-seeking union leaders. Both the

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labor leader and the industrialist claim that the other fears and hates him without just cause. Rumors and suspicions flourish. Grievances flare into strikes, slowdowns, and work stoppages.

### ***Studies of groups under stress***

The factors in industrial relations that lead to strikes are difficult to analyze sci-

to stress should be studied to discover more comprehensive factors than are revealed by the published reports of strikes. A riotous strike is an act of aggression under stress. A few significant studies have been made of the ways in which people tend to act under stress. For example, a study of lynchings indicated that when the price of cotton went



*Photograph by courtesy of Scripps Howard Newspapers*

entifically because of the numerous influences and unrecognized variables at work. A strike does not occur because of a few influences. Only the precipitating influences are revealed by most investigations of strikes. The predisposing influences are usually overlooked. Group dynamics and the ways that people react

down in fourteen states, the number of lynchings went up.<sup>12</sup> Race riots and similar forms of aggressive expression have been investigated and found to involve strong fears, frustrations, and stress.<sup>13</sup>

One of the best studies of group dynamics and reactions to stress under real-life conditions was made at the Colorado

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River Relocation Center at Poston, Arizona, during World War II. This was one of the ten relocation centers to which West Coast Japanese-Americans were removed for security reasons after the United States became involved in the war.

The research activity was jointly sponsored by the Navy, the Office of Indian Affairs, and the War Relocation Authority. Its purposes were to advise administrative officers at Poston and to make observations and analyses that might aid in the solution of other administrative problems elsewhere.

Under the guidance of the administration representing the U. S. Government, the evacuees set up their own community government and social structure, and established such public services as stores, schools, churches, police and fire departments, a judicial commission, and a newspaper. Thus, except for the fact that Poston's inhabitants were being more or less forcibly detained in the area, ordinary community and group interactions were simulated.

A comprehensive report of this outstanding study was written by Alexander H. Leighton,<sup>14</sup> who listed the following specific types of stress as disturbing to the emotions and thoughts of the individual:

- a. Threats to life and health,
- b. Discomfort from pain, heat, cold, dampness, fatigue and poor food,
- c. Loss of means of subsistence, whether in the form of money, jobs, business or property,
- d. Deprivation of sexual satisfaction,
- e. Enforced idleness,
- f. Restriction of movement,
- g. Isolation,
- h. Threats to children, family members, and friends,

2. Rejection, dislike, and ridicule from other people,

1. Capricious and unpredictable behavior on the part of those in authority upon whom one's welfare depends.

Leighton has given many examples of the ways that people react to stress, exemplified by the members of Poston. A few of his findings are briefly summarized.

Cooperation, withdrawal, and aggressiveness are three universal kinds of behavior with which individuals react to authority when subjected to forces of stress that are disturbing to the emotions and thoughts of the individual.

These reactions are particularly common in minorities, and it is often possible "to divide a community roughly into three parts in terms of those who show predominately cooperation, withdrawal, or aggression in relation to the majority group." These divisions of reaction to stress may be counted upon in any subjugated people.

As has often been noted in life, it is aggressive action that gets results. For example, it was not the people who quietly accepted poor food in the relocation centers who secured its improvement, but those who aggressively went about trying to get better food, by writing to high officials.

Aggression, arising from disturbed emotions and thoughts, may stimulate the individual to take decisive actions that will free him from the forces causing the disturbed emotions and thoughts, lead to confused and violent action, wholly inappropriate to the circumstances of the individual.

At first aggressive attitudes were not obvious, but gradually they came out into the open through complaints and



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demands, disregard of regulations, refusal to work, and so forth. These tendencies finally flowered into a strike.

Three factors "contributed to the rise of aggressive expressions and acts." The first: "A reduction in fear of the Administration and a realization that the aggressive individual could hide in the mass of the people who made up the Center. Another was the continuation without relief of most forms of stress, with an increase in some of them. The third was the fact that because of frustrations and uncertainties, attempts at cooperation continued to be more immediately punishing than rewarding in many instances."

Leighton states that coercion, if employed in sufficient strength, could have prevented some of the demonstrations of aggression, but that this would have retarded cooperation and so have been more costly. The aggressiveness that arose was controlled and directed so that much of it served a useful purpose, not only by altering conditions that gave rise to the gripes, but also by relieving emotional feelings about the conditions.

Some confused and ill-advised aggressions occurred, naturally, and these worsened conditions rather than bettered them. Examples: attacking each other, unreasonable demands, and delinquency.

A few of Leighton's recommendations to administrators and others who deal with people who react aggressively to stresses are the following:

1. In a disturbed community look for all the specific and all the general types of stress, not one or a few; note which are actually present and try to estimate their intensity.

2. Never underestimate the deleterious force of circumstances which foster repeated *frustration, incompatible desires and uncertainty*.

3. Never dismiss complaints as trivial, they may be only "gripes", but they may also be clear warnings of imminent trouble and one cannot tell which it is without investigation.

4. Keep in mind that the strength of an administration rests largely on its ability to meet the needs of people, that relief from the various types of stress comprises a major set of needs; and that complaints are clues to needs.

5. Bear in mind that all three of the principal social reactions of individuals to stress (cooperation, withdrawal and aggression), have both advantages and disadvantages from the point of view of those in authority.

6. Cultivate cooperation, but not extremes of compliance and dependence, there are "yes-men" in all races and creeds and they are usually poor assistants.

7. Regard extremes of withdrawal, apathy, and indifference as bad signs, but accept mass inertia as characteristic of people and learn to rely on its stability.

8. Consider aggression as a human reaction to circumstances, not merely as innate cussedness or the work of evil men, or a racial peculiarity.

9. Recognize rumors, suspicions, scapegoat tendencies, gang activities, and crime increase as symptoms of aggression arising out of stress.

10. Try to guide and control aggression, but do not try to stamp it out; in most instances one cannot destroy it and even if he could, he would lose a force that might be of much value. It is the horse with spirit that is balking.

11. Remember that it is a common failing of administrators to refuse mild requests that they can and should grant, while yielding later to aggressive demand that forces itself on their attention; such behavior encourages the destructive aspects of aggression.

12. Capitalize on the feelings of relief and cooperativeness that are likely to occur after an outburst of aggression, do not set the clock back by an ill-placed act of punishment which rouses new aggressions and controls nothing.<sup>15</sup>

The investigator of strikes who will read Leighton's report will gain a better

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understanding of group dynamics that lead to strikes in industry

Of course studies of violent aggressions that develop from frustration and fear do not reveal the basic causes of many strikes and labor union activities of today. Additional questions, such as the following, need to be asked:

1. To what extent are seekers of power in conflict? Either management or labor union leaders or both may be seeking greater economic power in order to maintain or to strengthen their position in the economic life. Sometimes the worker is exploited for the benefit of power-seekers, as reported by Arthur O. England on his return from a study of industrial relations practices in various Mid-West plants:

The average worker is a sympathetic sort of a fellow who is ruled generally by his emotions rather than by logical thinking and reasoning. Sometimes this sympathetic fellow gets taken for a ride. Surrounding us are people who desire power. Their desire for power is a personal one. We have seen how these power boys have "rifled" their way to the top. They may have to distort the facts a little. They may appeal to our needs, those needs reflecting our weaknesses, those areas where doubts can creep in.

These leaders are smart, for their own good, because they understand a fundamental fact about human nature. It's easier to make people unhappy than to make them happy. It's easier to put people on the defensive than to strengthen their prestige. It's like the old story about the mother trying to put her two children to bed. The vociferous neighbor brings them candy and tells them stories. "Why go to bed? Stay up and play like the rest of the kids. Here, have ten pieces of candy. Candy never hurt any youngster. Your mother," the intruder goes on, "must be an old witch to make you go to bed so early and not let you eat all the candy you want. Well?" Our mother is truly put on the defensive now. How can she regain the

respect and confidence she needs to rear her children properly? The American worker has been kept up long past his bed time. We can't blame him for being a sympathetic individual—that's a rather general American feeling—but he has been the subject of some pretty bad guidance. Too much candy and too little sleep have made a pretty sick fellow out of him.

It's easy to see why a successful concern has to stand for more than a square deal. In addition to its products it must also produce good citizens out of its employees.<sup>16</sup>

2. What stage has been reached in the development of employer-union relations? The life history of most old well-established employer-union relations usually has three stages: (a) The *organizational* stage, when the union tries to get a foothold in the company. The employer resists and the union intensifies the fight. The union leaders are of necessity very aggressive and belligerent; (b) The *cold neutrality* stage, when the union has won recognition and the employer acts in accordance with the requirements of the contract; (c) The *established* stage, when the union and the employer have learned to live and work together in a more or less cooperative manner. The leadership of the union has changed from the hard-boiled fighting variety to a more cooperative type. However, completely genuine cooperation between union and employer is rare, regardless of the stage in the stability attained by the union.

3. Are the labor union leaders trying merely to increase their share of the "economic pie," or are they trying to enlarge the pie? If the returns from a business enterprise may be considered a pie, there are two ways for a union to get more pie. One way is to fight for as big a piece as can be obtained. Another way is to increase the size of the pie through

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greater worker productivity. The former method is called collective bargaining, the latter, union-management cooperation. Economically, wage increases tend merely to distribute rather than create property.

Are the policies and practices of the union designed to make work and cause featherbedding in order to please members, or are they designed to stimulate members to produce more in a cooperative relationship?

4 Are conflicting ideologies influencing the employer-union relations? So many examples of such conflict have occurred in recent years that only one need be mentioned here. A comparative study was made of two Pacific Coast industries: the pulp and paper industry and stevedoring. These two industries had contrasting records. The former enjoyed industrial peace, the latter suffered from a continuous record of conflict. On the basis of his findings, the investigator of the two groups made several generalizations, one of which concerned ideology.

Where employers and union representatives hold irreconcilable differences in economic belief, and where the union representatives have not only been thoroughly indoctrinated with left wing philosophy, but where this philosophy has been the touchstone of union action, hope for enduring industrial peace is illusory, and conflict, whether open or concealed, pervades and dominates the employer-employee relationship.

Officers of the Longshoremen's Union have assumed since 1934 that the purpose of collective bargaining is not to establish a system of industrial jurisprudence, but rather that it is a device through which, under the cloak of an agreement, unremitting if undeclared warfare can be carried on against the employers. Since any procedure, no matter how devious, has been considered as legitimate under conditions of war, it was this philoso-

phy which dominated the position of the union's representatives. They have looked on the employers not as a necessary and desirable component in a joint industrial effort, but as an inescapable evil. Co-operation and collaboration have been to them unthinkable and basically undesirable. Consequently, the written word, whether it be the language of a collective bargaining agreement or an arbitrator's award, was scrutinized with the objective of finding some way to torture its plain intent and meaning to the advantage of the union, rather than as a rule to be observed and followed. This is definitely the approach of the ideological unionist.<sup>17</sup>

5 Are the policies of the unions and of management based on a desire to strengthen the personality of the individual worker or merely to cater to his weaknesses? Labor unions are essentially political organizations. Business concerns are risk-taking, economically productive organizations. A union politician is in effect constantly running for office. A businessman is constantly competing with business rivals for the favor of customers who are likely to be enticed by a rival concern.

When the National Planning Association made a study of companies that have had a record of good industrial relations, one finding was that strikes are not always proof of bad employee relations—they may be better than slowly deteriorating relations in a plant.

"Actually there may be fewer unfavorable consequences from spectacular stoppages, occurring from time to time, than from the steady impairment and deterioration of day-to-day production caused by poor operating relationships."<sup>18</sup>

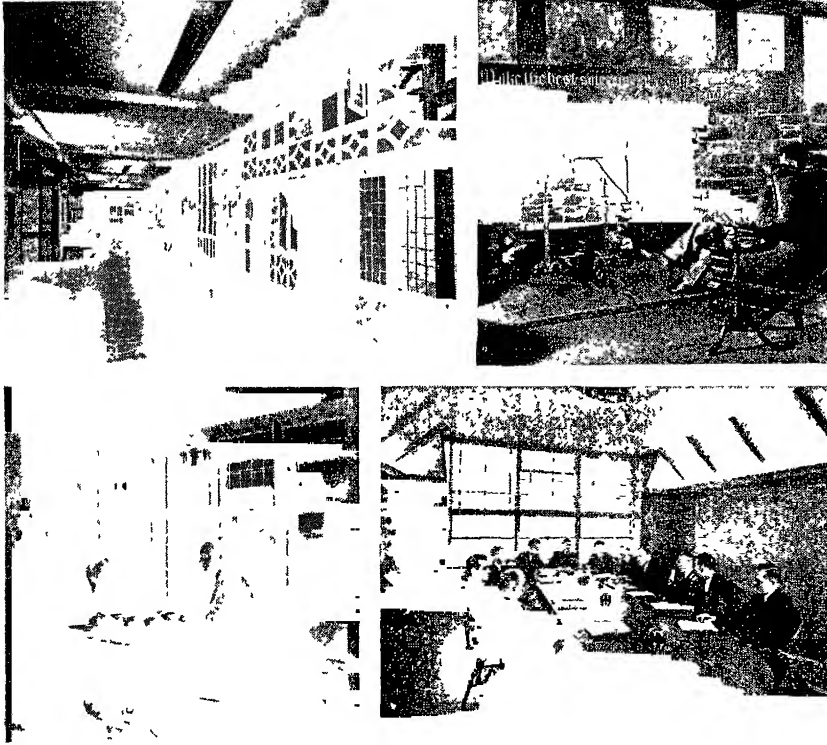
Of course there is no one cause of labor conflict. The causes are many and they vary with each situation. The most commonly mentioned are managerial

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unfairness, real or imaginary, and fears such as those involved in the insecurity of the worker. These causes are largely psychological and can be overcome through collegiality and participation. If the employer wishes to deal effectively

### **Multiple management**

In 1932 Charles P. McCormick, President of McCormick & Company, Baltimore spice, flavoring extract, and tea manufacturing concern, put into opera-



"MULTIPLE MANAGEMENT" junior board in session in junior board room at McCormick & Co., Baltimore. "Friendship Court" consists of a board room, tea museum, tea house, model store, spice office, and so on. It was designed to inspire calm deliberation and genuine co-operation. See *Pioneering with Products and People* (McCormick & Co., Baltimore, 1939) and Charles P. McCormick, *The Power of People* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1949).

with his labor relations, he cannot do so merely by giving employees more concessions, such as higher pay or shorter hours of work. He must give them more understanding of the problems that are common to both the employees and the employer. Some employers are doing this through multiple management.

tion the democracy-in-business plan of management which is called "multiple management."<sup>19</sup> Under this system, several groups of employees, who function in the manner of boards of directors, make suggestions to the responsible board of directors at the top. These subordinate boards originally chosen by

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top management may consist of groups of employees who have related functions. Thus one board may be made up of factory employees, another of salesmen, a third of office employees, and so on. The employee boards do not supersede the regular board of directors but supplement that board's judgment, especially with regard to improvements in employee and customer relations. Employees are taken into complete confidence regarding all the ins and outs of production, sales, finance, and other phases of operations. In 1949, more than two hundred United States firms had adopted principles of multiple management as pioneered by McCormick & Company.

The subordinate boards function as idea groups and as training schools for future executives. Over a five-year period, a study of these junior board minutes revealed that 2,109 definite recommendations were passed and submitted to the company for action. Of this number, only six were turned down, and 2,103 fresh new ideas were incorporated into company operations. This was a greater number of ideas put into effect than the Board of Directors of the company under the old system had enacted in the entire period from 1889 to 1932.

In the course of seventeen years of operation of the plan, including depression years, the company made money, labor turnover was reduced, and wages were comparable to or higher than in any other company in the food industry of the area. A high level of *esprit de corps* animates the entire organization.<sup>20</sup>

### **Profit-sharing**

Profit-sharing is not a new idea, as the plan was in operation in agriculture in England during the thirteenth century.

Records show that it was used in shops in England in 1870 and in France as early as 1842. The first plan instituted in the United States was that of Albert Gallatin, who introduced it in his glass-works at New Geneva, Pennsylvania, in 1794. In 1889, the United States had thirty-two recorded schemes for profit-sharing. Most of these schemes were short-lived, although one St. Louis firm has been operating on a profit-sharing basis since 1886. The Procter & Gamble plan was begun in 1887, but it has been modified several times since then. Few schemes now operating were started before 1900.

It has been estimated that more than 1,000 plans have been tried throughout the modern industrial nations since 1842. The failures have exceeded the successes. Careful surveys of plans tried in Great Britain and the United States indicated that the percentage discontinued in both countries was 60 per cent or more, as indicated by a recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board. See Table 62.

The reasons for employer and employee dissatisfaction with profit sharing stem largely from the employees' lack of understanding of the principles involved and their inability to comprehend the influence of the business cycle upon profits. The profit-sharing plan apparently works fairly well as long as the company prospers but dissatisfaction arises when profits diminish or disappear.

An unavoidable defect of profit sharing, especially from the standpoint of the worker, is that profits are influenced by so many extraneous factors over which he has no control, no matter how diligently he works. A change in the price structure, a turn in the business cycle or an unforeseen contingency, such as war, can affect the prosperity of the business far more than the acts of employees.

Lack of employee interest in profit sharing was another leading cause of discontinuance.

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This indifference arose from the fact that the profit distribution was so long delayed that the employee could not visualize the connection between his efforts and the bonus. It was common experience that workers were greatly enthused at the time of annual distribution of profits but their interest soon waned, with the result that they were indifferent to the idea for most of the year. A number of companies sought a remedy for this situation by distributing profits more than once or twice a year even though it entailed considerably more bookkeeping.

Diminished profits were another cause of employee dissatisfaction. The disposition of

In most cases, profit-sharing should be distinguished from bonuses, which are given as a reward for high production by an individual worker. It is not part of a wage system. True profit-sharing is an agreement between the employer and the employees under which the profits allocated to the workers rise or fall in proportion to the increase or the decrease in the profits realized by the employer. Because the method of distributing the profits varies, the difficulties in determin-

TABLE 62

COMPARISON OF CAUSES OF DISCONTINUANCE OF PROFIT-SHARING PLANS IN  
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

<i>Cause of Discontinuance</i>	<i>British Survey</i>		<i>Conference Board Survey</i>	
	Number of Companies	Per Cent	Number of Companies	Per Cent
Apathy of employees, or dissatisfaction of employers with results	87	22.0	16	16.7
Dissatisfaction of employees	16	4.1	12	12.5
Substitution of other benefits	43	10.9	13	13.5
Business conditions, diminished profits, losses	104	26.3	21	21.9
Changes in management	52	13.2	13	13.5
Company out of business	49	12.4	1	1.0
Government regulations			7	7.3
Reason for discontinuance not given	44	11.3	13	13.5
Total	395 *	100.0	96	100.0

\* In addition to 330 profit-sharing plans, statistics include 46 stock-purchase plans and 19 employee-savings plans.

the workers to consider their share as part of their regular earnings resulted in their using it to raise their standard of living. Consequently, when profits disappeared, the workers were as keenly disappointed as though their regular wage rate had been reduced.

Another reason for employees' dissatisfaction was their unwillingness to accept the principles of profit sharing even though they shared only in the gains and not in the losses. If the company has any money to distribute, they reason, why doesn't it put the extra compensation in the weekly pay envelope where they can count on it instead of making them wait six months or a year for money which may not be forthcoming.<sup>21</sup>

ing the amount of profits that a given employee should receive have been an important factor in preventing the adoption of profit-sharing.

Most of the plans have been started in the hope that efficiency would be increased, costs decreased, and the working force stabilized. Some were begun by wealthy employers who wished to share their success with the employees whose hard work contributed toward the profits of the enterprises. The employers' motives were an attempt to give social justice and to increase their own sense of

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well-being Where such an attitude prevailed, and was coupled with reasonable managerial efficiency, some benefits actually accrued from profit-sharing and similar plans of employee relations. The plans started by such humanitarians were usually abandoned at their deaths, when inevitable changes in management took place. In a few instances, the owner of the business provided for the perpetuation of the plan after his death

In general, profit-sharing has not been so successful as many of its advocates anticipated One important reason is that employees prefer to have a definite salary or wage that is known in advance. They declare "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" In the years when the company makes unusually large profits, the money distributed is accepted as a gift from a kind, industrial Santa Claus, but when profits are negligible or a deficit must be written on the books, the employees may be sorely disappointed To say the least, an employee will be shocked if, after he has spent his anticipated profits, he finds that the practice of distributing profits has been suddenly discontinued. When profits are shared for a long time, they are often confused with or considered as a part of the wages

When the profits of the company do not allow any distribution to the employees, the employees tend to doubt the honesty of the management, particularly if they note that the president or the general manager of the company has purchased a new house or a new limousine. They do not, as a rule, have access to the accounts of the employer, but even if they did, they would not be able to understand the accounts. A negligible number of the employers who have a profit-sharing plan have a disinterested

accountant audit their books and prepare a report, which he presents to the employees. However, the great masses of workers cannot understand how profits in modern business are made or computed. It is only natural, therefore, that they should be suspicious of the management when the plan of distribution remains a mystery to them.

The individual employee can seldom see any relationship between his own daily efforts and the profits at the end of the year. In most plans, the profits divided are a small fraction of the annual wages. In one third of the plans studied, it was found that the dividends amounted to less than 6 per cent of the annual wages of the participants Hence the interested employee who decides to work hard in order to increase the company's profits at the end of the year, a proportionate share of which he will receive, finds that the lazy worker by his side receives a check just as large as his own As a result of his discovery, during the following year he may decide to work as slowly and as carelessly as the poorest workman in the shop Thus profit-sharing, under some conditions, tends to bring the efficiency of the best workers down to the level of the poorest rather than to raise the efficiency of the poorest workers. The profit-sharing sun shines just as brightly on the undeserving as on the deserving. It is for these and other reasons that profit-sharing for workmen has been found deficient as an incentive to work. The only type that appears to have incentive values for modern business is that of managerial profit-sharing.

The making of profits in modern business is largely beyond the control of the factory workers. Profits depend upon

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the managerial ability to purchase economically, to organize the whole scheme of production efficiently, to sell the goods at a satisfactory profit, to finance the operations during the depressions that are bound to occur in business, and to

are the men who are responsible for profits and losses, rather than the workers in the factory. For wage earners, profit-sharing is largely incidental to a humanitarian motive or managerial attitude of fairness toward the employees.

TABLE 63

PRINCIPAL BENEFITS DERIVED FROM PROFIT-SHARING PLAN

<i>Benefits</i>	<i>Deferred Distribution Plans</i>		<i>Current Distribution Plans</i>	
	Number	Per Cent of 89 Companies <sup>1</sup>	Number	Per Cent of 60 Companies <sup>2</sup>
Improved employer-employee relations, better morale	39	43.8	17	28.3
Better teamwork; greater cooperation	4	4.5	15	25.0
Increased interest in company welfare	14	15.7	19	31.7
Improved production, greater efficiency	13	14.6	17	28.3
Reduced turnover	18	20.2	11	18.3
Attract better type of employee	1	1.1	3	5.0
Benefit at retirement	16	18.0		
Sense of security	11	12.4		
Eliminated or reduced labor disturbances	4	4.5	4	6.7
Gear wages to profits	1	1.1	3	5.0
Appreciated by older employees	2	2.2		
Interest at foreman level, none below	2	2.2		
Benefits questionable	3	3.4	5	8.3
No benefits	3	3.4	1	1.7
Too soon to evaluate	7	7.9	3	5.0
Part of over-all program, intangible	2	2.2	2	3.3

<sup>1</sup> Eleven companies did not answer question.

<sup>2</sup> Seven companies did not answer question.

Many companies mention more than one advantage. The advantages reported most frequently are, improvement in employer-employee relations and consequent better employee morale, better teamwork between the different departments and among the employees, increased interest in the company business, improved efficiency, and lower labor turnover. It is significant, however, that a larger percentage of the companies with deferred-distribution plans stress the value of their plan in promoting better employer-employee relations. The companies with current-distribution plans list more frequently as an advantage the role of the plan in improving efficiency, in making employees more cost-conscious, and in creating greater interest in the company's business. The proportion of companies reporting a reduction in labor turnover is approximately the same for both types of plan. From ("Profit Sharing for Workers," *Studies in Personnel Policy*, No. 97, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York, November 1948, p. 24.)

find new markets to take the place of contracting markets. The key executives of a business—the sales manager, the production manager, the comptroller, the purchasing agent, and a few others—can see the direct relations between their own efforts and the profits made. They

As a rule, it does not by itself give the workers a strong sense of participation in the enterprise.

Many employers who adopted profit-sharing during and since the war did so, not with the hope of obtaining more material gains from employees, but to im-



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prove the *esprit de corps* and to express management's sense of collegueship with employees. As a result, during and after the war, the trustee or deferred distribution plans gained impetus because tax laws were favorable for such plans. Current profit-sharing plans may be divided into two types. The first is the current-distribution or older type, under which profits are paid in cash at regular intervals. The second is the deferred distribution type. Under this plan the amount contributed to the trust fund varies with profits made, and the employee's share of profits is deposited in an irrevocable trust. The employees or their beneficiaries do not receive their share until some specified future time, such as time of retirement, death, disability, or termination of employment. Obviously, many of these trustee profit-sharing plans are looked upon as a kind of pension plan.

When the two types of plans were studied in 1947, the question asked companies was, "What do you believe to be the outstanding benefit which your company has derived from the operation of your plan?" The answers cover a wide variety of benefits and degrees of enthusiasm. These replies have been analyzed according to broad classifications, as shown in Table 63.

In spite of the fact that most profit-sharing plans have not worked out to the complete satisfaction of all employers or employees who have adopted them, certain companies have demonstrated the effectiveness of the idea when it is part of some more comprehensive plan of employer-employee relations. The Lincoln Electric Company is an example. There, as in other successful uses of profit-sharing, the idea is only part of a greater

philosophy. As the Lincoln Electric Company states, ". . . if all employees of any organization, from top to bottom, will work together and do as much as they can, instead of as little as they can, everyone in that organization will be better off. As a result, such an organization will be outstanding among all others of its type."

An example of a company that has an unusual record of profit-sharing developed with the cooperation of a labor union is the Adamson Company, Inc., East Palestine, Ohio. The Adamson plan was started in 1945. It has been described by a former president of a labor union local as follows:

The plan itself is unique in just one respect. It contains a full measure of every one of the basic ingredients necessary to insure the success of profit sharing. They are.

1. A full and complete acceptance of the union with the expectation of a continuing and stable collective bargaining relationship
2. A genuine sense of partnership by both parties
3. Participation in the solution of production problems. This includes a willingness on the part of the company to disclose all facts and figures pertaining to controllable cost factors in order to furnish an objective outline for worker activity.
4. A clear and direct relationship between efforts and returns so the employees can really see the effect of their participation in their pocketbooks.

Cecil Adamson's experiences preceding his agreement with the United Steelworkers of America had been turbulent. He once had a bona fide trade union in his plant, and a strike on some unsettled issue occurred. He imported strikebreakers, housed and fed them inside his plant, and—after a bitter struggle—broke the union. He had an incentive plan, it failed to produce results, and he threw it out.

His collective bargaining relationship with

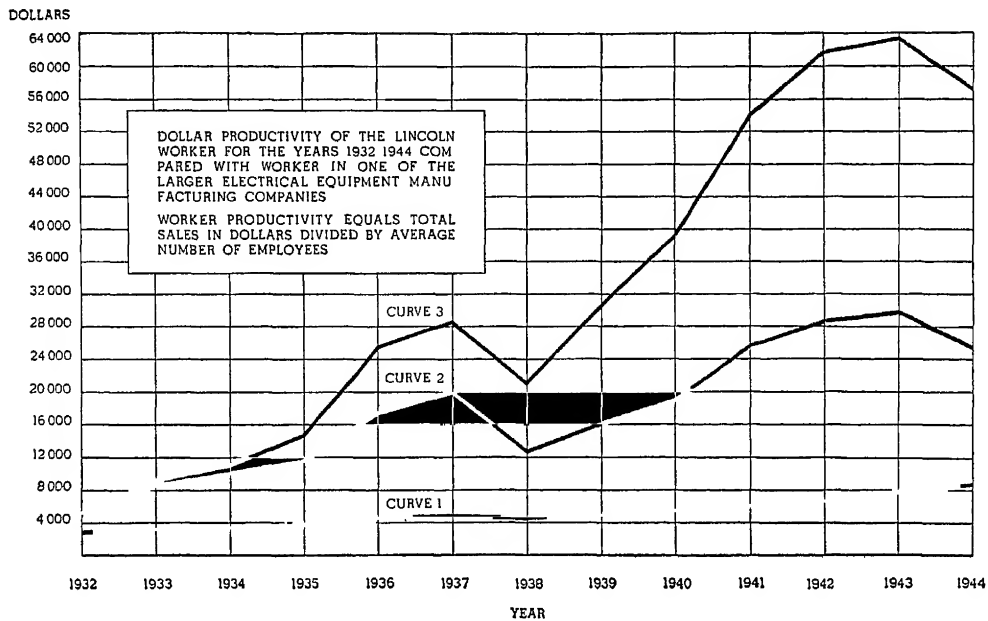
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the steelworkers' union dates back to 1937 Adamson was receptive from the beginning He accepted the union and this relationship as permanent institutions The relationship has been, for all practical purposes, a constructive one marred by neither strikes nor lockouts

Labor-management production committees functioned throughout the war period and accomplished a most creditable job. Unlike many of these committees, the labor-management committee at Adamson's concerned itself with much more than absenteeism, slogans, and transportation It really dug into production problems, and the union members were perfectly free at all times to express

criticism or objections without the least fear of reprisals This experience was most helpful in conditioning both union and management representatives for the problems involved in developing to the fullest extent the possibilities of profit sharing Workers must learn just how to participate, their attention must be directed toward the things they can contribute beyond mere foot-pounds of energy Management must learn how to deal with constructive ideas It must not adopt a resistant attitude simply as a defense mechanism to implied criticism

A union committee, appointed for the purpose, worked with Adamson for several months, studying all the existing profit-shar-



CURVE 1—Dollar productivity of worker in large electrical equipment manufacturing company where selling prices remained approximately constant

CURVE 2—Dollar productivity of Lincoln worker where, through worker efficiency, costs and selling prices were steadily reduced

CURVE 3—Dollar productivity of Lincoln worker with prices stationary at 1932 level, as was the case in CURVE 1.

In 1938 and 1939 the number of workers remained fairly constant, but worked less hours. This, plus decreased selling prices, accounts for decrease in yearly productivity per worker for those years.

NOTE The reduction in 1944, shown in Curve 3 and Curve 2 is due to disturbance in worker's mind as a result of governmental interference in wages and bonus, and renegotiation—From "Intelligent Selfishness and Manufacturing," by James F. Lincoln, President The Lincoln Electric Company, Cleveland, Ohio. Copyright, 1945.

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ing plans The agreed-upon plan at its completion represented the collective ideas and the complete understandings of the joint committee It was, for all practical purposes, a product of joint participation and endeavor. People will work harder to make a plan succeed when they have helped in its formulation

Its provisions were simple and direct, 50 per cent of the profits before taxes furnished the pool from which the shares were to be distributed on a monthly basis Each employee's share was to be applied on a percentage basis to his total earnings of the month The share was payable on the eleventh day of the succeeding month

The results achieved in 1946 were even better than those accomplished in 1945 Despite a general wage and salary increase in January of '46 approximating 19 cents per hour and a time lag on compensating price increases, the employees' share in '46 was above the 50 per cent level, and the profits almost doubled the '45 figure Adamson and the local union are justly proud of their joint achievement

Adamson's situation is unique in certain aspects For example, it is a small company with owner management, and the plan was installed during a boom period rather than a depression Nevertheless, these are not the determining features of the plan The success of the Adamson Plan rests on the sincere and ingenious application of sound principles of partnership to that company's specific situation There is good reason to believe that a program embodying the same fundamental ingredients, tailored to the particular circumstances, would achieve the same measure of success elsewhere<sup>22</sup>

Before the plan was started, the company had a labor relations history that is typical of many companies The managers managed the business and made profits. Management did the worrying about taxes, sales, finances, costs, quality, and so on. The employees were hired to work—not to think. They had no special responsibilities other than their immediate tasks They were just "hired hands."

Through their relations with the union, however, they began to learn about the company's problems of production, sales, and quality Competition of other companies began to have some meaning for them The employees discovered that they could earn more wages at the same time that costs could be reduced and profits increased As stated by Clinton S. Golden, a labor union leader.

All this did not come about as the result of applying some magic formula Rather it grew from a recognition by management that workers had the same right to associate together in a union that the stockholders had to form a corporation Instead of quarreling about respective rights and responsibilities, workers and management succeeded in discovering their larger joint responsibilities There is mutual respect, confidence and trustfulness without which men cannot and will not put forth the best that each possesses

It is the sound relationship, not the specific plan itself, that has brought constructive results. With this relationship, many other types of plans might be equally successful Without mutual confidence and full democratic participation by the workers through their union, the very formula would be of little value As you probably know, the labor movement has on the whole been very doubtful about profit-sharing schemes because they have usually been applied paternalistically and have brought relatively small gains as compared with the dangers involved I am not suggesting that any single plan or agreement will lead organized labor to abandon this traditional distrust Rather, I am trying to demonstrate the improved relationship and the potential increase in output that comes from genuinely cooperative endeavor where labor has full access to information on the company's problems and real participation in seeking solutions.<sup>23</sup>

### *Employees' stock purchase plans*

It has been argued that stock ownership, rather than profit-sharing, is more

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advantageous to the employee for the following reasons. Under the latter plan, although the employee may gain a little by sharing in the profits, he is not required to expend any extra effort or to take any risks. Thus the profit-sharing plan does not give him any feeling of responsibility in the management of the company. On the other hand, under the stock purchase plan, the employee, by being allowed to purchase some stock, is made to regard himself as a partner in the business, consequently he naturally takes an active interest in the affairs of the business and acquires a sense of importance as a budding financier!

Advocates of the plan claim that stock ownership would be an incentive to the employee to eliminate waste, to be more industrious, to attend work regularly, not to quit for a better job, to criticize the employer less, and to refuse to harm the company's property in case of a strike. Some advocates even think that by purchasing enough stock, the employees could have direct representation on the board of directors and in the management of the company.

Actually, the employee stock ownership plans have not worked out as anticipated. It has been found that employees purchase stock mainly for three reasons: as a speculative investment, in the hope of attracting the good will of management and of gaining promotion, and as a nest egg for old age. The extent to which these hopes have been dashed in some unfortunate instances is illustrated in the case of the employees of a company that suffered severely in a business depression. When the company was only a few jumps ahead of the sheriff, the executives had to retrench and, consequently, many of the employees were dismissed.

Certain employers who have sold negotiable stock to employees have found that the employees have become interested more in the market value of the stock than in increasing its real value through extra diligence. At the very time when the employer has needed employee loyalty—a keen desire on the part of the workers to pitch in and lift a little harder—he has found them busy watching the stock market! In a few cases, employees have made paper profits that would have given them substantial annual incomes had they sold at the right time; but they held on, hoping to make still more or fearing that the employer would look upon their transactions as disloyalty to the company. When the paper profits were wiped out, the former “well-to-do” employees lost heart in their work and blamed the company for their misfortune.

Or consider, from an editorial in a financial journal, this indictment of stock ownership programs for employees:

It is self-deceptive to think that, because an employee has a few shares of his company's stock, he considers himself a capitalist, or that his interest becomes the same as the investor's . . . the time when an employee will most need to rely on his savings or capital is the time when he is out of a job. If he has become unemployed because the company has cut its payroll, the same condition will militate against the value of the stock. Thus he will suffer a double loss, and have double disillusionment in the company and in capital generally.<sup>24</sup>

Most stock ownership plans for employees, inaugurated before the market crash of 1929, had to be dropped because of the later decline in security values. Many of the employee purchases had been made at peak market prices, with the result that many employees suffered

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severe losses. However, by the late 1940's a small number of companies had revived interest in employee stock ownership because stock market price levels appeared to be stable and favorable to the employees.

Some stock purchase plans are open only to selected employees, such as managers, department heads, salesmen, or others whose services are highly respected or who can afford to stand a loss in case of a decline in value. Stock purchase plans can give the employee a sense of participation in the industry only when he has rights in shares in which the public does not participate, a partnership psychologically as well as economically, in the business. Otherwise, the employees who are encouraged to purchase stock should be of the higher income class, who are mentally capable of understanding the fluctuations in stock prices and able to absorb their losses.

### ***Suggestion systems***

Most managements do not care to adopt multiple management or a similar scheme for obtaining employees' cooperation. Instead, they resort to the use of a suggestion system. Ideally, of course, a suggestion system should be unnecessary. Management and men should work so closely with each other that each makes suggestions regarding the work as the work is carried on. Practically, such ideal relations seldom exist. A suggestion system may, to some extent, enable alert employees to participate more actively in the operations of the business. The extent to which employees participate depends upon the attention given to the suggestion system by management. Some companies get ideas from about 50 per

cent of their employees in the course of a year, but so high a percentage of participation is unusual.

Employees will not offer ideas unless they have learned through years of experience that suggestions are welcome. The executive who calls employees into his office and makes a direct request for suggestions is likely to be disappointed for several reasons. One is the fact that most employees are like students, they try to give an answer that they think will agree with the questioner's ideas.

Another reason for the employee's hesitancy in offering suggestions directly to a higher executive is his fear of his im-

TABLE 64<sup>25</sup>

A large manufacturing company has a separate suggestion committee at each plant. A summary of the annual reports for three years follows:

Suggestions per 1,000 employees	1947	1946	1945
Received	285	204	258
Adopted	90	66	116
Per cent adopted	31	33	44
Highest award	\$1,750	\$3,000	\$1,365
Average award	\$14.53	\$12.99	\$11.67
Ratios of awards to savings	12.7%	12.5%	12.3%

mediate foreman or supervisor. Many employees have such a fear of their department heads and immediate supervisors that their own personalities are submerged and their thinking is hedged in by emotional impediments.

Again, employees who are paid on a piece-rate basis may be able to make suggestions that would speed up their work, but they have learned that the new method would bring about a retiming of the job and a lower rate of pay. They can make more money by keeping the discovery to themselves and retaining the

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old rate of pay than if they were to be paid a small reward for the suggestion.

To operate a successful suggestion system, the management must do more than merely hang up a few tin boxes with a sign, "Suggestions Wanted." Considerable managerial thought and effort are essential to the operation of a satisfactory suggestion scheme.

1. Small concerns have found it best to conduct a contest for suggestions. The contest should start and end on definite dates. Announcements should state that rewards are given for each accepted suggestion and also prizes for the best of these suggestions. The disadvantage of this method is that awards cannot be made until all the suggestions have been considered, and many suggestions require considerable time for study and investigation.

2. Large concerns find it better to conduct extended campaigns and to award prizes at definite periods, or simply to pay for suggestions when they are accepted or put into effect.

3. It is well to obtain the co-operation and good will of the foremen and other executives. Many a department head considers an employee's suggestion for improvement as a reflection upon his ability. This really is not true, but foreman lethargy and company politics can be quite effective in throttling employees' suggestions. To overcome employees' fears, some companies request that all suggestions be submitted on a standard three-part form, each bearing the same number. The largest part of the form is reserved for the description of the suggestion, each of the two smaller parts is for the name of the employee and the number of the suggestion blank. When the suggestion form is submitted, it is first

sent to one of the higher officials of the company, who tears off the parts which include the name of the employee, files one of these in a private safe, and sends the other to the employee, acknowledging its receipt and expressing appreciation for the suggestion. The employee is also told when the suggestion will be given its first hearing by the committee in charge. By using this plan, the committee does not know the name of any of the suggestors, and therefore it is easier for them to avoid unfair personal influences.

4. The announcements and requests for suggestions should explain to the employees the specific kinds of suggestions that are desired. A mere invitation to employees to *think* does not stimulate them to think. The management that really wants employees to think should list and describe problems that are within the employees' areas of experience. Descriptions of specific plant problems can be posted on bulletin boards with an urgent request for suggested solutions. This kind of notice gets thoughtful attention, especially when diagrams, cost figures, and amounts of awards are stated. Some companies even offer awards for the employee's statement of problems which he himself cannot solve.

5. When suggestions are considered by the appointed committee, complete records of proceedings should be kept in order that copies of the minutes and other records may be submitted to the management. Each item of business should have an identifying number, thus all activities of the committee can be traced. Monthly and annual reports can be made from the proceedings of the recorded meetings. These reports will be available for guidance in the elimina-

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tion of duplicate suggestions. The foreman in charge of each department should be informed of all suggestions that are made by employees of his department, and he should be congratulated when his employees make good suggestions.

6. When a suggestion is rejected, the reason for the rejection should be explained in writing to the employee. A member of the suggestion committee should discuss the rejection personally with the employee in order that he may understand why the suggestion was not acceptable. Few things will cause a suggestion scheme to die more quickly than to ignore or to forget the employees who make the suggestions. An important factor in the rejection interview is the personality and the manner of the rejector. His manner may stimulate the employee to submit additional ideas or discourage him permanently.

7. The employee should have the right of appeal when his idea has been rejected. If he cannot be convinced that his idea is valueless, he should have the privilege of preparing new charts, drawings, or evidence of its worth.

8. The members of the awarding committee should include several employees. The employees then will know that they are represented in the determination of awards. If they are not thus represented, some of the employees may suspect the company of stealing some of their brilliant ideas.

9. The employees who make the best suggestions should receive publicity in the plant paper, on the bulletin board, or at a general meeting. A few firms give no financial reward for accepted ideas, but consider promotion, prestige, and personal pride a sufficient reward. Such a policy is often harmful, because it stim-

ulates the sycophants rather than the more balanced personalities.

10. The awards or rewards should be commensurate with the value of the idea. If the company demands from each employee a waiver of rights for a patentable idea, the flow of suggestions is certain to decrease. If a suggestion has little cash value to the company, the reward may be small, but not less than five dollars. The employee who is given small rewards is likely to be teased by his fellow workers, for example, "Well, Bill, are you gonna buy a new house and car with that two dollars and a half you got for your bright idea?"

The formulas used to calculate awards vary considerably. However, a study of fifty-three companies revealed definite relationships between award practices and the number of suggestions submitted.

1. The granting of low minimum awards, sometimes called token awards, such as some companies offer for safety suggestions, tends to increase the total number of suggestions received.

2. The granting of even an occasional high award also tends to increase the number of suggestions received.

3. As the number of suggestions received increases, the acceptance rate tends to increase. (Part of the increase in the acceptance rate may be attributed to the granting of token minimum awards.)

4. As the number of suggestions received increases, the average award tends to decline. (Part of the decline may be attributed to the granting of token awards by companies receiving a larger number of suggestions.)

Sixty-five per cent of the concerns responding in this survey calculate the amount of the award on a percentage basis of savings to the company. Of interest is the fact that the firms using a net saving formula receive, on an average, 530 suggestions annually per 1,000 employees, whereas those employing a gross saving formula receive only an average of 250 suggestions per 1,000 employees.<sup>26</sup>

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Suggestion systems, like all other group methods of influencing employees, depend for their success upon the alertness and ability of the management. One of the country's leading manufacturers of a highly technical product receives about forty suggestion letters a day. An expert examines each suggestion to determine whether it is of any possible value to the company. This company has found that it pays to examine one thousand ideas in order to find six that are definitely valuable and can be adopted with satisfactory results to the company. The management of this company, however, is "on its toes" in many respects, and its careful consid-

eration of submitted ideas is simply one phase of an aggressive management.

*Summary* Many formal methods of dealing with employee relations are available to management and employees. The extent to which various methods or plans are used and factors to consider in their use may be studied from reports published by scores of research organizations. Among the organizations that report valuable studies of industrial relations are the National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., The Brookings Institution, The Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University, The American Management Association, and The Policyholders Service Bureau of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Those who deal with employee relations should become acquainted with the publications of these and other sources of information, such as the current professional and business journals.

Studies of such publications indicate that industrial relations activities are a mark of alert management rather than of a desire to exploit workers. Intelligent managers wish to supply pleasant working conditions, vacations with pay, rest rooms, physical examinations, insurance, and perhaps pensions for some employees. The money spent for such provisions is not necessarily taken out of the employees' pay envelopes. At least one study<sup>27</sup> showed that the companies which engage in industrial relations activities pay higher wages, on the average, than companies which provide few activities such as bonuses, profit-sharing, vacations with pay, and group life insurance. This study also indicated that a weak management cannot bolster itself by the use of welfare devices. On the other hand, the strong management tends to be intelligent in its

TABLE 65

PERSONNEL PRACTICES BELIEVED TO BE  
MOST VALUABLE

	<i>Per Cent</i>
Group hospitalization	82.2
Job analysis	71.5
Merit rating	64.3
Counseling	57.1
Service awards	39.3
Foremen's clubs	39.1
Aptitude testing	35.7
In-plant feeding	32.2
Educational programs	31.2
Profit-sharing	21.4
Statistical personnel research	21.4
Recreation rooms	18.1
In-plant music	17.9
Morale studies	17.9
Employee library	10.7
Quick-training aids	10.2
Special services for women	9.1
Psychiatric examinations	7.1
Company store	5.0

There's something about personnel work that's hard to hang a profit-or-loss figure on. Even gold-plated faucets in the washroom *might* some day increase morale enough to justify their cost in the long run. *Modern Industry* asked the same plants reporting in Table 61 "Which war-boomed personnel practices do you consider really pay off in today's cost terms?" Table shows percentage of plants that checked practices indicated. (From "Current Trends in Personnel Administration," *Modern Industry*, February 15, 1946, p. 39.)

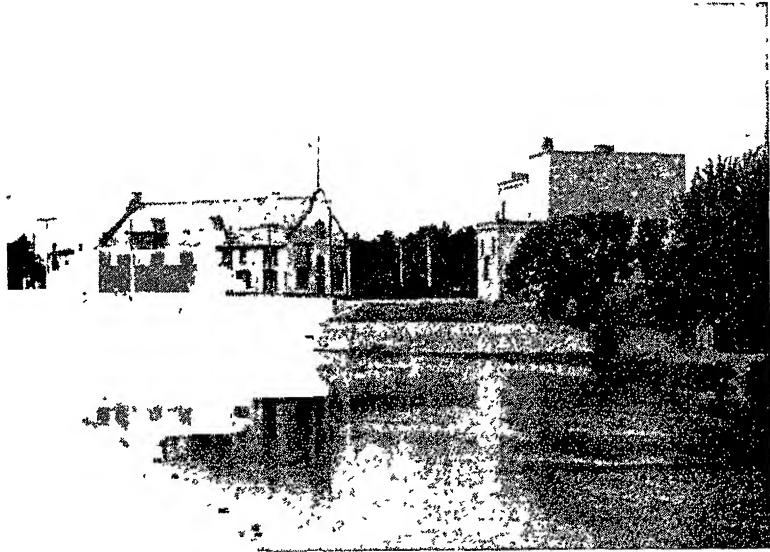


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employee relations as well as in its customer and financial relations.

Whenever industrial psychologists have studied methods of management, the usual result has been that the spirit back of the methods has been more important than the method itself. After all, we should expect this to be true. Employees are human beings. When owners and

peared to be rather easy. He had more or less "made his pile." After some consideration, he realized that the town offered his employees very little suitable recreation. Accordingly, he decided that he would build a beautiful clubhouse for the use of his employees—to show his gratitude to those who had helped him make his fortune.



THE CLUBHOUSE that was built by an employer for his employees but never used. The employees were not grateful for the gift and objected to a club fee of one dollar a year. Later, the employees demolished the entire clubhouse.

managers prefer to continue to operate their businesses in the old boss-subordinate manner, difficulties tend to develop, and owners may wonder whether they should quit entirely.

### ***Generosity alone does not produce good employee relations***

In 1910, a certain successful factory owner in a Wisconsin town decided that he would like to do something big and fine for his employees. He had become so wealthy that the making of money ap-

He owned a valuable plot of land that was near the center of the town's business section and an ideal location for a clubhouse. He engaged architects, approved their plans, selected the materials, made contracts, and paid the costs of construction. In the course of construction, he told the employees about the recreation center that he was having built for them. When the building was completed but still unequipped, he announced the rules for the use of the clubhouse and stipulated that each employee should pay a

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membership fee of one dollar each year as a partial payment of the cost of operating the clubhouse.

Some of the employees immediately criticized the "rich old man" for his gift "Why doesn't he pay the cost of operation?" they said. When the employer learned of the attitude of his employees, he became discouraged by their lack of gratitude and announced that he would not give the clubhouse to them. He then offered the building, which could be used for a gymnasium, to the local high school on the condition that the community would raise ten thousand dollars to cover the cost of the equipment, which had not yet been installed. The high-school students were delighted at the prospect of receiving a much-needed gymnasium. The students were allowed thirty days in which to raise the money for the equipment. They solicited energetically during this time but were able to raise only about seven thousand dollars in subscriptions, and requested an extension of thirty days for additional soliciting. The students had encountered considerable difficulty in getting subscriptions because the "donor" of the clubhouse was not well liked by many of the well-to-do people of the town, and at the end of the

sixty days of hard soliciting, they were still more than a thousand dollars short of the specified amount. They reported their failure to the philanthropist and tried to make a suitable "arrangement." But he was obdurate, he was through.

Some time later, workmen were hired to demolish the building. The building materials were sold or dumped into the river. In a short time, the excavation for the foundation was filled in, and sod was placed on the site. The beautiful new clubhouse was gone and the experience had cost the employer approximately one hundred and seventy thousand dollars.<sup>1</sup>

This incident from American industry illustrates an old principle that many employers have had to learn through costly experience, namely, that *employees must be mentally prepared for the employer's well-meant human relations plans*. The employer cannot assume that his employees are thinking as he is thinking. All proposed plans for the improvement of employee relations must fit into the wishes, attitudes, and behavior patterns of the employees. The employer must develop a feeling of genuine colleagueship through employee participation in dealing with the problems of the business.

### PROJECTS

1. Assume that you are the executive in an organization given the task of instituting a profit sharing plan in the plant. What principles of worker psychology would you give special thought? How would you proceed?
2. Collect newspaper accounts of recent strikes and list the grievances and demands of the strikers. Analyze them. What additional factors of importance did you note?
3. Draw up in outline form a collective-bargaining contract such as might be used in a specific unionized industry. Let a union officer or member examine the contract and discuss its provisions with him.
4. In what ways would you vitalize a suggestion system already functioning, theoretically at least, in an industrial plant? What would be your steps of procedure? State in one sentence the personnel psychology which you are employing in each step.
5. Compile a list of industrial relations services a company can give its employees at a nominal cost. Ask several workers to check those they like and those they may

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- not care for. Do workers seem to agree as a whole or are individual differences pronounced?
- 6 Study Table 61. Do you feel that the distribution of duties among the four types of personnel are as effectively handled under this arrangement shown? For greatest efficiency and best worker relations, could some of the duties be performed, for example, by the management committee instead of the personnel department? If so, why?
7. Examine the magazines in your library and list those which have regular departments that treat industrial relations problems. Examples of such magazines are *Business Week*, *Modern Industry*, and the *United States News*.

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## 23

# Significant trends and cross currents for leadership in industrial relations

*One of the defects of the intellectualist conception of progress is its assumption that social change has always been uniform and rectilinear. If we accepted this mode of thought, we should have to doubt whether there has been such a thing as general progress. The line of social movement has been, on the contrary, uneven, jerky, mixed. Few movements have been uniform, and none has been universal in time or place. The human world in its total history and in any particular age or country has exhibited such spasmodic variations and such endless contradictions that almost any general assertion about it can be controverted by specific evidence. Man's experience is like the life of a forest, where all the processes of birth, growth, decay, and death are going on at once. Every age shows highly developed societies and institutions existing alongside of some that are just emerging and others that are passing into oblivion. Within any complex group will be found classes of every type, the extremes being as alien in character as if they belonged to different periods or remote regions.<sup>1</sup>*

THE STUDY OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY involves vastly more than observations about the in-plant conditions. The dynamic social and economic forces of the outside community and the world beyond cannot be walled off from the employees within.

### **The need for a broad frame of reference**

The influences among employees at work within a plant are likely to be closely related to outside movements, such as the battle for power on the part of those having opposing political ideol-

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ogies Employees in a plant may be pawns or active participants in conflicts between leaders of opposing forces in their drives for greater power in the control of industry Leaders in several fields are constantly advancing claims that their programs would enhance the well-being of employees and other members of the public.

Unfortunately, the relations between the in-plant and the outside social and political movements are seldom given more than casual attention by personnel executives and other members of managements. They limit their investigations to such areas as those of the typical morale survey which deals with working conditions, wages, supervision, and recreation within the plant Questions are seldom asked about the outside social and political processes and pressures that affect the employee. One reason, of course, for omitting such questions is the fact that American business executives recognize that the employee's political, economic, and religious ideas are under his own control and that the employer should not inquire about them

And yet as Kornhauser has ably stated:

... the investigator can understand and interpret the local morale picture only if he is fully alive to the vastly significant influences which lie entirely outside the company—social and economic conditions in the community and in the world at large In truth, the specific morale situation can be genuinely understood only if it is seen against the whole background of modern industrial developments and current social disorganization \* The unrest of sweepers in the punch press department is in no small measure the unrest of men and women everywhere in the present-day world. Generaliza-

tions about the importance or unimportance of wages, or advancement, or job security, or personal treatment, are shallow and misleading except as they reflect an appreciation of the social-historical changes affecting industry and working people What do men desire and expect of life in our democracy—and at particular times and places and in particular socio-economic situations—and how far do their desires meet with gratifications or deprivations, and what substitute and balancing satisfactions are provided? The investigator must ask himself questions as broad as these if he is to move toward true and meaningful answers to the specific problems of interpreting morale and unrest in particular worker groups . . .

valid conclusions in this matter are like complex clinical judgments, aided by whatever scientific evidence is turned up, but necessarily reaching far beyond such data In the forming of these complex judgments, conceptual guideposts are sorely needed—psychological formulations about motivations and adjustments which will serve to organize thought and inquiry The development and improvement of these interpretative constructions, through industrial studies as well as by all other means, may prove to be the most valuable contribution psychologists can make in this field Even in practical research for management purposes, evidence bearing on the complex social-psychological dynamics of the employment relations may provide more important and more enlightening guidance than conclusions about the relative importance of specific factors like wages or supervision. These latter conclusions are inevitably grave oversimplifications which are as often misleading as helpful <sup>2</sup>

Kornhauser concludes that morale surveys as now conducted are too remote from the "larger context of big business, big unions, and their struggles for security, power and advantage. Cooperation and participation may appear to be neat solutions while employees are weak and

\* This approach is well represented in *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, by Elton Mayo The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933 See also *The Proletariat A Challenge to Western Civilization*, by G. Briefs McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1937.

leaderless—or when the employer is the underdog, glowing conclusions, however, had better be postponed until the implications are examined under more typical circumstances and over longer periods. We can be seriously misled by especially favorable ‘pretty’ cases”

Other social scientists and philosophers who view the current scene have stressed the need for a study of the broad background of industrial relations. One, for example, who has been active in promoting better industrial relations in this country, stated:

I am going to suggest that the problem of industrial relations must be seen against a larger background than is generally the case. I am going to suggest that it cannot be understood, much less satisfactorily solved, apart from the larger problem of our modern economic system, which in turn is only part of the still larger problem of contemporary civilization. If we are living through one of those great cataclysms in history which signify the end of one historical epoch and the beginning of another, as a good many thoughtful people believe, then it would be foolish to separate the problem of industrial relations from the other problems of which it is a part, and attempt to solve it in splendid isolation.<sup>3</sup>

#### ***Are we entering a new era?***

Now that the atomic age is here, many leaders are trying to foresee its significance in relation to human welfare. Thus far, much of its psychological influence seems to have been in the direction of increasing the feeling of insecurity for the individual. A current writer, a science authority for a great newspaper, in his interpretation to readers of a mass-circulation magazine regarding the future significance of atomic energy, pointed out that “if we have peace, we can have paradise; if we have war, we could face dooms-

day.” He also closed his article with the following historical anecdote.

Eighty years ago the Goncourt brothers, after attending a dinner with the leading literary and scientific minds of Paris, made a strange entry in their journal. It reported that scientists were predicting that one hundred years from then (April 7, 1869) man would have solved the secret of the atom and would even be able to “create life in competition with God.” To this, the Goncourt brothers added

“We raised no objection. But we have the feeling that when this time comes in science, God with his white beard will come down to earth, swinging a bunch of keys, and will say to humanity, the way they say at five o'clock at the salon, ‘Closing time, gentlemen!’”

Is it “closing time”? Can it be that we have come all the way to the very gates of the Promised Land only to end in a great cloud of atomic dust? At the present stage of world affairs one can only pray that man be preserved for a nobler destiny.<sup>4</sup>

Some writers on the histories of civilizations go so far as to wonder whether our whole Western civilization may be in process of extinction in the ways of the Aztecs and the Incas, the Sumerians and the Hittites, and some fifteen others that have existed and perished since the dawn of known history. Are we about to suffer an inexorable doom, one we cannot avert or modify? The historian Toynbee gives us a guardedly hopeful answer:

Our present situation is formidable indeed. A survey of the historical landscape in the light of our existing knowledge shows that, up to date, history has repeated itself about twenty times in producing human societies of the species to which our Western society belongs, and it also shows that, with the possible exception of our own, all these representatives of the species of society called civilizations are already dead or moribund. . .

There is nothing to prevent our Western civilization from following historical pre-

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edent, if it chooses, by committing social suicide. But we are not doomed to make history repeat itself, it is open to us through our own efforts, to give history, in our case, some new and unprecedented turn. As human beings, we are endowed with this freedom of choice, and we cannot shuffle off our responsibility upon the shoulders of God or nature. We must shoulder it ourselves. It is up to us.<sup>5</sup>

Many historians and social philosophers doubt that we are on the threshold of a new epoch in history, but they do try to explain present tensions as the characteristics of social revolution. A brief discussion of social revolutions is pertinent, since developments have vital bearing on the economic status of the worker and the degree of oppression to which he may be subjected. Kenneth M. Gould has defined a social revolution as

A comparatively rapid change in the control of the state and the socio-economic system, produced by force or direct action of an exploited or unprivileged class against a dominant class, aiming at a definite social program, and profoundly altering the laws, habits, and attitudes of the entire people. Accepting this definition, the only genuine social revolutions in history have been the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of November 1917.<sup>6</sup>

### *Some characteristics of a social revolution*

When social revolutions are in process, they often have *preliminary symptoms* that can be recognized as aspects of or necessary prerequisites for revolutionary change. These are an increase in travel, which enables the people to see how others live and to want to enjoy their ways of living; an increase in crime, vice, and frivolity, particularly among the classes which are seeking compensatory outlets for impulses that lack normal expression, feelings of frustration and defeat-

ism and discontent that spread from one group to other groups, and use of freedom of speech, with plays and poems as well as other forms of literature and art, directed against the forces or persons considered oppressive.

In addition to the preliminary symptoms, Gould and others have stressed the great *advanced symptoms*. These are more significant and reliable as indicators of an impending upheaval. The advanced symptoms are

1 *The transfer of allegiance of the intellectuals*. In a static society the authors, artists, teachers, scientists, technicians, clergy, and journalists are the beneficiaries of the dominant classes. No matter how important or socially useful their function, they could not exist except upon the largess of the established order. They are supported by the overflow of surplus value.

2 *The emergence of the economic incentive*. The repressed classes, partly through the revelations of the intellectuals but more especially through their own daily experience of hardship, become conscious of the economic pinch and definitely identify its causation with the dominant class. They develop what may be called an "*oppression psychosis*"—an obsession that the whole system is against them, that the only object of life is to fight and destroy it. They look for trouble everywhere, find insults and injustices in every act, and blame them all on the owning class. The previously passive discontent is turned into violent hatred, and hatred of a common enemy is the most powerful unifying motive in any group.

3. Finally, these other great impelling causes must emerge in one overmastering faith, which may be called "*the social myth*." All great revolutions have a certain spiritual or mystical basis, a Utopian belief that revolution can and will bring a millennium of happiness and prosperity. The religious nature of Russian Communism has become a commonplace. Its doctrines supply very clearly a substitute for the theistic dogmas which it denounces and seeks to destroy. In

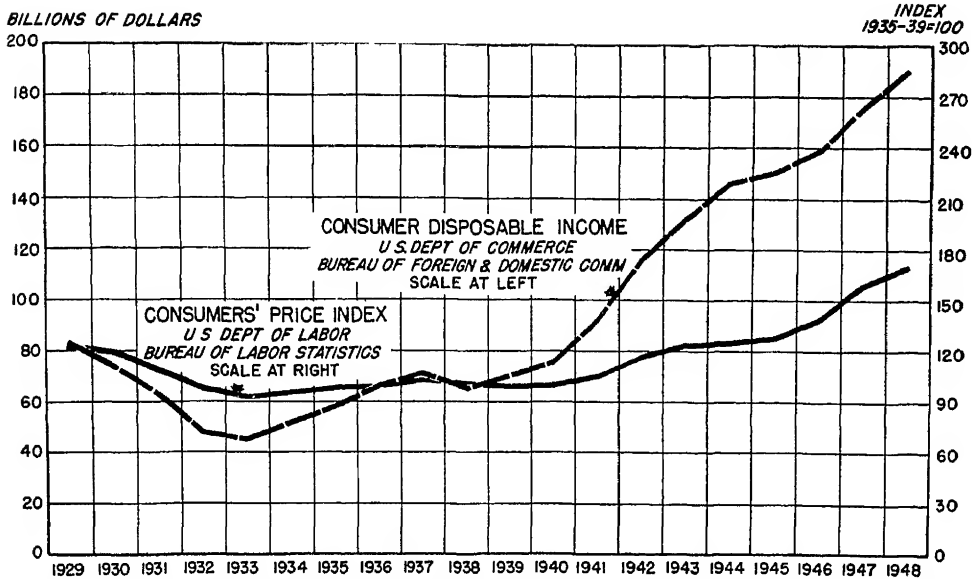
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the minds of the masses the social goal is somehow identified with the cosmic purpose<sup>7</sup>

The person unacquainted with the history of revolutions is likely to believe that the oppressed people have suffered

example, the American colonies in 1760 were, at that time, probably the freest and best-governed in the world

Contrary to popular opinion, revolutions are not typically started and organized by the people who are in the lowest



LEGEND *Consumer Disposable Income*—is the total amount of income received by all consumers after deduction for personal taxes. The curve on the chart represents yearly totals in billions of dollars which are compiled by the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. *Consumers' Price Index*—an index of living costs for the moderate income city family, with the average for the years 1935-1939 equal to 100. The figures plotted here are yearly averages and are compiled by the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Note: The purpose of an index is to show the direction and extent of movement of a particular series of figures in relation to a selected base. It gives no clue to the actual value of the series it represents unless the value of the base is known. Indexes are comparable only to other indexes constructed on the same base.)

SOCIAL UNREST does not appear to be caused by lowered purchasing power on the part of the masses of the people. Those theorists who think of the 1940's as a period of unrest on the part of the people cannot attribute the unrest to a falling standard of living. In the 1940's, the consumer disposable income had a relatively greater rise than prices. Chart by courtesy of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., "Consumer Spending and Savings, 20-Year Trend—1929-1948."

a marked decrease in wealth or power, previous to the time of their discontent. Actually, revolutions are likely to be preceded by a general increase in wealth, power, and education among the repressed classes. The apparent increase in misery is due to other factors, such as a greater sensitiveness to conditions. For

depths of misery. The French Revolution of 1789, for example, was not a revolution primarily of the proletariat. The poor peoples of the city and the peasants of the country were participants in the revolution, but the revolution was really directed by the numerous lawyers, the Third Estate, and certain liberal mem-



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bers of the nobility. The Jacobin Clubs, so important in the French Revolution, were for members of the upper classes, who paid high dues for their memberships. Furthermore, the members were not young and irresponsible people. The average age of the members of ten Jacobin clubs was 42. This age figure is about four years under that of 506 Communist leaders studied by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Many of these leaders had never been workers. At least 20 per cent had had university training.

This evidence simply means that extremes of misery and distress, such as occur in the depths of a business depression, do not cause revolutions. Misery increases docility on the part of the masses. However, clever propagandists who wish to change a form of government or to prevent changes in it often "scare" uninformed people into believing that if the desired policies are not carried out, the "miserable wretches of the depression" will rise up and start a revolution. The unemployed do have outbreaks of rage, but they rarely initiate or carry on a revolution. Rather, astute leaders utilize the unfortunates in furthering the ends desired by themselves.

Unemployment and inability to find employment are believed often to be a major factor in worker discontent. Historically, the United States has had an unusually good record of employment for its citizens. See Table 66. Low economic status does not seem to explain the origin or motivating influence of social revolutionary tensions with us.

The Utopian belief that a drastic change will bring a new era of happiness and prosperity does not stem from sad conditions of life such as unemployment

or low income of the workers. Rather, its sources are in the poor adjustments of individual citizens who suffer from frustration. The origins of the frustration

TABLE 66

POPULATION AND GAINFUL WORKERS  
(OR LABOR FORCE)  
BY SEX FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1940  
Labor force, 1940, Gainful workers,  
1870 to 1930

Census Date	Per Cent of Total Population		
	BOTH SEXES	MALE	FEMALE
1940 *	40.5	61.0	19.8
1930 **	39.8	61.3	17.7
1920	39.4	61.3	16.5
1910 ***	41.5	63.6	18.1
1900	38.3	61.2	14.3
1890	37.2	60.2	13.1
1880	34.7	57.8	10.7
1870	32.4	54.7	9.6

\* The 1940 census figures relate to the "labor force" rather than "gainful workers." There are some differences between the two concepts, but for the purpose of tracing broad trends, it is possible to make comparisons between the two kinds of figures. One difference in the coverage of the two measures is that the gainful worker totals include children 10 to 13 years of age who had gainful occupations, whereas the labor force totals include only workers 14 years of age and over. However, by 1940 the number of children under 14 who were workers had become negligible.

1940 figures: Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population*, "Estimates of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment in the United States, 1940 and 1930."

\*\* 1870 to 1930 figures: Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population*, Vol. V, p. 37.

\*\*\* The gainful-worker figures for 1910 are too high in comparison with those for adjacent census years, because of certain differences in definition and enumerative practices, and have the effect of somewhat distorting the apparent trends.

may be the low living conditions, but they are more likely to be personal problems that have little or no relation to low income. This fact is proved by the presence of very high-income individuals

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among radicals such as Communist fellow-travelers. In the late 1940's, for example, a study was made of members of organizations that were clearly Communist fronts, many of them labeled subversive by the Department of Justice. For purposes of identification, anyone who was a member of at least twenty such fronts was considered a fellow-traveler. Of the leading one hundred fellow-travelers at the time of the study, six were millionaires.<sup>8</sup>

Every individual, regardless of his income, must make his own adjustments to his personal problems. Some well-to-do sons and daughters of high-income executives, well-educated individuals, and members of every social class suffer from frustration and project their frustrations against the existing economic or political system. The aggressions that arise from frustration are found among persons of all conditions and in all ages and nations. Such frustrated persons are, of course, apt to seek and find satisfying companionship among others having the same psychological motivations. They join organizations dedicated to the overthrow of the existing order. They sacrifice their own easy life and work hard in order to satisfy the inner urges arising from their maladjustments.

### ***Frustration-motivated behavior in social revolution***

As explained by Norman R. F. Maier, frustration-instigated behavior and attitudes appear to be stubborn and unadaptive. Aggression is frequently a by-product of frustration. It tends to be directed at what appears to be the frustrating agent and is often destructive in nature. If what appears to be a frustrating situation is not acted upon, tensions accumu-

late. They must be relieved by some means.

An example of how frustration affects group behavior is to be observed in a study of Germany before World War II. After losing World War I, she experienced a long period of deprivation crowned by the world-wide depression of the thirties. Hitler increased the Germans' sense of frustration by reminding them continuously of what World War I had done to them. He even added factors to increase their sense of frustration. So great were the Germans' tensions that they had to be relieved by aggression. Hitler channelized the aggression by pointing to Jews, Communism, Imperialism, and so forth.

He focalized the aggressive action to meet the demands of the time. Frustrated individuals are easily organized and unified, although frustration itself contains none of the properties making for unification. Rather this unity must be imposed from without and leadership is, therefore, essential. By synchronizing the aggression the leader can give the movement its force.<sup>9</sup>

The power of the group as a whole is enhanced because each person within the group gains ever increasing strength and confidence from common action. In addition, an in-group, composed of those most outstandingly aggressive, may be formed. Its activities may motivate still greater displays of aggressiveness by the other members of the in-group and at the same time keep non-in-group members at a highly aggressive pitch.

The structure of social organization based on frustration and aggression is simple. It is organized around a leader who is all-important. He is the unifying influence, and it is he who determines the nature of the aggressive pattern. How-

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ever, all the group members play an important role, because members tend to imitate aggressive actions of their colleagues, and as long as aggression is being demonstrated, the group remains cohesive. When aggression ceases, the group disintegrates. In order to be successful, the leader of a frustrated group must direct aggression in a forceful manner.

The movement, however, is not only strong because of the united action of the individuals. Each individual gains further strength and confidence because of common action. Doubts or alternative acts seldom come to the individual's attention, so choice behavior is at a minimum.

The psychological structure of social organization based upon frustration and aggression is necessarily primitive in nature. The group is organized around a leader who supplies the unifying stimulus. It is he who determines the nature of the aggressive pattern. The aggressive actions of part of the individuals in the group may influence those of others. Here imitations may play a part and exert an added unifying factor. As long as the aggression is in progress the group is held together. When the aggression ceases, the group disintegrates.

In order to be successful, the leader of the frustrated group must direct aggression in a forceful manner.

If the aggressive action leads to frustration, he may not only lose power, but the new frustrations may be directed against him. To remain in power, he must continue to direct successful aggression since the alternative is disorganization. In a state of disorganization revolution or a redirected aggression from another source is a strong possibility.

1. No great or effective movement is possible unless it rests primarily upon previous frustration. Suffering thus seems to be a prerequisite to reform. Leadership can achieve its greatest heights as well as its greatest depths when it organizes frustrated individuals.

2. Socialism seems to be a movement organized around a goal and [therefore] it has been a movement without great vigor. Communism contains the feature of frustration and it has been a much more vital movement. It follows that an analysis of the membership would show the former to contain a high percentage of idealists and rational individuals, whereas the Communist membership would show a large percentage of frustrated individuals.

3. People are more easily organized around what they do not want than around what they do want. What people positively desire is always in the nature of a goal. What people do not desire may be a negative goal (or the less desirable of two alternatives) and hence the opposite of positive goals, but it may also be something which either has frustrated them, or represents a substitute aggressive possibility for frustrations produced in other manners. It is the aspect of frustration which gives people's dislikes a unifying character.

4. Nations are more effective in waging wars than in constructing a peace program. Waging war involves frustration whereas peace is a goal.

5. To be effective propaganda must take into account the nature of the group it will influence. Obviously goals and appeals to reason will not stop a movement built on aggression. Propaganda, however, serves an important purpose in initiating and maintaining aggressive movements. Its character must serve to increase frustration and direct aggression. Logic is not essential.

In goal-motivated societies the propaganda is more of the educational type. It emphasizes the goals to be attained and may attempt to create needs. It will contain statements of facts and appear logical.<sup>10</sup>

When, for some reason, it is desired to create an aggressive attitude in a large group of people, it is important to create in them the experience of many and continued frustrations. In national groups high taxes, personal restrictions, and sacrifices will increase frustration to such an extent that it may be readily channelized

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in any direction decided upon by leaders. It is essential, in such cases, that each person in the group be given a part to play so that he will identify himself with the group and thus contribute to group unity and action.

### *Trends significant to the leader in our time*

The kinds of trends and modern influences discerned by our contemporary social philosophers, historians, and science writers are not without effect on the feelings and desires of the less erudite workmen. Small wonder that many workers are gripped by vague but powerful fears and that they are seeking assurance and security for themselves and their children. Often a worker is confused. He has many an underlying fear and uncertainty, as he is pulled hither and yon by scare headlines, appeals of politicians, and the threat of imminent recurrence of economic depressions. He feels the impacts from our mass media of communication, with their intense propaganda, stress on public questions, and appeals to self-

interests. He also notes changes that have taken place in family life. He senses that fewer people depend on religion for their security. For example, a generation ago, six out of every ten families gave thanks to God aloud before meals. A recent Gallup poll found that four out of ten families now ask blessing on their food.<sup>11</sup>

Anyone who is at all mature has seen many changes take place within his own and the preceding generation. Some of the questions of import to the leader in industrial relations are the following:

TABLE 68

HOW MANY BASKETS OF FOOD CAN BE BOUGHT  
BY AN HOUR'S WORK

A good measure of the value of an hour's work is how much food we can buy with the money we get for that work. Let's imagine a basket of twenty-four foods in common use. Then take the average hourly wage of a factory worker in various countries and see how many baskets of food that hour's work will buy.

One hour of work bought

2.8	baskets in U.S.A.
1.3	" " England
1.2	" " France
1.1	" " Belgium
1.0	" " Germany
0.7	" " Italy
0.4	" " Russia

TABLE 67

MORE MACHINES = MORE GOODS

Figures below show proportion of all work done by men, animals, machines at different times in our history.

	Men	+ Animals	+ Machines	= Per Hour
1850	15%	79%	6%	\$0.27
1900	10	52	38	0.56
1946	4	4	92	1.41

Ever increasing use of mechanical power has been the secret of our ability to keep our productivity and our income going up. While greater skills on the job and better production methods have done a great deal to increase our productivity, the use of coal, oil, gas, and water power, applied through machines, has done by far the most to increase output, income, and jobs.

Through our free, competitive, dynamic American system—and in spite of our depressions, industrial disputes, and other economic difficulties—we have been able to out-produce by far every other nation on earth and so to give our people more of the good things of life. The figures shown above illustrate this. They are taken from material that appeared originally in the magazine *Factory Management and Maintenance*. They were gathered in peacetime, in 1939, and so were not affected by the devastation caused by the war, which would make today's comparisons even more favorable to the United States. (From "The Miracle of America," *The Advertising Council*, New York, 1948.)

For a comparative study of prices in Russia and United States, see "Prices in Russia Far Higher Than Ours in Terms of Work" *The New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1947.

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1. *Will modern technology, as an important factor in giving us a higher standard of living, continue?* The machine now performs much of the work formerly done by men and by animals. See Table 67. At the same time, the individual worker has been enabled to earn more necessities and material comforts. The so-called necessities of today were the luxuries of our grandparents and our parents. A large percentage of people in our country are able to have in the home such necessities as central heating systems, bathrooms, electric lights, radios, telephones, piped gas for cooking, and electrical refrigerators. A pound of good automobile costs less than a pound of butter. In the rear of nearly every home is a garage that houses a car. Outside of the home run miles of smooth highway for recreation and travel, which broaden one's vision and increase one's knowledge. Before World War II, we had one automobile to every 5.3 persons in the United States. Provincialism has been decreased through our economic products. Superstitions have been removed from the minds of many people who otherwise would be living in a state of intellectual semidarkness. Our machine age has greatly increased the total fund of information distributed in the home daily through the newspaper, the magazine, the radio, and the telephone.

Today, the masses also participate in the affairs of life far more than the peoples of any previous generations. Years ago most people had to amuse themselves in the home or with their immediate neighbors. The form of living was more or less similar to that which we can still find in the mountains of West Virginia and Tennessee.

The machine age has been an impor-

tant factor in giving the individual citizen more prompt and accurate information about the affairs of the world and his community than he was previously able to acquire with years of effort. One well-edited newspaper will give the ordinary citizen of today a greater variety of, and more accurate, information than months of effort could have given him previously. Similarly, the devices provided by modern business, such as the automobile, the radio, television, the newspaper, the motion picture theater, the library, and the short working day, allow the present-day worker to express himself more adequately than workers under former economic systems. Today's worker has risen above his environment far more than the primitive man or the pioneer.

Modern technology has given the American worker a rich supply of material comforts, too numerous to list here. But it has also contributed to his feeling that he is not in control of his own destiny. He is caught up in currents of forces which he cannot understand. Furthermore, technology has committed us to an economy of ever expanding production and constant growth. Competition forces the employer to seek new and better ways for getting along with fewer employees. This development benefits customers, but it also may occasionally compel displaced employees to find and adjust themselves to new jobs.

Critics often claim that the very nature of much of the factory and office work prevents self-expression. They point to the repetitive routine tasks performed by workers. Division of labor in industry contributes to lower costs, but it also means greater specialization for the individual and less versatility. Today few men build their own houses, produce

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their own food, or grow the materials for their clothes. The individual or community that is economically self-supporting is a rarity indeed.

The technologist, therefore, has done more than increase our standard of living. He also has increased our hazard of living. By gearing our economic machine to ever-faster speeds, he has made us more liable to economic accidents, more vulnerable to harm when such accidents occur.

It has been made amply clear to us, first in Italy and Germany, then in England, and more recently in this country as well, that whenever a national economy begins to falter, it is the signal for an upsurge of new ideologies to replace the old. Hence, however conservative the technologist may be in his own political thinking, his deeds in laboratory and shop have made him actually the most radical member of society. He has brought about more social change than any demagogue or statesman. And the end is not in sight, for he is still brewing the potent medicine of change, still injecting it into our economic body in doses which grow larger every year.<sup>12</sup>

Even though technology is an important factor in "our hazard of living" the great majority of people in the United States want to continue to enjoy its benefits. Few people would be satisfied to have their present standard of living become fixed. The fact that this generation is more comfortable physically than the members of previous generations is not sufficient. Most men aspire to have more than they now have, and they expect the future to be better than the past. The standard of living is expected to go up; not down. If this expectation is to be fulfilled, it is obviously necessary for individual productivity to continue to rise.

2. *Is productivity per man-hour rising or falling?* It is generally accepted that the amount to divide among workers,

owners, consumers, and government is affected by the output per man employed. Adequate data on the situation are difficult to obtain. Specific measures of productivity, however, are often presented as for a recent high-wage year, 1947:

The 1947 worker can earn a loaf of bread in six minutes, against eight in 1939. He can earn a gallon of gas in twelve minutes, it was eighteen in 1939—and a quart of milk in nine minutes, instead of eleven. An electric iron costs the factory worker 5.56 hours of work as against 9.21 in 1939.

Most all products or services with prices made by capital, management, machinery, and men of good will—the worker gets now for less of his money (working time) than he did in 1939, despite higher prices.

But in areas of our economy where union labor has alone controlled costs, the opposite is true. Not only is no effort made to deliver increasing value—the effort is to gouge, to get constantly more money for a constantly decreased value.

I believe in unions and in high wages—that are earned. But with all other decent Americans I am outraged by the dishonest enemies of our republic, whether they be foreigners in other lands or saboteurs in American jobs bent on destroying us.

Let the factory worker at \$50.42 per week—or any average union man—ponder this. In 1939, the factory worker could get 500 bricks laid by paying union masons \$10.90, or about 16 hours of the factory worker's time. Today, he has to pay brickmasons \$59.29 to get 500 bricks laid, or more than a week of his own earnings.

Today a union plasterer gets wages about 35% higher than in 1939. But his slowdown is so vicious that it accounts for most of the increase a factory worker must pay to get plastering done in his house—roughly, 120% of the 1939 figure.

An Ohio newspaper account of mine was getting 1,600 lines of composition per man in 8 hours several years ago. With wages about doubled they get 1,100 lines today, and many eastern papers are getting less. I know of a small town compositor who quit after

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three weeks in a city shop because his very nature rebelled at the soldiering demanded of him by the union.

America became economically great by giving the public—the American worker—eternally more for his dollar. And by making more and more things economically available for more and more people. This worked well while machines and methods helped men increase production per man hour.

The smart labor man believes in high wages—*earned*. Subversive Americans, in unions and out, believe in high wages extorted from the public and all other workers—but *not earned*.<sup>13</sup>

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the average worker receives an hourly wage 76% higher than in 1940. Yet a survey among building contractors in 60 cities throughout the country last year revealed that the average worker in the home building industry was producing about 38% less than in 1940.

Before the war, a bricklayer received \$13.68 for an 8-hour day, and laid 1,000 bricks a day. (Even this was half the daily production of years ago.) Now he gets \$18.96 per day, but lays only 540 bricks. Cement finishers are doing 36% less work per day than before the war, plasterers 37% less, painters 40% less, electricians 41% less, carpenters 43% less, plumbers 44% less and tile setters 50% less. Happily this is not the rule in many smaller cities and towns.

With production thus decreased and wages 76% higher, it is easy to see why building costs are 184% higher today than in 1940.<sup>14</sup>

As previously stated, production per man-hour is difficult to measure for all workers, particularly those in the office, commercial, and professional occupations. The figure on page 535, "Production and Wage Costs in Manufacturing," indicates what has happened in recent years in certain industries. The industrial leader would like to know the trends in this phase of industry for the country as a whole and for his own company. If the average number of hours worked and

production per man-hour decrease, the production available for the individual citizen, the standard of living, must perforce go down unless the use of more and better machinery changes the trend.

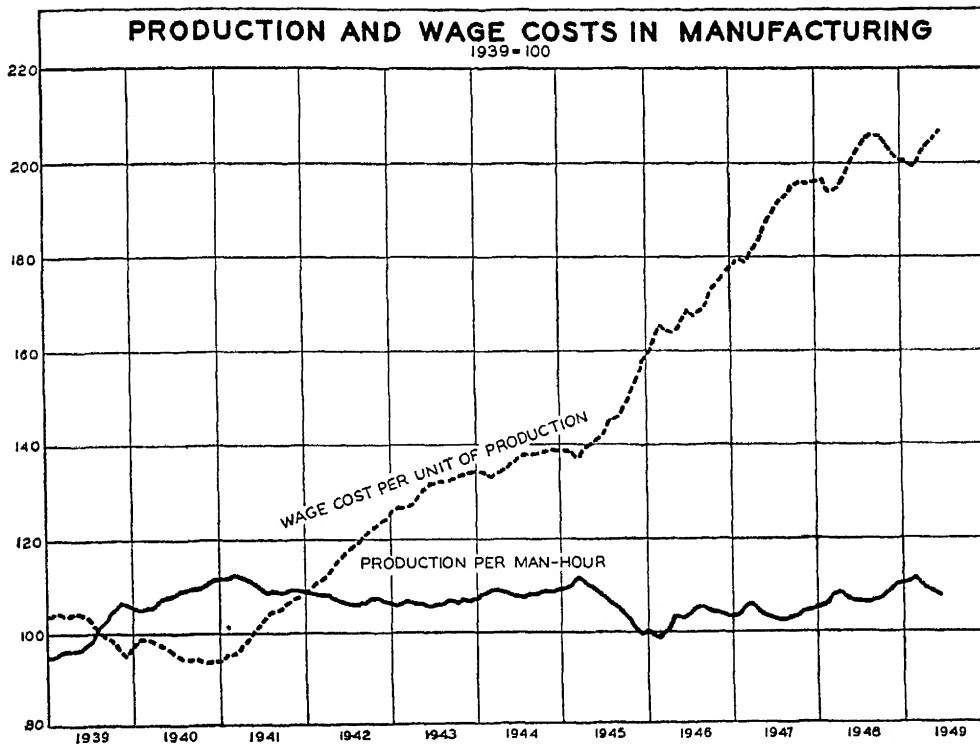
3 *Are the opportunities for the worker to advance decreasing?* Today, three out of four persons who work for a living are on someone else's payroll. Employees outnumber stockholders about four to one. The opportunity to go into business for one's self has changed, as pointed out by W. Lloyd Warner and Burleigh B. Gardner.

I had the opportunity of studying the development of a strike in a community in New England where there had not been strikes before and where there had been no union organization. During the course of our study, two things happened. The strike was won by the workers and, during it, all the factories in the town in this particular industry went completely union.

When we examined why these events took place, a number of things soon became apparent. Among the variety of reasons given to explain these two results, one essential factor stood out far above the others—the old skill hierarchy for the advancement of workers was gone. The routes of mobility were closed. The route for "getting places" was no longer there for those who worked in the factories. It was not difficult to organize the workers' discontent and focus it against management, for the aspirations of these men not only for themselves but for their families were no longer invested in the open system of equal opportunity once provided by free enterprise but in the closed world of union organization.<sup>15</sup>

When those who compete for the prizes of life find that the rules of the game have been changed and social mobility no longer operates to permit those who strive to advance, then the systems of free enterprise and equal opportunity are doubted and the common people seek other ways to get what they want. To be more concrete, when large numbers of talented young men and women try

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CHANGES IN WAGE COSTS since 1939 are shown in the diagram by the dashed line, and production changes by the solid line. In each case the average for 1939 is taken as equal to 100. The industries included in the computations are iron and steel, nonferrous metals, rubber, textiles, leather, manufactured food, tobacco, paper, printing and publishing, and petroleum and coal products.—The production data used are components of the Federal Reserve index of industrial production. Man-hours were computed by multiplying the average monthly employment in each of these same industries by the average number of hours worked. Then total production was divided by the man-hours worked, giving the production per man-hour. The wage costs were determined by multiplying for each industry the average weekly earnings by the employment. The total payroll thus obtained was divided by production, giving the wage costs per unit of production. The data were not adjusted to remove seasonal variations, but the final results were slightly smoothed to eliminate minor fluctuations.—Over a long span of years productivity has been increased by the adoption of improved plant, machinery, and operating methods. These technological improvements mean that more and better goods can be turned out per unit of productive equipment. The process is relatively slow, and was interrupted during the war—probably owing to the changeover to new products and the employment of inexperienced workers. Since the war, industry has spent huge sums for new plant and equipment, and the use of these facilities is being reflected in greater productivity.

Although output per man-hour is higher than before the war, the rise has been far less than that of wage costs per unit of production. Increased wage rates without corresponding gains in output per hour result in greater costs per unit of production. High wage costs are therefore important factors in lifting the prices at which goods are sold. *Business Bulletin*, The Cleveland Trust Company, Vol. 30, No. 9, September 15, 1949.



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to acquire the skills and knowledge thought necessary for advancement and, through no fault of their own, either fail to get them or fail to be rewarded when they do, they necessarily lose faith. Since many people in our civilization pay only lip service to the creed of success and make little effort to advance themselves, these people, too, blame the system rather than their own lack of initiative.

You must keep open the channels of mobility, so that no man can say, "Because I was born on the wrong side of the tracks, there is no use struggling here. You have to come from college before you get anywhere in this

tion. This fact is evident from a survey of 1,500 representative wage earner families. These families are distributed throughout the United States in accordance with employment concentration. Factors such as age and union membership have proper representation. See Table 69 for the distributions, by age and region, of mothers who expect that at least one of their children will attend college.

The fact that so many parents expect

TABLE 69

DO YOU HOPE OR EXPECT THAT AT LEAST ONE OF YOUR CHILDREN WILL ATTEND COLLEGE?

	TOTAL	By Age			By Region			
		17-29	30-44	45 AND OVER	EAST	MID-WEST	SOUTH	FAR WEST
Yes	75.7	81.1	73.3	68.1	70.6	79.7	67.5	85.2
No	8.0	2.8	9.6	21.3	8.8	7.6	11.4	3.4
Don't know	16.3	16.1	17.1	10.6	20.6	12.7	21.1	11.4

Of the small proportion who do not expect or hope for one of their children to go to college, the chief reason is the expense. About one in five state that the child or children do not care for school, while a few others mention that the children are planning to go to work. Only one mother in the entire Forum mentioned as an objection the fact that it meant a child's going away from home.

This report of the Wage Earner Forum typifies again one of the basic things which has made America. In no other country in the world would there be the expectation on the part of so many wage earner parents that their children would and should go to college—nor would it eventuate in anything like the proportion which it does here.<sup>17</sup>

place." The recruiting of college graduates to bring broader education and abilities into the organization has its points, but once it becomes the sole avenue of progress you build apathy and frustration at the lower levels. So open it up. See that the good men in your organization are found and give them a chance to use what they have.<sup>18</sup>

The growth of technology has affected the channels for advancement of the worker. The employee who does not have the mental capacity or motivation to train himself for technical work, such as engineering, is apt to turn to the labor union for the satisfaction of his aspirations. At the same time, however, he expects his children to get a higher educa-

tion. This fact is evident from a survey of 1,500 representative wage earner families. These families are distributed throughout the United States in accordance with employment concentration. Factors such as age and union membership have proper representation. See Table 69 for the distributions, by age and region, of mothers who expect that at least one of their children will attend college.

4. *Are the incentives to free enterprise decreasing?* One of the basic requirements for the operation of a capitalistic economy is the presence of incentives for the successful enterpriser to invest in new business ventures. The costs of war and other expenditures by government, resulting in high taxes, have reduced the incentives for the successful employer to

## *leadership in industrial relations*

put his profits to work in risk-taking business.

A newspaper executive, William E. Robinson, shows what the situation is for the man who contemplates, say, going into the newsprint business in Alaska. The man is 64 years old. He started life as a poor boy from a poor family. He gradually built a business from nothing, and out of profits built other businesses. He had retired from active business but still wanted to put his fortune to work.

Robinson estimated that on an investment of \$30,000,000, this man and his associates could build a mill that would have gross sales of \$9,000,000 a year. This would probably mean that profits before taxes would be about \$2,500,000. After taxes, there would be available for dividends \$1,500,000 net profit. However, out of the \$1,500,000 the government would get another \$1,270,000 in income taxes, thus the investor would get \$230,000 after taxes and the government \$2,270,000. In the course of ten years' time, if sales, prices, taxes, and profits remained the same, the investor would get \$2,300,000 and the government \$22,700,000.

After or before that, the investor or one of the partners would probably die, and the mill might have to be sold to pay the inheritance taxes. At that time, the government would probably take another \$17,500,000, or a total "take" in taxes of all kinds of \$40,000,000.

Here is how the tax legislation now on our books has been calculated to destroy all incentive for future investment in expanding American production. Here is a method of nationalizing future industrial developments by a system of confiscation. With this, out goes incentive—one of the main elements in the American character which produced the American system.

Now I don't ask you to shed any tears over my rich friend or his colleagues. He needs no sympathy from you or me. But *we* need *him* and his capital. He's still got his money, and we are out a new industry. What he represents is absolutely necessary to a continued growth and evolution of the American production system.<sup>18</sup>

An employer today must do more than make something and sell it to stay in business. He must be a tax collector, a dispenser of old-age pensions, a repository of the welfare funds of employees, and an agent for government boards. He is enmeshed in more and more entangling nets of red tape. As an enterpriser he probably makes less money, or at least keeps less. The changes that took place in the distribution of the shares of the consumer dollar between 1929 and 1947 have been reported by one financial writer,<sup>19</sup> and are shown here in Table 70.

TABLE 70

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SALES DOLLAR

	1929	1947
<i>Got more</i>		
Labor	46¢	51¢
Government (in taxes)	09	14
Other groups: farm, professional, and unincorporated business groups	15	19
<i>Got less</i>		
Investors, those who provided the capital for operating business	18	8
Business (for replacing equipment and expanding facilities)	12	8

When a survey<sup>20</sup> was made of a carefully selected sample of business executives earning \$15,000 a year or more, some of the questions asked and percentages of answers obtained were:

Have you passed up an opportunity to invest in a new business in the last five years because the return after taxes did not justify the risk? . . . . Yes 40%

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Will lower taxes make you more inclined to take a risk on a new business? . . . . . Yes 80%

Have you turned down the opportunity to take a bigger job in the last five years because taxes would take too much of the additional income offered? . . . Yes 13%

Do you know of actual cases of executives who have turned down bigger jobs or more work because of taxes? . . . Yes 38%

Will lower taxes make you more inclined to take on a bigger job or more work? . . . . . Yes 59%

Of course as free enterprise leaders fail to risk their capital and ability in new business ventures, opportunities for the employment of workers tend to decrease, and the existing economic system fails to function satisfactorily. Then legislators and theorists turn to economic planning to provide remedies, particularly during periods of unemployment.

5. *Will more economic planning be done to give the worker security?* As business activity rises and falls with the ups and downs of the business cycle, interest in economic planning increases and decreases. Such controls as price curbs are very old. Price controls were used at least 3800 years ago in the ancient Babylonian kingdom of Eshnunna. Eshnunna flourished between 2000 and 1800 B.C., along the east bank of the Tigris. Tablets found on the site inscribed with the price control laws are in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. The laws, which are similar to many of today's statutes, lead off with a price control list of grain, wool, and oil. A bushel of grain was priced at one shekel of silver, or about one-quarter ounce of the white metal. The laws were not limited to commodities; they applied also to wages and services. "The hire for a donkey is forty quarts of grain and the wages for its driver are forty quarts of grain." The

code also regulated marriage dowries. In Eshnunna, young men had to pay "bride-money" to prospective fathers-in-law. In case of death of the bride, the father had to refund the money plus 20 per cent interest.<sup>21</sup>

Whenever a government does planning for the whole country, forecasts must be made. The difficulty of making accurate predictions is shown by a comparison of actual government expenditures and receipts with the Treasury Department's forecasts.

The fiscal authorities in Washington have, for many years, prepared budget estimates that included forecasts of the Treasury receipts and expenditures to be expected during the next fiscal year. These money estimates are relatively simple. However, in the twenty-three-year period, 1923 to 1946, the actual expenditures were less than estimated in only three of the years. The average error in the annual estimates of expenditures was 32 per cent. Similarly, the forecasts regarding receipts were too high in sixteen and too low in seven of the twenty-three years. The average error was a little more than 17 per cent.

"Once more it is clear that with nearly a quarter century of experience the government experts have not learned how to make fairly close forecasts of federal receipts. There is no basis in the evidence for supposing that they can make reasonably good forecasts of the number of job opportunities in a future fiscal year."<sup>22</sup>

After World War II, government officials predicted that the number of unemployed for 1946 would be as high as 12,000,000. Actually, only some 2,000,000 were unemployed at the time to which the forecast applied.

## *leadership in industrial relations*

In spite of the difficulties in making the forecasts necessary for sound economic planning, most people believe that it is necessary to insure an adequate standard of living for every citizen. Many also believe that the state should accept responsibility for averting the alternate booms and slumps in business activity. But even though planning has been accepted as a principle, many economists have doubts about its feasibility. One reason for its poor record of success with us is the fact that a democratic state wavers between the two extremes of being too autocratic to please the electors and too ancient to make the system work. The planning, the control, the purposive direction—call it what you will—must, in a democratic state, be done by political parties. But what if the political parties show themselves to be incompetent for the purpose?

This difficulty was stated in regard to the program of socialism in England in the late 1940's as follows

No economic policy is right at all times, expansion is just as necessary at one time as contraction at another, and the most essential skill required of the economic planner is to know when to reverse his engines. Yet political parties are not equipped with reversing gear. It was the turn of the Tories in 1931 to show with what stubbornness they could defy the facts and pursue a policy of contraction in the middle of deflation. But their performance has been at least equalled by that of the Labour Party since 1945. Their sacred cow is the trade union doctrine that it is always right for the pay-package to grow and never right, in any circumstances, for it to shrink, or even for its growth to be halted. The Labour Party has even done what seemed incredible six months ago, it has agreed to the conscription of labour in peacetime, rather than question this sacrosanct dogma. Clearly, if it is unsafe to let Tories out of gaol in a slump, the Labour

Party ought to be locked up in times of inflation.<sup>23</sup>

Once a government accepts responsibility for the guiding of business and the employment of all its citizens and finds it impossible to fulfill its forecasts or the public's expectations, the natural next step is to demand and get enough authority to own and operate industries. Some kind of totalitarian system is likely to result. And once a full-fledged totalitarian state takes over, the economic life of the people may be worse than formerly, but no one within the country is allowed to state the facts. As Lord Acton said "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The record of brutality in totalitarian states is well known. The Hon. George W. Maxey, Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, wrote, in an exposé of the Communists' brutality.

During the first 12 years of the Communist dictatorship in Russia, there were executed 28 bishops, 1,219 priests, 6,000 teachers, 9,000 doctors, 54,000 officers, 200,000 soldiers, 70,000 policemen, 12,950 landowners, 355,250 intellectuals and professional men, 193,290 workers and 815,000 peasants. A total of approximately two million people deliberately put to death! It is estimated that from six to fifteen million Russians are now living in slave labor camps in Siberia, and large numbers of these exiles die daily from overwork and malnutrition.<sup>24</sup>

Small wonder that when Alexander Kerensky, the Russian leader, sitting across the luncheon table from an American professor, was asked "What is the thing in America that impressed you most when you first came here?" he answered: "That is easy. In America the people smile."

Thus far, the people of the United States have not adopted a totalitarian

## *leadership in industrial relations*

system. Rather, the system of free enterprise has been modified—government has operated certain businesses.

6. *How efficiently does government operate its businesses?* The United States has not had a fully free enterprise economy for many years. Our economy is a mixed one. Free enterprise is probably best typified by retailers, wholesalers, and some industrial concerns. We have regulated enterprises such as the public utilities. We have created public enterprises, e.g., the Federal Land Banks, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Government-controlled business operations are not noted for their low costs or efficiency for the taxpayer or the consumer.

The 1949 reports made by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government prove conclusively that a great deal of money could be saved by elimination of excessive costs in the day-to-day operations of the Government. This Commission, created by Congress in July, 1947, has spent 16 months in an exhaustive survey of the entire governmental structure. It has submitted 19 reports on the various functions and departments of the Government, including some 275 specific recommendations for changes.

A governmental bureaucracy is hard to reform, for it does not have the spur of competition which forces a private business to stress good management and operation under the penalty of failure.

The reports of the Commission and of its task forces give a complete story of the huge, unwieldy, and creaking structure of the Government. Much of the weakness in the Federal bureaucracy is due to poor organization and lack of clear-cut authority and responsibility, rather than to shortcomings of personnel—although the Commission does emphasize strongly that the personnel system has serious defects and that in general, Government service does not attract the best-

qualified persons from the outside. But many capable Government officials and employees are laboring as well as they can within an imperfect organizational structure.

One widespread evil is the strangling effect of red tape. The Federal laws concerning the Bureau of Reclamation, consisting of 803 pages, are indefinite, complex, and contradictory. In the Department of Agriculture there are 199 statutes affecting personnel management alone. The voluminous written instructions on the internal methods and procedure of the Veterans Administration defy intelligent execution, there being 88 different manuals, 665 varieties of technical bulletins, and over 400 circulars. Unnecessary red tape, causing useless delay and expense, has crept into the procedures of the various regulatory agencies. In the Post Office Department a maze of outmoded laws, regulations, and traditions freezes progress and stifles administration.

There are many other instances of wasteful methods which result in the unnecessary spending of the public's money. The supply system is entangled in a jungle of unduly restrictive statutes, conflicting decisions, and regulations. The absence of coordination in the purchase of supplies means that about half of the several million purchase orders issued annually are for \$10 or under. Since this is considerably less than the cost of processing each such smaller order, the taxpayer is paying more for the paper work than for the commodity bought.

In its insurance activities, the Veterans Administration had a workload of only 450 policies per employee, while the workload of the most comparable private company was 1,762 policies per employee. Also, the Veterans Administration took an average of 80 days to process a death claim, whereas private insurance companies pay about three-fourths of theirs within 15 days after receipt of death notice. The Inland Waterways Corporation, previously recommended for liquidation, has operated for 23 years at an almost continual loss. It possesses an obsolete fleet, and competes with private transportation which does more than 90 per cent of the business on the rivers served by the Corporation.<sup>25</sup>

## *leadership in industrial relations*

To take another example, the Farm Security Administration operated five hosiery mills in the South for seven years, but they eventually had to be offered for sale because they could not compete with private manufacturers. One of the mills

World War I airplanes. It actually did some work for three months, for the next twenty-eight years it did nothing but spend the \$20,000 a year Congress had got into the habit of appropriating for it. At the end, it employed a \$7,152 a



had losses five times greater than its gross income <sup>26</sup>

In most cases, wasteful and inefficient government enterprises and bureaus seldom fold up, because additional taxes can be tapped or some of the employees can be transferred to other bureaus. The oft-quoted classic example is the U. S. Spruce Production Corporation, whose record was dug up by Representative Walter Norbald. The corporation was organized in 1918 to produce wood for

year president, a \$6,600 secretary, a \$2,640 assistant treasurer, and a \$1,900 chauffeur!

7. *Will the trend toward the "welfare state" continue?* It is probable that the majority of workers in the United States realize that governmental operation of businesses did not work out successfully in many cases. Their interest in government is likely to be along welfare lines. Politicians recognize this and attempt to pass more and more legislation to pro-

## *leadership in industrial relations*

vide additional funds and services to those citizens who are members of important political pressure groups. Much progress has been made in recent years, through private as well as government action, to improve the lot of workers. For example, in 1936 fewer than 10 per cent of companies were paying hourly employees for one or more unworked holidays per year. In 1948, 77 per cent were doing so. In that year, about two cents of industry's annual payroll dollar was paid out for holidays not worked. The percentages of unionized and non-unionized manufacturing plants who pay for unworked holidays are about the same.

Of course people want and deserve old-age pensions and job insurance. A man and his family get just as hungry when he is old or unemployed as when he is working. Some companies, such as Procter & Gamble and the Nunn-Bush Shoe Company, have voluntarily developed guaranteed employment plans.

Many necessary and helpful welfare measures have been provided by individual companies, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes by labor union demands, and occasionally as a result of political pressures. On the other hand, every personnel man knows of cases where individual employees declined to work as much as they might have because the additional work would have meant only a very small amount of extra pay. Many an employee has preferred to get along on his unemployment compensation pay rather than work at all. As soon as benefits go up for not working or for sickness, the incentive to work decreases. See figure on page 545.

In 1949, a relatively prosperous year from the standpoint of unemployment,

our government distributed pay checks of all varieties to about fourteen million citizens. Many of these were earned in the best economic sense, but some, an unknown number, were wholly or partly unearned.

As stated 2,000 years ago by Polybius, the Greek historian, when there has been "created among the masses an appetite for gifts and the habit of receiving them, democracy in its turn is abolished and changes into a rule of force." We all have to appreciate the fact that benefits and wages do not come from the rich, the "bosses," the politicians, or the labor leaders. They come from what people produce. The more people produce, the more they have to divide. And when they produce less, the less they have to divide. Furthermore, few things add so much to a man's self-respect as self-support.

8. *How fast is creeping collectivism moving?* The compulsory state is moving ahead in this country and has already advanced farther than many persons realize. Huey Long once remarked that fascism would come to America calling itself antifascism. And it is highly probable that if collectivism completely submerges America, it will do so to an accompaniment of earnest professions of faith in free enterprise.

Thus far, Americans have given little encouragement at the polls to parties which advocate totalitarianism. They have, however, often voted for candidates who promised them large doses of collectivist narcotics. The soapbox agitator has had less appeal than the reformer who merely wants to improve the existing system by a new law or bureau that seems to be benevolent and desirable. The long-term effect of many of these aids to the people has been more and

## There is no Magic Wand

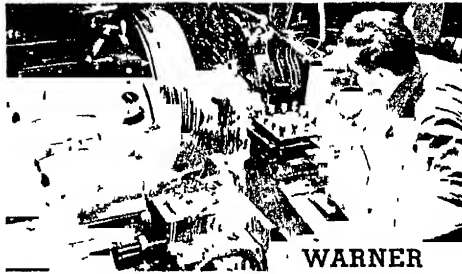
**L**ET'S not fool ourselves—the future of this country is entirely dependent on how much it is willing to produce at a low enough cost to meet world competition. Your future depends on exactly the same thing. All the doles, social security promises, soak-the-rich ideas and ham-and-eggs-every-Thursday plans in the world can't change that fact, for the simple reason that there is no place for the money to come from except *production*.

The 30-hour-week cry, and "more money for less work", and all such plans—if they reduce production—are crude and cruel falsehoods. The less you and I produce, the less there is to divide between us—how can you escape that fundamental truth?

That doesn't mean longer and longer hours, harder and harder labor—not at all. It means an honest day's work and taking full advantage of the modern tools that let you produce more and

better work. The more you produce *efficiently* in a normal day, the lower the cost of your product. The lower its cost, the more people who can afford it. The more people who can afford it, the more people who will buy it. The more people who buy it, the more money you can make, and the more secure your job.

*That* is true and practical social security. We who can produce the machines and you who can use them efficiently are the *only* ones who can make it work.



**WARNER  
&  
SWASEY**  
Turret Lathes  
*Cleveland*

**YOU CAN TURN IT BETTER, FASTER, FOR LESS ... WITH A WARNER & SWASEY**



## *leadership in industrial relations*

more central planning and less and less chance for private enterprise to function

The danger in the United States is not that a majority of voters will consciously choose a totalitarian type of economic system. The danger is that creep-

TABLE 71\*

GROWTH OF THE WELFARE STATE, BENEFITS PAID  
BY GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

	<i>Millions of Dollars</i>		
	1929	1939	1949
From Federal Govern- ment			
Social-insurance bene- fits	44	696	3,615
Direct relief	—	22	—
Veterans' benefits	539	498	4,884
Total	583	1,216	8,499
From State and Local Governments			
Social insurance bene- fits	72	157	343
Direct relief	71	1,024	1,778
Veterans' benefits, other	75	91	687
Total	218	1,272	2,808
From Business			
Employer contribu- tions to private wel- fare funds	128	156	1,245
Compensation for in- juries	278	255	586
Total	406	411	1,831
Grand Total	1,207	2,899	13,138 <sup>28</sup>

\* "Zooming Cost of Social Aid," *U S News and World Report*, June 24, 1949, pp 19-21. Copyright, 1949, United States News Publishing Corporation.

ing collectivism may develop into galloping collectivism. Most people do not prefer government regimentation, but many of them favor programs that tend to bring it about. Too many are willing to accept the fallacy that the government is an inexhaustible source of endless hand-outs that cost no one anything.

They imagine that prices can be lowered by passing some new legislation and that high levels of money wages and farm prices, generally regarded as good, have nothing to do with the high cost of living, always looked upon as bad. They accept the delusion that people will get rich if they can be paid more paper money for doing less work. The growth of economic delusions and prejudices are a greater danger than all-embracing political programs of a revolutionary nature.

When in the early thirties the New Deal paid farmers to kill little pigs and to plough cotton under, the managers of great corporations knew that this action was economically unsound. Yet some of these managers found it necessary to shut down plants rather than sell their outputs for the low prices they would bring and looked to tariff protection to keep the consumer from buying foreign goods at those low prices. Farmers, who asked the state to help them restrict production and raise their prices, saw clearly that government commissions should reduce the rates charged by railroads and public utilities. Labor leaders and self-styled liberals have often denounced the National Association of Manufacturers or other associations of business for blind opposition to legislative reform, yet William Green and Philip Murray are reported recently to have taken the attitude before the Senate committee for labor legislation that any attempt to legislate on labor is an unwarranted assault upon labor's rights. Each special interest urges that the general welfare will be served by exercising the power of government in its behalf.

Although so-called liberals have long regarded individual selfishness as something to restrain, they have made it the fashion to encourage and to sanctify the selfishness of groups. But there seems little ground for the current faith that, by organizing more and larger economic groups, a just and efficient working balance can be achieved among them. The gravest risk to which we are exposed is that these pressure groups are in process of acquiring strength so great that

## *leadership in industrial relations*

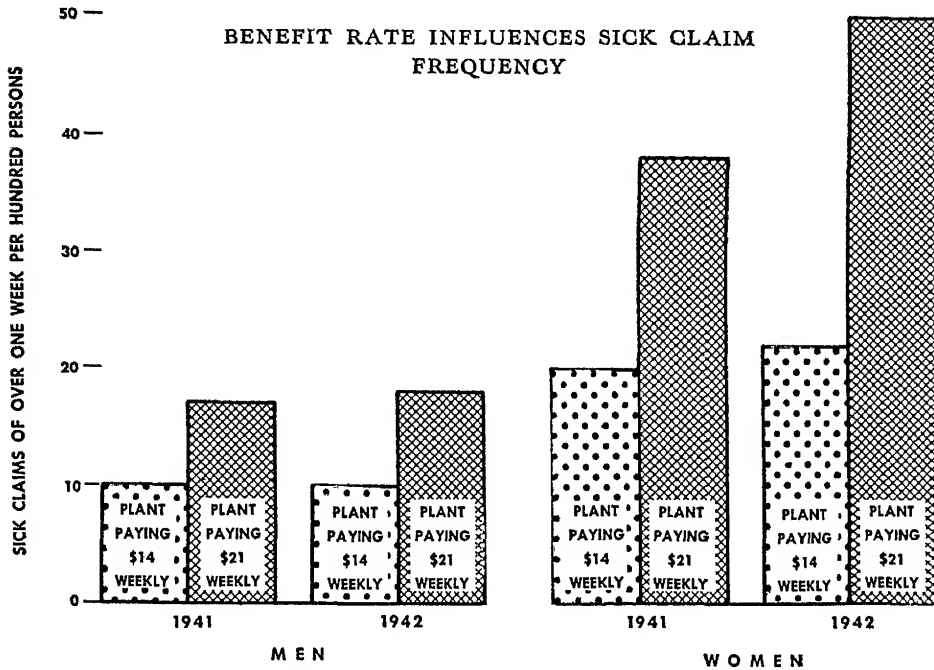
only an omnipotent state will have the power to discipline them

Judgments differ as to whether a government that undertakes to manage the economic life of a complex industrial nation can maintain political democracy. Reasonable inference from general principles, from current experience, and from history is that it cannot.

The transfer from business to politics of the entire struggle for power and the fruits

of power bodes ill for both efficiency and freedom. A controlled system, to guarantee the necessary minimum of efficiency, must concentrate great power in the hands of a few. Mistakes will be made, and the remedy is reasonably certain to be further regulation and greater concentration of power.

Thus far there is not enough evidence of a disposition of either party or of the American people as a whole to renounce the Santa Claus conception of government. Capitalists



THIS PRINCIPLE of the effect of increased rate of sick benefits on the number of sick claims per hundred workers is illustrated by a comparison of the General Motors New Departure plant at Bristol, Connecticut, with the plant at Meriden, Connecticut. In the Bristol plant, the regular \$14 a week disability insurance payment under the standard General Motors plan, which starts after a week's waiting period, is supplemented under a private plan by an additional payment of \$7 a week which is retroactive for the first week, and which accumulates daily thereafter, giving a total of \$21 a week of sick benefits. Meriden, located a few miles away, has only the regular \$14 a week payment under the General Motors plan. The chart compares the sickness rates in these two General Motors plants, located in the same area and performing the same type of operation with personnel drawn from comparable backgrounds. Each year the rate of reported sickness is about 60 per cent to 70 per cent higher at Bristol, where the total benefit is \$21 a week, than it is in the Meriden plant that pays only \$14.—From "An Analysis of the Paid Sick Leave Plan for Hourly-Rated Factory Workers," prepared by Labor Economics Section, personnel staff, General Motors Corporation, Detroit, Michigan, 1944, pp. 8-9. The 1948 revision of the company's group insurance plan provides sickness and accident benefits up to \$28 a week for hourly employees.

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and corporate managers are less powerful than in the twenties, but it is not clear to what extent they are wiser or are regenerate in spirit. Organized labor has risen tremendously in power, and some of it has been behaving as irresponsibly as the more ruthless of the industrial captains of a generation ago—and more dangerously to the general welfare.

Nor have the needs of the workers for self-expression necessitated such great concentrations of power as numerous industry-wide labor unions, under the fostering care of government, have lately attained. But, now that these corporate and labor giants are here, even the prevention of their further

means to defend civil liberties against arbitrary actions by a powerful state.<sup>27</sup>

### ***The argument for human rights rather than property rights***

One of the oldest acts for getting applause is for the politician to beat his breast and proclaim that he is for human rights against property rights. Actually, the right to acquire and own property is one of our most precious human rights. In countries where the rights of property ownership have been thoroughly abolished, the elementary safeguards for the liberty and dignity of the individual have been most cruelly violated. The tyranny that takes away a man's land, savings, business, or home will also take away his life and liberty if it suits those in the positions of the tyrannical power. The rights of property and freedom of speech and press are closely related. As the economist Friedrich Hayek says in his analysis of the trends of our time in *The Road to Serfdom*:

What our generation has forgotten is that the system of private property is the most important guaranty of freedom, not only for those who own property, but scarcely less for those who do not. It is only because the control of the means of production is divided among many people acting independently that nobody has complete power over us, that we are individuals who can decide what to do with ourselves.<sup>28</sup>

Theorists, such as the communist, socialist, or collectivist who opposes private property, argue that the farms and factories belong to the workers. The latter are supposed to be happier when the state owns all means of production. (Actually, the feeling of ownership under such conditions is likely to depend upon the propaganda fed the workers or on the

#### *Private Enterprise*

The power to choose the work I do,  
To grow and have the larger view,  
To know and feel that I am free,  
To stand erect, not bow the knee,  
To be no chattel of the state;  
To be the master of my fate,  
To dare to risk, to lose, to win,  
To make my own career begin,  
To serve the world in my own way,  
To gain in wisdom, day by day,  
With hope and zest to climb, to rise—  
I call that private enterprise

—Herbert Casson, *The Clarkson Letter*, Clarkson College of Technology, January-February 1948

growth is a major task. And the job of whittling them down to size will require a liberal insight, faith, and disinterestedness on the part of millions of voters and wisdom and sustained courage on the part of public men beyond anything there yet seems reason to expect.

New developments such as atomic energy may force us to accord to public bodies hitherto undreamed-of economic powers. The actions of shortsighted or irresponsible pressure groups may some day precipitate an economic depression so deep as to produce an electoral majority for state socialism. Should this happen, the crucial problem may come to be that of finding the courage and the

extent of their active participation in the productive enterprise.) This argument is too similar to the fallacious claim that when American workers own stock in the company where they are employed, they will then think of themselves as owners.

In 1948 a satirical story leaked out of Czechoslovakia concerning an American who visited a Czech nationalized factory. This American noticed a few automobiles near the entrance. He was told that the factory belonged to the workers and that the automobiles belonged to the bosses. Later, a Czech visited an American factory and noticed the rows of thousands of automobiles parked at the plant. He learned that the factory belonged to the bosses but that the automobiles belonged to the workers. Certainly, state ownership is no assurance of a high standard of living for the workers.

There are many reasons for the high standard of living in America in comparison with other countries of the world. One is that the United States of America was founded by a Christian people. The Christian virtues shaped the laws and confirmed the moral values of our industrial practices and legislation. Under them, the extension of credit helped make private enterprise effective.

Of course our supply of natural resources made it easy to convert raw materials into real wealth. But the catalyst in the process was private enterprise. Other nations have had just as great natural resources as the United States but have done little with them. A few nations, too, such as Switzerland and Sweden, had relatively few natural resources but have developed them through private enterprise.

There are far more people who want to get into the United States than there are people who want to get out. Some reasons why people want to get in are the opportunity to own more good things in life, the right to choose one's own place of work, the right to earn more, the right to promotion on merit, and the right to live where one pleases. Along with these are important political rights.

#### Freedom of worship

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press, including right to criticize government and public officials

Freedom to assemble peaceably and to petition the government for a redress of grievances

Freedom to vote secretly at all elections for anyone the voter chooses.

Freedom of person, under Habeas Corpus Act. (This Act gives any person who claims to be unlawfully held by an officer or private person the right to a speedy trial by an impartially selected jury, to know what he is accused of, to be confronted by his accusers, to call his own witnesses, and to have the help of a lawyer.)

No private property may be taken for public use without just compensation and due process of law.

A person accused of a crime is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty.

Freedom of anyone to have his own business, to start and manage an enterprise and profit from it, to contract about his affairs, to invest in a profit and loss system, and to buy and sell in a free market.

## *leadership in industrial relations*

### **Why some persons turn to a totalitarian system**

Many people, in their desire to improve their status and to progress, are willing to turn to a totalitarian or similar system in order to get more enjoy-

more easily satisfied by a totalitarian form of government than by a democracy. They are so emotionally insecure or lacking in direct-attack adjustments that they prefer to let a stronger person "take over" for them. The titles "Fuehrer" and "Duce" both mean "leader."



"ABSTRACT THINKING," a lithograph by Mabel Dwight (Reproduced by courtesy of the artist and the Weyhe Galleries, 794 Lexington Avenue, New York) Any socio-economic planning must take into consideration the kind of abstract thinking depicted above, as well as that of members of other intellectual strata

ments for themselves. Many are willing to forego liberty for themselves and others if the denial of liberty promises more material comforts and the satisfaction of seeing members of the privileged classes put into a position of inferiority.

Furthermore, certain poorly adjusted individuals have tendencies which are

A democratic form of organization dramatically fails to give its members what the psychiatrist usually terms "belongingness." A protecting envelopment which absolute monarchies or totalitarian forms provide for the individual is lacking here. In a democracy one speaks of a brother-brother relationship instead of a parent-child relationship. Moreover, the parent gives to the child a certain frame of reference, a certain setting for his life (which we term "belongingness") which

is of great value to him quite regardless of the actual acts of that parent (with the exception of the act of rejection)

Democracy replaces the damaging nature of this failure only in the fullest possible development of family life . . .

This presents the second danger—the individual's fear of change. Perhaps this resentment against growth, this fear of change, is so fundamental a human trait that we cannot hope to alter it. The solution which some 85 out of each 100 adults have for any social problem is to get back to an earlier arrangement or adjustment. So timorous a state of affairs can at least be measurably modified in the upbringing of young children. The search for new objectives and methods just because they are new will lead only to disaster . . . <sup>29</sup>

Governments, both totalitarian and democratic, can become as inefficient and as unjust as can corporations. Governments are composed of human beings who seek to retain their special privileges as do other human beings who may be labeled capitalists, workers, professional men, and so on.

Of course, most decisions regarding individual enterprise, liberty, totalitarianism, and similar momentous questions are voted upon in a democracy only indirectly. Most people do not know the questions really involved in their voting. Abstractions in these fields are not analyzed very clearly. Voters usually vote for the candidate who appears to be "a good man" or the one who represents the opposite of some hated individual or situation. They think of persons rather than abstract issues and often react in terms of primitive impulses rather than abstract principles. They would like to vote intelligently, but they are confused by the surrounding complexity of ideas, particularly propaganda and rumors.

***Propaganda as a factor  
in individual insecurity***

At least part of the bewilderment being experienced by members of our society at this time is caused by the innumerable ideas and theories being disseminated. From many sides and sources the individual is exhorted to do this or that to improve his own lot or that of his fellow men. Panaceas for any societal ailment, organic or functional, bombard us. Much of this propaganda sounds plausible, yet the over-all effect is confusing.

Although propaganda is as old as recorded history, it has become increasingly complex with the improvement of communications facilities. Newspapers, radios, and magazines blanket the United States. What is said or done anywhere in the world is relayed within hours to anyone who cares to know. Whether the individual realizes it or not, he is continually being showered with propaganda. Some of it is intentional. Some is unintentional. Intentional propaganda emanates from a source that is well aware of what it is promulgating. Unintentional propaganda emanates from sources that pass along what they have heard or what they believe in without intentionally trying to "convert" anyone. Under this heading almost anyone might be classified at some time. But when we speak of propaganda, we will exclude this type for the sake of convenience.

Propaganda attempts to teach people certain attitudes through the use of words and symbols. Education is also concerned with a similar task, but there is a distinction between the two. Propagandists disseminate only those ideas or facts that promote the cause they promul-

gate. Educators, on the other hand, attempt to present as many sides of a question as are, in their opinion, pertinent. They invite critical thinking, propagandists do not.

Doob defines propaganda as "the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behavior of individuals toward ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time." He defines education as "the imparting of knowledge or skill considered to be scientific or to have survival value in a society at a particular time." Naturally, that which is considered scientific or necessary to survival varies from time to time, and from culture to culture, but the values are agreed upon by the majority in a particular society, and teaching that perpetuates those values is educational.<sup>30</sup> By these definitions, therefore, propaganda is the antithesis of education. It is not considered to be scientific or to have survival value in a particular society.

We are apt to pin the "propaganda" label on symbols which anger us, or with which we disagree, or which come from people we dislike. We dismiss a pamphlet or speech or book or paper by declaring, "It's only propaganda." Despite the fact that propaganda helps to create public opinion, and public opinion helps to create propaganda, people in our society like to believe that the opinions they hold are their own, arrived at without pressure and through careful appraisal of *facts*. Even in wartime the American people want no traffic with propaganda, so during World War II the U. S. Government cooperated in preserving the fiction. Euphemisms employed for various agencies that handled propaganda were: Office of Facts and Figures,

Office of Government Reports, Office of the Coordinator of Information, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Office of War Information, Psychological Warfare Branch (or Division), and so on.<sup>31</sup> Each branch of the service also had its own public relations program.

Propagandists and their propaganda, however, will be with us as long as the world's affairs remain improvable. Almost everyone is affected by propaganda through the intentional or unintentional slant of publications, radio programs, movies, and the ideas or principles, formulated or unformulated, of people in public life, neighbors, churches, clubs, organizations, and others. Some people are interested in the study of its nature. Doob mentions two groups who are so interested. One group is composed of propagandists who want to learn more effective ways of operating, the other group is interested in learning how and why propaganda affects people.<sup>32</sup> Students usually are interested because they realize that it is one of the important influences that mold people's minds, and thus society. Propaganda attempts to shape new attitudes. These attitudes, the propagandist hopes, will motivate his audience to act in a certain way. The ultimate aim of propaganda is action, so the propagandist tries to tie his story to human emotions and to the great drives of the individual. If these drives are behind the individual's attitude he will be impelled to act, and the propaganda will have been successful.

The most outstanding weapon of the propagandist is his constant use of "either-or" terminology. *our* side is "good," "honest," "respectable," "virtuous," "idealistic," and so on, *their* side is

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"bad," "corrupt," "evil," "sinister." In times of war, *we* are human, just, *they* are inhuman, bestial, and hence must be destroyed.

The propagandist speaks in "polar terms," that is, in opposites. He almost never admits that there is any blemish on his side or any virtue on the other side. This gives him great control, because when people are convinced of the unquestioned rightness of their side and the undoubted wrongness of their opponents, they will enter a conflict willingly. This tendency to polarize gives propaganda a bad connotation. Though statements may be perfectly accurate, they are "slanted" through the omission of all reference to the undesirable aspects of one side or to the desirable aspects of the other side.

There is no scientifically recognized way of analyzing a piece of propaganda as there is of analyzing a chemical compound. However, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis identified seven principal categories into which the techniques of the propagandist fell. These are.

*Name calling*—giving an idea a bad label—is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence.

*Glittering generality*—associating something with a "virtue word"—is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence.

*Transfer* carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter acceptable, or it carries authority, sanction, and disapproval to cause us to reject and disapprove something the propagandist would have us reject and disapprove.

*Testimonial* consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad.

*Plain folks* is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience

that he and his ideas are good because they are "of the people," the "plain folks."

*Card stacking* involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product.

*Band wagon* has as its theme: "Everybody—at least all of us—is doing it", with it the propagandist attempts to convince us that all members of a group to which we belong are accepting his program and that we *must therefore* follow our crowd and "jump on the bandwagon."<sup>33</sup>

Communists have had wide experience with propaganda and have used virtually every trick in the propagandists' repertory. To create confusion and disorder is one of their most reliable techniques. By filtering into such organizations as labor unions and achieving positions of leadership and power (as Communists are ordered to do), they gain an ideal opportunity to create the desired disorder. With this feat accomplished, they insidiously spread their doctrine. They have used the seven devices outlined above in speech and print. They have fostered "in group" feeling by using banners and buttons, pageants, parades, and rallies. They have used concealed and revealed propaganda, suppression and indoctrination, direct and counter propaganda, a variety of stimuli, repetition, variation, slanting, distortion, urgency, and other devices. Such a wide variety of stimuli cause many intellectual and emotional responses, which are then put to use in the movement.

Revolutionary tactics are carefully planned to give followers emotional satisfactions. An explanation is given by Lasswell and Blumenstock of the ways in which propaganda incited action, devotion, and loyalty to a revolutionary



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movement in Chicago from 1930 to 1935<sup>34</sup> The same psychological factors would presumably operate at any time, in any place, in connection with a revolutionary movement.

Lasswell and Blumenstock state that the fundamental task of revolutionary propaganda is to split the conscience against itself, making two disparate entities opposed to one another. Symbols are used to release emotions such as assertiveness, weakness, guilt, and love

Assertiveness may be aroused and redirected against the established social order by depicting it as deprivational Thus blame for the fact that a person does not have all he would like is attributed to an outside person or group, not the self Since factors in the environment are blamed, hostility commonly results and is projected on the world To utilize this emotion, Communists provide funnels through which it may be channeled to achieve some of their aims. Minor demands are made in an industry, for example Foremen, employers, and conservative labor leaders are sometimes selected as the enemy in an attack. If a minor victory or concession is won, it serves as an "illusion of victory" and gives a feeling of strength to the attacker. It provides a reason for the individual to think of the environment as weak rather than of himself as weak When this feeling is experienced by all the members of the "in-group," they may go on to aim at bigger and better targets The sense of guilt which quite often arises because impulses and wishes are opposed to the established order is also projected against the environment, facilitating the release of aggression against it.

The need for love, one of the basic drives of men, is intensified when the

individual is insecure, and because individuals engaged in revolutionary activities are apt to be insecure, the need is great To satisfy it, love objects are necessary They are furnished by leaders and heroes of the movement, dead or alive Optimistic symbols of the future, such as "when *we* have proved *our* strength," serve the same purpose and are part of communistic technique.

### ***Rumors as a manifestation of individual insecurity***

A rumor is a popular report or story circulated without any kind of official verification. Although some rumors die after a short life, some have remarkable staying power. Witness the rumor that porcupines throw their quills and that ostriches hide their heads in the sand so that they cannot be seen! Rumors such as these are harmless enough However, intense mental or physical suffering can be caused, as when rumors are circulated about a person's morals or when, as the result of a rumor, a person invests his savings unwisely Even the New York Stock Exchange recognizes the harmfulness of rumors. Members of the Exchange are "forbidden to spread rumors" and are "obligated to report all whispers which come to their attention"

Sometimes rumor is started by a propagandist with a particular purpose in view, but more often it arises from an ill-defined source and is spread by rumor-mongers for whom it fulfills a particular need.

Whenever there is an increase in insecurity and anxiety in a population, there is an increase in the number of rumors circulated, because they serve as a defense against anxiety. This phenomenon is demonstrated in times of business de-

pression and war particularly. It is also apparent at any time of change, as when a leader dies, when a business or institution changes hands, or when an innovation of any kind is attempted. Thus the state of morale can be determined by the number and type of rumors circulating. In some cases they serve as guilt-eradicators, as when they are a projection of unconscious or unwanted desires within the person. When intimate details of a prominent person's personal life are common talk, this type of rumor-mongering is at work.

Rumors have three basic characteristics

1. They have a distinct and characteristic mode of transmission—mostly word of mouth,
2. They appear to provide information, always concerned with some specific person, event, or condition;
3. They provide the emotional needs of the community with gratification. Daydreams and fantasy satisfy the emotional needs of the individual in similar fashion.<sup>35</sup>

Knapp has classified rumors into three basic types: Pipe-dream or wish rumor (wishful thinking); Bogie rumor (fearful thinking, motivated by fear and anxiety); Wedge-driving (or aggression). During times of war, surplus hostility is often directed not against the enemy, since an outlet already exists for that hatred, but instead against part of the in-group. This hostility may disguise itself as a wedge-driving rumor which dissipates the group's energy and which may lead to scapegoating. Because it destroys group unity, it is particularly dangerous during times of extreme tension.<sup>36</sup>

Rumors are symptoms of trouble in an office, factory, industry, community, or nation. Those responsible for the well-

being of a group should consider rumors in the way that a physician considers symptoms—as a warning that all is not well in the organism. Just as a physician investigates internal functioning in an effort to determine the cause of symptoms, so also should a wise leader search for the reasons for rumors. The leader in industry overcomes and prevents rumors by giving employees a complete acquaintance with the facts through participation in the company's problems, programs, and achievements.

*Suggestions for the person who is aware of the trends of our time*

The alert individual will study trends and conditions that affect him. He wants to be an intelligent participant in his changing world. He cannot hope to steer the world to suit himself, but he can become well-adjusted to his part of the world. As previously stated, the best insurance for the individual who seeks the resources whereby he may enjoy life is not wealth or power or fame, but adaptability. Adaptability to meet changing conditions is one outstanding requirement for happy living in this age.

No one can hope to turn earth into heaven. Utopia would be boring if it could be found. Oppressions and injustices have always been a part of life and they will probably continue to be with us. However, being a victim of an oppressive or painful condition is not so oppressive or painful if one can feel himself a worthy participant in the changing order. To lose in a game that one does not understand—in which someone else seems to take all—is far more trying than to take part in a game in which all players know the rules and enjoy the game.

The road to inner security for the individual of today is not through a search for abundance by means of politico-economic systems or through provision of abundance by others, but through intelligent participation in the affairs that concern him. That, incidentally, is one reason why many students are in college, even though they do not realize it

To summarize, the person who wishes to participate intelligently in our social evolution can do so by the application of certain criteria to particular situations as they arise. In the exercise of his critical evaluation, he may ask questions such as the following

1. What kinds of people, from the standpoint of adjustment, are having the most important influences on our social evolution? Are they the happy, able, well-adjusted personality types or the unhappy, weak, and maladjusted kind who attempt to dominate our order in order to satisfy their frustrations?

2. To what extent do increased government services and expenses, because of increased responsibility assumed by government for the welfare of the individual citizen, cause further psychological problems for the individual?

3. To what extent does a political program or economic plan fortify the positions of those who seek power for the sake of furthering their own power rather than as service to the general population?

4. To what extent do increased percentages of our citizenry prefer to give up freedom in order to have more unearned welfare aids?

5. To what extent are the potential contributions of individual initiative hindered because of red tape, bureaucracy, and centralized authority without

compensating effects from the centralization of power?

6. To what extent are the methods of propaganda being used to cover up deficiencies and to keep the established political party in power?

7. To what extent are salaries of the very able lowered to the levels of unskilled labor in order that the masses may be pleased? If that is being done, how are persons of superior abilities to be stimulated to produce to their capacities?

8. To what extent do those persons who want to keep things as they are, or to return to times as they once were, represent refusals to adjust to inevitable changes? Do such individuals try to foresee what *will be* as distinct from what they think *ought to be*? To what extent do leaders strive for what ought to be rather than accept the expedient?

9. To what extent is our evolution in the direction of a strengthening of character and personality of the individuals who belong to important interest groups, such as those in the ranks of labor, management, students, government workers, and others? This question of positive value adjustments on the part of the individual is basic to all others in our evolution.

***Security comes from within;  
not from without***

Most members of the general population cannot be expected to develop any sustaining economic philosophy that will help them endure the rigors of a depression or rapid change, but intelligent persons can do so. Individual adjustments, attitudes, and beliefs are basic. How shall we approach their development?

Religious training offers an example

for us. It may be defined either as a set of beliefs that are to be accepted or as a number of attitudes of faith and a certain aspiration that is to be achieved. Similarly, the individual's adjustment to different problems of life, social evolution, and the economic cycle may be presented in either of these two ways. That is, we may indoctrinate youth and have him believe in an all-wise planner—socialism, communism, some kind of dictatorship, or some other economic creed. Or we may stimulate each person to learn, evaluate, and adjust to the situation in which he finds himself, gaining his satisfactions from living in a world that he enjoys because of its challenges. True security, like happiness, cannot be achieved as an end. It is the by-product of activity directed toward the solving of problems and the interpretation of human experience.

American education has not been directed toward the emotional development of individuals who can stand the strains of inevitable changes. Many theorists and educators merely rant at our problems of unemployment, new machines for living, and the trends in our time. Many demand an economic panacea which, at best, would bring with it new problems, or would be out of tune with life as human beings live it. Certainly no economic or political system will ever remove our problems. Life is a series of changes, and stresses are absolutely certain to arise.

The intelligent person need not wait for a new economic or political system to solve his problems. He can begin at once to develop himself in dealing with the problems within and about himself. Psychologically, the habits of direct attack are the individual's best insurance

for meeting the low periods of the business cycle and dealing with the changing conditions around him. Education through the psychological and social sciences will play a larger role in serving the typical citizen. Psychology particularly has limited most of its efforts to pure science. This was necessary for a foundation. Now, however, we should see more applications of its principles.

Putting responsibility for contributions to our evolution into the hands of the psychologist, social scientist, and the individual himself must be supplemented by developing the leadership of intelligent industrialists. Personnel men and other members of management must do a better job.

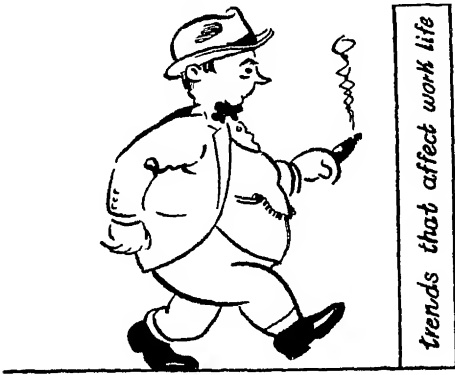
#### *Suggestions for the leader in industry*

One of the easiest ways to solve the individual employee's problem of adjusting to his feelings of insecurity in an insecure world is to provide him with a great political "father." For the emotionally insecure worker in industry, adjustment to the uncertainties of life is not answered by policies and programs of liberalism, collectivism, capitalism, rightism, or leftism. He prefers a great leader on whom he can rely, someone to whom he can give his trust and in whose ability to solve everything that is wrong he can place his faith. The worker would like to have someone be to him a symbol of strength. When such a leader is absent from the political scene, the insecure or immature worker worries and turns to something or someone else.

A few industrialists have played the role of a strong father, sincerely in most cases, for the benefit of their employees. Industrial democracy, however, is not enhanced by encouraging such forms of

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### POSSIBLE ADJUSTMENTS OF THE EMPLOYER TO OUR CHANGING ORDER



*Direct approaches*

- Improves service to customers
- Allocates profits to research on new products.
- Adopts sense of trusteeship regarding his wealth
- Gives employees greater participation in business
- Develops employees for their advancement vocationally
- Sets up plans to meet employees' needs in depression, as guaranteed income plans

*Negative substitute activities*

- Blames his troubles on effects of "New Deal"
- Hopes to return to good old days
- Berates modern generation
- Seeks aid from government
- Sells the business and lives on the income

*Positive substitute activities*

- Develops easier products or surer services of little risk
- Habitually retrenches
- Puts available money into a farm rather than a business

identification and dependence. Most industrial leaders disdain such a role because they know that each man should develop himself by learning to depend upon his own inner strengths. Psychological strength on the part of the employee is encouraged when the employer manages his business on the basis of the following policies:

1. *Fulfill the functions of a true trustee.* The employer who honestly believes that any wealth, profit, property, and superior intelligence that he has are to be used as a trusteeship for his employees as well as his stockholders will have few labor troubles. Many employers now practice the role of trustee in regard to the stockholder's money but

fail to do so in regard to the employee's interests.

2. *Give employees a real sense of participation in the business.* They are anxious to feel that they "belong." They can take the harsh impacts on their lives more easily if they have so intimate an acquaintance with the problems of the employer that they feel themselves a member of the team. Bitterness and recourse to false political promises by employees are often the result of neglectful treatment by employers.

3. *Give systematic training to foremen and supervisors* so that they can put enlightened policies into effect with the employee at the work bench and the desk. Most foremen are too remote from top

POSSIBLE ADJUSTMENTS OF THE EMPLOYEE TO OUR CHANGING ORDER



trends that affect work life

*Direct approaches*

- Improves his abilities by extra training
- Improves his efforts to serve employer and the customers.
- Adjusts his expenditures so as to save for emergency.
- Improves his understanding of the changing order

*Negative substitute activities*

- Blames a company, institution or person for his troubles
- Becomes a radical
- Tries to reform world all by himself.
- Seeks aid from government.
- "Lives off" relatives or wife.

*Positive substitute activities*

- Takes a job that is below his capacity in a more stable company, such as a public utility or food concern
- Buys a farm as a protection to his income, not because of a real interest in farming.
- Develops a side-line business to the extent of neglecting his main line of work

management. Members of top management and foremen will have to associate with one another so frequently that foremen will know the philosophy of top management and spontaneously pass it on to employees in daily contacts with them

4. *Keep open the channels and chances for advancement* The number of executives in business who have interviews with their employees for the purpose of helping each employee to develop himself is small indeed. In fact, such executives are exceedingly rare. Moreover, when an executive does have a talk with an employee regarding his future development, the executive practically never clinches his counsel. The employee

usually leaves with a vague or generalized set of platitudes which are of little practical value. The one thing which must be done to vitalize the interview is to help the employee to outline a definite development program so that he will know just what he should do in order to merit promotion.

5. *Plan and work toward greater economic security for employees* A few companies have developed guaranteed employment plans for their employees, but only a few. More employers must strive to provide for income assurance to employees during depressions, old age, and the times when skills are voided because of technological advancement.

6. *Show employees that competitive in-*

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*dustry serves customers* The employee must be helped to discover that his freedom of choice as a customer in the marketplace includes rights and satisfactions greater than security alone. In fact, when Karl Marx insisted that production should be for the social good and not for profit, he could not foresee the day when employers would give a large part of their effort to just that—serving the people, the customers, and doing it under the competition of business rivals rather than under the inefficiencies of bureaucracy. *Fortune* magazine has partially summarized the situation as follows:

This system may be termed "free enterprise" or "capitalism," but its basic postulates go deeper than anything that these much abused phrases suggest. They involve, first, belief in a wide dispersion of property rights, and they involve, second, belief in what may be called the market. By the market is meant the practical day-to-day process by which consumers are able to bid for the goods they want to buy, producers are allowed to make the goods they believe consumers want, and investors are allowed to risk their savings for profit according to their lights.

This is the system that, whatever its defects, has built the U. S., has doubled its production every twenty years, and has raised its living standards to the highest in the world. It has done more. It has provided men with incentives to go about their work without recourse to state dictation, it has

reconciled and harmonized conflicting economic claims, and, above all, it has dispersed economic decisions rather than concentrated them.

Perhaps the world has already slid so far down the collectivist path that at best the U. S. can only fight a long, drawn-out retiring action. Yet on the positive side it should be observed that for the first time in many years collectivism has a record. Always before, socialism was the utopia and capitalism the vale of tears. Now the facts, the hard facts, are coming to light.

Collectivism under whatever guise—communism, socialism, or statist planning of production and distribution—means that the state, the creation of man, becomes his master, and once his master, blankets him with an infinity of paper directives that fall like a blizzard upon businessman, farmer, and worker alike. Then at length there comes the "knock at the door"—the pistol-point order of obedience.

What we are in the act of rediscovering is that political institutions are meaningless unless buttressed by economic institutions that also allow for freedom. With that rediscovery, faith, not in old-style capitalism, nor merely in "free enterprise," but faith in the basic market principle comes back into its own—not as an end in itself but as an essential and necessary means to higher ends. A belief in this principle, and in the constant modification and perfecting of the institutions based upon it, opens a tremendous future. But if we cast it away, we too shall slide down the collectivist road, not by a process of conscious choice, but by moral and intellectual default.<sup>37</sup>

### PROJECTS

1. Keep a record for a few weeks of predicted trends or events forecast by bulletins offering such service, or similar pages in such magazines as *Newsweek* and the *United States News*. Evaluate the results in terms of their accuracy and their exclusive nature.
2. Theodore Roosevelt, in Chicago, April 10, 1899, said "I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease but the doctrine of the strenuous life." Can you name any tendencies in recent American life, such as in legislation, where the doctrine seemed to be directed toward ignoble ease?
3. Obtain from a number of friends their opinions on the causes of the last depression. Analyze the causes given as to the part each may have played. Did most persons give a single cause or a number of them?
4. Prepare an inventory of the specific in-

## leadership in industrial relations

- dividual differences in people that might play important roles in adjustments to social and economic conditions
- 5 Collect published photographs of a famous person whom some people like and others dislike. Separate those poses which present him in a favorable light from those that show him to a disadvantage. List the differentiating elements between the two sets. Suggest how propagandists might use each set of pictures.
  - 6 Make a list of the nationalities often used in the drama or the movies to typify shrewdness, cunning, laziness, suavity, excitability, and other qualities. Suggest possible reasons for each stereotype.
  - 7 Name some of the interest groups in your community. To what extent has each been successful? Which appear to serve the interests of the community as well as their own interest?
  - 8 Study possible changes that might be made in our educational system for a better development of young people to adjust themselves to a changing world.
  - 9 Examine a number of recent proposals for economic planning or control. Give your opinion of the possible consequences if each were to be adopted.
  - 10 Examine the extent to which wars cause us to move from depression into prosperity.

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*PART FIVE · THE CONSUMER*



## 24

## Finding out the services that consumers want

*There is a dream of human progress which makes it to consist in a gradual easing of the lot of man, in the gradual lightening of his task, until the last straw of difficulty has been lifted out of his path, the last peril extinguished, the last lee shore weathered and all smooth sailing forever afterward May it never come true! But the alleviation of misery which is good with few qualifications, must not be confused with the removal of difficulty, which is not good without many qualifications <sup>1</sup>*

ADVERTISING AND SELLING ARE LOOKED upon by the uninformed merely as methods of exploiting people. They have been misused in that manner in some instances. Admittedly, too, many more businessmen would utilize advertising and selling for their own selfish ends rather than for the consumers' benefit if competition from rival concerns were absent.

If a businessman has no competition, he is apt to become arrogant in the use of his power for his own selfish benefit. If a political official has complete control over people, he too is apt to become arrogant in the use of his power for his own selfish ends. Each can be as cruel as the other. The misuse and abuse of power have been among mankind's worst hazards. If full-fledged collectivism ever occurs in America, with one political

group in unquestionable control, our citizens will suffer hardships far worse than occasional unemployment. The ownership of land and other property by private individuals who discuss and choose their political representatives is necessary for political freedom. And the ownership and operation of businesses by private individuals (or stockholders) who compete with their rivals in a free market are necessary for both service to the customer and political freedom. As soon as a government owns all the tools of production, it can give poor service, charge any price, and coerce both customers and employees. It is tremendously important therefore that the people should have a government that insists upon free competition and that customers should have the right to choose the best available product offered by sev-

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eral rival concerns and to ignore the products of those concerns that do not serve them in accordance with their tastes. Advertising is an integral aspect of the democratic form of government, and the retention of the profit motive as the mainspring of democracy depends upon the preservation of the free market.

This kind of system is beneficial to consumers and to the employees of the more competent concerns, but it also may work hardships on the employees of the less competent concerns. Those employees find it necessary to seek and adapt themselves to new jobs.

It is also important that employees and other members of the public should learn to appreciate advertising and selling as of positive value to the citizen rather than as clever methods of extracting dollars from obstinate prospects.

In most companies, factory workers imagine that they have no common bond with the work of the salesmen, and the salesmen fail to recognize their relations to the factory workers. Actually, both are members of the same team and each should respect and help the other. Both should seek to understand how advertising and selling contribute to a higher standard of living.

A leading advertising man, Kenneth Goode, said: "The best modern advertising does not try to sell. It aims to help people buy intelligently." Furthermore, the alert business enterpriser seeks to offer, not only what people want, but also something even better than what they thought they wanted. The successful editorship of Edward Bok is an excellent example:

One of Edward Bok's first acts as editor was to offer a series of prizes for the best answers to three questions he put to his

readers. What in the magazine did they like least and why, and what omitted feature or department would they like to see installed? Thousands of answers came, and these the editor personally read carefully and classified. Then he gave his readers' suggestions back to them in articles and departments, but never on the level suggested by them. He gave them the subjects they asked for, but invariably on a slightly higher plane, and each year he raised the standard a notch. He always kept "a huckleberry or two" ahead of his readers. His psychology was simple. Come down to the level which the public sets and it will leave you the moment you do it. It always expects of its leaders that they should keep a notch above or a step ahead. The American public always wants something a little better than it asks for, and the successful man, in catering to it, is he who follows this golden rule.<sup>2</sup>

The businessman who expects to become successful must offer a better product or service than his competitors. The superiority of his offering may be in the form of lower cost, more attractive packaging, or greater convenience than the duplicate product or service offered by less successful competitors. The American standard of living has risen partially because enterprisers have outbid each other in catering to the consumer, not at the consumer's immediate level of taste but at slightly higher quality levels, at lower cost, or with greater convenience. The advertiser seeks to know the consumers' present preferences, habits, and tendencies in order that he may enable them to take the next step in the direction of a higher standard of living.

Of course, advertisers do not look upon themselves as reformers or improvers of mankind. The objective of their efforts is profits, but the system of competitive enterprise with the rewards of profit for the better enterprisers results in a gradual rise in buying tastes and

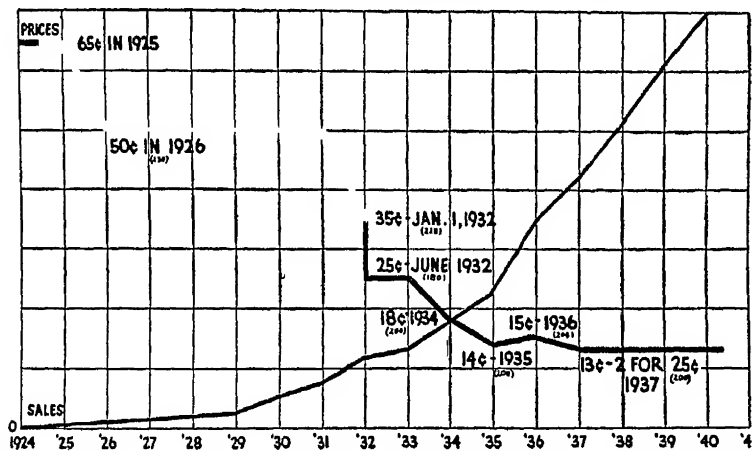
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material conditions of the consumers. Admittedly, consumers often do not know what they want even when they are asked. The enterpriser studies their present preferences and buying practices and offers many new products, a few of which are liked by consumers. When many consumers like the new products, the business prospers. When offerings

ing a second major purpose—as handkerchiefs. Sales doubled, and the next year they redoubled. The public went for Kleenex tissues for handkerchiefs because they were cheap, sanitary, and saved laundry.

As sales went up, costs were reduced—and price to the consumer went down. It dropped from 65¢ in 1924 to 50¢ in 1926 and again from 50¢ to 35¢ in 1932. Six months later it was down to 25¢ for a box of 200 larger, softer sheets. And here's something particu-

### SALES GO UP AND PRICES GO DOWN



The fallacy that advertising raises prices is definitely refuted in this simple chart, showing how a rising sales curve has resulted in a constantly declining price curve.

FROM A BOOKLET on the history of Kleenex, "Today Is My 17th Birthday," International Cellucotton Products Co. (Courtesy of the manufacturers of Kleenex.) See also *Advertising Age*, May 12, 1941.

happen to miss the consumers' wants and result in losses to the enterpriser, we do not have a profit system but a profit-and-loss system.

Advertising can be justified economically and socially, as exemplified in the history of Kleenex:

It was offered to the public for the first time in 1924 as a cold-cream remover under the brand name Kleenex. Six years later these disposable tissues were featured as hav-

larly worthy of notice—the Kleenex of 1932 was a softer, stronger tissue than the original product and it came in a handy serv-a-tissue package.

Ten years from the date Kleenex was launched nationally, the consumer could buy the large carton of 500 tissues for 41¢ or the regular 200-sheet package for 18¢. Again the sales doubled, and once more the price was cut to 13¢—two for 25¢.

Through the advertised brand name, *Kleenex*, the public was educated to the advantages of these sanitary, convenient tissues.

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Consumer response made possible mass production, which, in turn, made for lower price to the consumer<sup>3</sup>

Advertising men constantly seek to learn what consumers want and to compete with other purveyors of products so as to lower prices and to raise the standard of living. General Motors Corporation, for example, has sent out over thirty million questionnaires since 1933. Most of these have dealt with the design or improvement of automotive

products and services. Recipients of the questionnaires have been asked to indicate their preferences for such features as the location of spare wheels and types of upholstery fabrics.

### **Organizations that do systematic studies of consumers**

Consumer behavior and preferences are studied by organizations such as the following:

1 The A. C. Nielsen Company of Chi-

## **ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AMERICAN MASS DISTRIBUTION**

### **THE SPUR TO MASS PRODUCTION**

(BASED ON FIFTEEN PREWAR YEARS 1926-41)

### **TYPICAL REDUCTIONS IN CONSUMER PRICES**

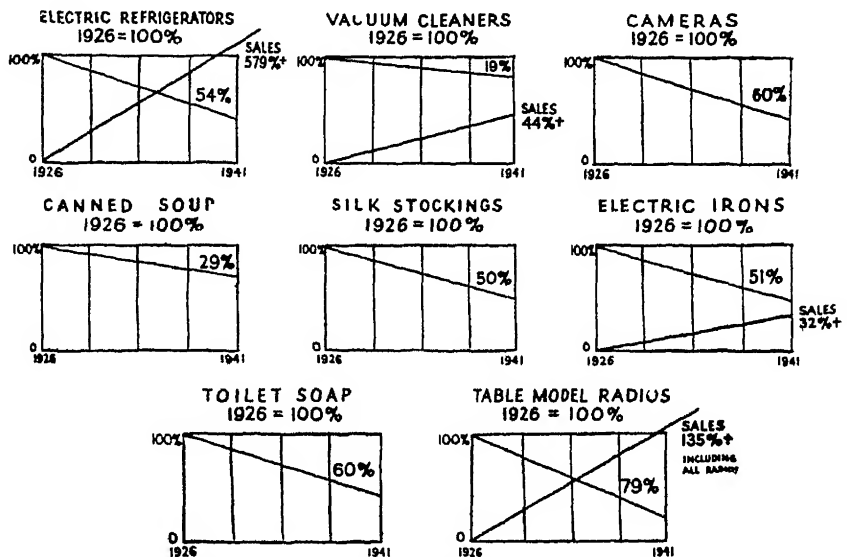


CHART TAKEN from "Business Statesmanship," an address by Robert A. Whitney to New York Sales Executives Club, and "The Challenge of Postwar Distribution," *Printers' Ink*, April 13, 1945, p. 107.

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cago This is the largest marketing research organization in the world, covering the United States, the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, and the Commonwealth of Australia. In 1933 this company inaugurated a new type of research technique that now produces the Nielsen Food, Drug, Variety, and Pharmaceutical indexes<sup>4</sup> The service furnishes continuous factual marketing data on more than 2,000 products sold through retail stores Consumer sales are measured every 60 days through personally conducted audits of invoices and inventories in 6,000 typical chain and independent stores. A trained, permanent, full-time staff of more than 1,800 people is employed in the operations

This organization obtains consumer-research data on a continuous basis so that trends in consumer buying and brand-against-brand movements are revealed period by period and year after year These investigations indicate whether advertising copy and media are striking the right consumer income classes, ensure profitable seasonal distribution of advertising schedules, detect unprofitable merchandising methods, reveal the need for a new product or a change in product or package, and detect gains or losses in dealer good will. Manufacturers, distributors, and government agencies, both in the United States and abroad, have found them of unique usefulness in coping with problems of marketing and economic planning.

An instance of the way in which the Nielsen indexes function in a company's advertising has been reported in the account of the prompt detection of a dying copy appeal. If the manufacturer in this case had depended upon factory sales only as a measure of the effectiveness of

his copy appeal, the time lag between factory and consumer sales would have been so great as to result in a loss of one million dollars in sales within one year<sup>5</sup> The value of current consumer purchase reports for the advertiser is evident when we realize that the time lag between factory and consumer sales of manufactured food products is often three months or more, for drug products it may extend over twelve months

2 Industrial Surveys, Inc., and the J. Walter Thompson Company operate continuous purchase-record panels composed of families that represent a cross section of the population. These families report at regular intervals their purchases of certain commodities The continuous running record of the purchases of identical families reveals brand changes, reasons for change, prices paid, quantities bought, size units, and frequency of purchase.

3 Almost all advertising agencies utilize consumer and market research facilities, but the larger agencies operate their own consumer organizations Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., for example, operates a national panel, and a county-wide and a television panel, as services to their client companies.

4. Several magazine publishers have operated panels for years; examples are the *Woman's Home Companion* Reader-Reporter Panel, organized in 1935, and the *Good Housekeeping* Women's Consumer Panel, organized in 1942. The Wage Earner Forum, Macfadden Publications, Inc., consists of approximately 1,400 representative wage earner families of the country and is used for opinion and consumer surveys. *The Milwaukee Journal*, *New York World-Telegram*, *Scripps-Howard*, and numerous other



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newspaper publishers operate panels or conduct consumer studies for advertisers

5. Among psychologists, the best known organization making consumer studies is The Psychological Corporation. However, many advertising agencies and manufacturers have trained psychologists as members of the staff or in charge of the consumer study programs

### **METHODS OF OBTAINING CONSUMER RESEARCH DATA**

Several methods of securing consumer research data are in common use. The method varies with the need. A specific problem may demand a special type of laboratory, test campaign, questionnaire,

analysis of company records, or field survey. Applied psychologists are interested particularly in the questionnaire and the interview as used in surveys. We shall discuss briefly construction of questionnaires and methods of securing data through field investigators or interviewers

### ***The free-association or "open-end interview" approach to the consumer***

When the consumer researcher wishes to formulate a questionnaire, he does not begin by writing a list of questions which he himself considers appropriate. For him to do so would be to require consumer respondents to think in *his*



TWO YOUNG MEMBERS of GM's customer research staff survey some 11,000 questionnaires that were received in the mail in 1 day after they had been answered by motorists. Between 15 and 20 surveys are made each year by the organization.

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rather than *their* terms. He wants the respondents' minds to function in terms of their patterns of behavior, not his. One approach to the collection of ideas from typical consumers is to ask them to give their own free associations, to let their minds run freely, and to have them express their thoughts spontaneously about the given topic or product. For example, a manufacturer of toothpaste wished to devise a questionnaire to discover the satisfactions and wants of consumers in regard to the use of toothpaste. An interviewer called on typical users and said: "I am making a study of a product with which you are acquainted and I would like to ask questions about it, but I do not know what people really think about it. When I give you the name of the product, will you kindly tell me whatever comes into your mind. Tell me what you think, no matter how trivial it may seem. The word is 'toothpaste'. Now let your mind run." Sample responses were the following:

1. "I use X brand toothpaste, not because of the radio program or any other type of advertising but because of its taste. It has been proved that toothpaste is of little value, but I'll continue to use it because I like its taste and refreshing feeling in my mouth."

2. "I like the fresh, tangy taste of toothpaste within my mouth."

3. "There's a fresh taste left in my mouth after using it. Much ballyhoo about their qualities. Little real value in the power of destruction of germs. The taste of mint is often too strong."

4. "There are many toothpastes on the market, but I think salt can be used to good advantage. We like the taste of the toothpastes and they are convenient. One of the greatest inventions of the modern era."

5. "Toothpaste and dentrifices have made the appearance of the present generation much improved over those who came before us. It removes dirt and food from between

the teeth and has lessened decay. Thus, we have less tooth ailments and other ailments caused by faulty teeth. Has done away with bad breath to a great extent."

6. "Much ado about nothing. All toothpastes are basically the same with different flavoring. The best dentifrice is plain salt or a plain powder that is not tasty. Various companies pick on minor differences to fool the public."

7. "You can pay anywhere from five cents to a dollar for toothpaste. Every toothpaste company is trying to cut the other one's neck. Advertising appeals come in two classes. Be mouth-happy and remove that white film from your teeth."

8. "I can't start to class unless my teeth feel clean whether they are or not."

9. "X Brand is like a dishrag in your mouth."

10. "X Brand is like a mouth full of soap suds."

TABLE 72

### SUMMARY OF FREE ASSOCIATIONS OF FIFTY MEN

<i>Reasons for Preferences for Certain Toothpastes</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1. "I like a certain toothpaste because the radio programs are good"	14.0
2. "Toothpastes refresh the mouth"	12.0
3. "I use the toothpaste I do because I like the taste"	10.0
4. "It sweetens the breath"	4.0
5. "It's convenient when you're in a hurry"	2.0
6. "The appearance of the teeth is improved"	2.0
7. "It lessens tooth ailments"	2.0
8. "My teeth feel better when using it"	2.0
<i>Reasons for Disliking Certain Toothpastes.</i>	
1. "Advertisers make claims for their products which are impossible"	18.0
2. "Toothpaste is made cheap and sold at a high price"	10.0
3. "Salt and soda are not so expensive and are better for the teeth"	10.0
4. "Some toothpastes are injurious"	6.0
5. "All toothpastes are basically the same with different flavoring"	4.0
6. "I don't like the taste"	4.0
7. "I dislike colored pastes"	2.0

At first thought, one might think that the nonguided comments of consumers would be difficult to classify and arrange

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into any logical order. Actually, their comments can be classified very quickly, simply by underlining favorable statements with a red pencil and unfavorable with blue. Each statement can be further classified as shown in the partial tabulation in Table 72 of the responses of fifty men to the word "toothpaste."

The major value of the free-association technique is that it reveals what consumers think when they deal with the given product or its class as they use it, shop for it in a retail store, or discuss it with their friends. Any questionnaire made up without resort to free association or a substitute simply funnels the consumer's thinking through unnatural channels. Many a questionnaire has resulted in pages of statistical tables that showed only what people thought while they were thinking in terms of the consumer analyst's patterns, not what people think when they behave in their own unguided manner.

Furthermore, an additional value of the free-association technique, or so-called "open-end interview," is the richness of its yield for advertising ideas. The advertising man who has fifty typical consumers practice free association concerning his product is almost certain to obtain a supply of ideas for advertising it. He will feel no need for thumbing through magazines to look for themes or ideas that he might use in advertising his own product.

The first few questions used in any questionnaire should be interesting to the respondent. They should establish rapport, put him into a mood favorable to the answering of the main questions of the survey. "Icebreaker" questions are developed most easily when the consumer analyst has learned from free-

association techniques how consumers think about the topic of study.

### *The mailed questionnaire*

Many questionnaires in the past have been phrased in such general and vague terms that the person answering them may, while he is answering the questions, feel that his answers are going to be useless, because he is not sure that he understands the questions in the same way that others understand them. Frequently, too, the answering of a questionnaire has involved a great deal of time and expense. In spite of the fact that some persons dislike the questionnaire, it is still widely used and will continue to be used. Fortunately, the phrasers of questionnaires are learning how to make them attractive, inviting, and reliable. The chief psychological factors in securing a high percentage of replies to mailed questionnaires are.

- 1 The questionnaire should have an attractive physical appearance

- 2 The recipient should be made to feel that the questionnaire is worth while

- 3 Compensate the answerer for his trouble

- 4 For some studies the identity of the real sender should be hidden

- 5 The questionnaire should be given a preliminary test on a small group before it is tried on the larger group.

- 6 Make the questions easy and, if possible, interesting to answer

1. *The physical appearance of the questionnaire.*—A concern which sells by direct mail would not think of sending out a letter set in solid, monotonous type. The direct-mail expert makes care-

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ful tests of returns with regard to copy, color of paper, quality of paper, postage, day of week mailed, and other pertinent factors. It is necessary, therefore, to prepare the physical appearance of the questionnaire with consideration of the same factors used in direct mail. The questionnaire can be illustrated with human-interest pictures that explain its purpose and enable the answerer to state his experience or wants with pleasure as well as ease. Pictures on mailed questionnaires increase the returns greatly. Color illustrations and attractive appearance are essential to large returns in direct mail. They are just as essential to returns in questionnaires.

2 *The addressee should be made to feel that the questionnaire is worth while*—The person who is asked to answer a questionnaire usually feels that he would be doing the sender a great favor by taking the time to answer the questions. In order to obtain answers, therefore, it is well to make the answerer feel that he is doing himself a favor. Most questionnaires introduce the request for answering as this one did. "We are compiling some data giving us statistics on our business and we would like you to fill in the inclosed questionnaire and return it to us in the inclosed stamped envelope."

Contrast that with this concern, which was trying to get the attitude of their 3,000 dealers toward them as jobbers

Did you ever get mad at us?!! Perhaps we were at fault in some of your dealings with us. We are doing some housecleaning of our own minds and methods of doing business. Our friends and our enemies can help us improve our service to them by being frank with us. Please check over the following list and make any comments that you wish. We'll appreciate it and thank you in advance.

One jobber received 500 replies from 3,000 dealers by use of a similar request. The replies were followed up by the management through the salesmen.

The appeals which succeed in direct-mail advertising often succeed in questionnaires. One concern phrased its questionnaire to give the impression that a very charming woman was asking a very small favor. The letter gave the reader the impression that her employer had made a wager that the readers would not answer her questionnaire and she was trying to convince him that the recipients were really interested in helping those who wish to improve their methods of work.

When the questionnaire is sent to a specific group, such as kindergarten teachers, accountants, or shoe merchants, it is often possible to appeal to them by offering them a copy of the data when it has been compiled. In that case it is well to specify the date when the report will be completed and available. A request card for the report should be attached to the questionnaire to enable the person who answers the questionnaire to realize that he may have a free copy of the report.

If the copy of the report has no appeal, it is possible to increase the answers by offering a small gift for answering the questionnaire and returning it by a definite date.

3 *Better results may be obtained if the true identity of the sender is hidden.*—Magazine publishers occasionally wish to make an impartial investigation of their readers' preferences. In some cases the candid answers of the person who fills in the questionnaire may reflect against the publisher who sent the questionnaire. In cases where honest answers

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might offend the sender, it is well to give the recipient the impression that the investigation is being conducted by an accounting firm or by a statistical concern.

Much depends upon the purpose of the questionnaire. If it is to learn about the complaints of the customers, for example, the true identity must be stated.

4. *Decide upon the type or class of people that you wish to reach*—In certain situations, it is easy to limit the sending of the questionnaire to the desired group. When a company wishes to get customers' reactions and the company has a complete list of customers, the problem of finding the right group is answered. When the reactions of the general public are desired, it is well to find out which segment of the public is to be reached.

When it is important to know what types of people answer the questionnaire, it is well to insert questions that will enable the investigators to tabulate the answers according to groups, such as occupation, education, sex, or age.

5. *Give the proposed questionnaire a preliminary trial on a test group.*—Again the principles of direct mail should be used with the questionnaire. The direct-mail specialist does not use a letter on a large group of prospects until he has tested it on a small group. He finds that he must do this even though he is absolutely certain that he has a good letter. Experience has taught him that it is dangerous to spend large sums of money until he has determined the percentage and quality of returns.

Questions which are quite clear to the researcher may be ambiguous, vague, impertinent, or unnecessary to a large number of strangers. Only a trial survey

can determine the probable value of the mailing. In making the trial survey, it is well to have interviewers present the questionnaire to individuals in person and then note their remarks and questions as a guide to revision.

### *Phrasing the questions*

No one enjoys attempting to answer a question that he does not understand. The more certain the reader is that he understands the question, the more willingly he will answer it. For this reason, questions of opinion rather than concrete facts are inhibiting to the answerer of a questionnaire. Questions such as, "Why did you buy a Blank auto?" "What is your opinion regarding our powdered milk?" or, "How would you advise us to change our displays?" are not clear and definite to the consumer, and he cannot answer them correctly. Answers to this type of question, however, may give a copywriter a great many suggestions for new copy in advertisements.

Questions, to be understandable, should be phrased in the vernacular. The academic phrasing, "What dentifrice do you customarily employ?" will puzzle more people than "What do you use to clean your teeth with?"

A more involved question, of a type difficult for anyone to answer, was used in a survey of automobile travel: "From March 1, 1949 to March 1, 1950 please classify out-of-town journeys of some length (round trips of 70 miles or more) made by automobile whether in your own car or in a car belonging to someone else."

People should not be asked to make complicated computations in their recall

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of purchases or habits. If a man is asked, "How often in the course of a month do you change to a new razor blade?" he must make a bothersome computation. It is better to ask, "How many shaves do you get from a razor blade?"

To achieve certainty of understanding, it is well to have the questions relate to matters of fact rather than opinion, and to give all the possible types of answers after each question. Giving the correct answer will then be easy—it merely requires a checkmark, and compensates for any vagueness in the phrasing of the question.

Questions should be stated positively rather than negatively. For example, it is better to say, "Have you bought any Blank soap this week? Yes—, No—," than to say, "Have you not bought any Blank soap this week? Yes—, No—."

Negative and positive phrasings were used in a nationwide survey with the question "Do you think that advertising is *less* (*more*) truthful today than it was a year or two ago?" Each of the two phrasings was used for 3,200 individuals, and was asked of every second person. It was found that 56.5 per cent answered *No* to the *less* phrasing. But the fact that one is not justified in assuming, on the basis of the foregoing, that people therefore think advertising is *more* truthful is indicated by the answers to the positive phrasing, which were only 46.7 per cent affirmative. Also, the *Don't know* answers for the second form of the question were 22.1 per cent, compared with 18.8 per cent for the first form.<sup>6</sup>

The same investigators also found that the words used in expressing alternatives will influence the results obtained. In two surveys, one month apart, the following were asked of comparable sam-

ples of 7,867 persons in each of the samples

Form A—"Which of these companies do you think well of generally, which not so well?" (Company name given and response recorded)

Form B—"Do you think favorably or unfavorably of the following companies?" (Company name given and response recorded)

Essentially these questions are similar, except for the change from *well* and *not so well* to *favorably* and *unfavorably*.

Company	Responses	
	Form A Well %	Form B Favorably %
A. ....	79.4	67.6
B. . . . .	58.3	46.9
C. . . . .	52.3	46.8
D. . . . .	85.5	74.1
E. . . . .	72.4	62.1

It can be said that the term *favorably* was apparently interpreted as being a more extreme alternative and therefore received fewer responses than the term *well*.<sup>7</sup>

Questions which involve the prestige or personal integrity of the person answering them, such as, "How much did you pay for your last hat?" "Do you do your own washing?" "How often do you take a bath?" do not elicit accurate results. When it is necessary to ask questions which involve the personal affairs of the individual, the questionnaire must come from a third disinterested party or from someone who is able to assure the person that the answers will be kept confidential and used in a legitimate manner.

Obviously, leading questions should be avoided. However, many questions that do not appear to be leading tend to encourage respondents to answer unduly favorably. "What brands of the fol-

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lowing foods do you use?" suggests the use of all the foods listed. This question is improved somewhat when phrased, "If you bought any of the following foods in the last three months, state the brand you bought last." Overstatements are especially encouraged when this type of question is phrased, "What brands of the following toilet requisites do you buy?" And most students would be encouraged to say *Yes* if asked, "If Dad were to buy a new car, would he be influenced by your choice?"

One concern made its mailed questionnaire attractive to housewives by writing an interesting short story, in pamphlet form, describing the problems of a housewife. The story also set forth her methods of work. The housewife recipient was asked to check the method that she herself used under those conditions, and in this way the manufacturer learned the conditions and methods under which women used his product.

Respondents should be invited to give their comments in addition to their check marks. The comments are likely to reveal the feeling tones and manner of thinking more helpfully than the tabulated check marks.

### ***Getting the desired persons to respond***

One problem in making surveys by mail is the question whether or not the people who answer a mailed questionnaire are typical of the entire mailing. People who have a fountain pen on their person or are keenly interested in a given idea or product are assumed to be more apt to answer a mailed questionnaire. Such biases may vitiate the results of the mail survey.

*Time* magazine conducted an extensive research project on the validity of

mail questionnaires in upper income groups. A mail questionnaire was sent to 3,000 names taken consecutively from *Time's* galleries.

Then, several weeks later, the entire group was interviewed with the same questionnaire. Both the mail and interview questionnaires were keyed so that the respondents could be identified.

By matching the mail replies and the interview results that were obtained from the same persons, a direct comparison was obtained between the two methods. This comparison is reported here.

1,052 of the 3,000 persons who received the mail questionnaire sent back their filled-out replies—a return of 34.9%.

Interviewers who set out to contact all the 3,000 persons in the original group did not know that these persons had received the mail questionnaire, and obviously they did not know who had replied and who had not.

It was not economically possible to contact all 3,000 persons. However, 1,387 fully completed interviews were obtained. Of these, 505 proved to be with persons who had replied by mail and 882 were with non-repliers.

Some differences between repliers and non-repliers were

There was a high correlation between repliers and non-repliers among people who owned one or three radios, but owners of two radios—usually middle income families—ran higher among the repliers than among the non-repliers.

More car owners and refrigerator owners tended to answer than those who did not own these items but, consistent with the middle incomes of the repliers they frequently owned used cars and medium-priced refrigerators.

The repliers showed marked psychological differences when compared to the non-repliers—they are joiners, like to write to newspaper editors, but Lazarsfeld and Franzen say that "... it is questionable whether these differences affect most practical survey objectives."

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On the whole, the results of the study showed that mail questionnaires can produce satisfactory samples of upper income groups. When the answers obtained by mail from mail repliers were compared with the answers given by the same persons in personal interviews, the evidence seemed to favor the mail answers

The evidence obtained from this study seems to favor the mail answers. In most items, there were no important differences between the two methods. On questions of education, however, the mail replies were more qualified and therefore presumably more accurate. On questions dealing with ownership or buying power, the mail responses showed less reluctance to divulge information in the upper extremes. And far fewer persons refused information on income by mail than by interview, making the mail response probably the more accurate picture of the economic worth of the universe.

These findings substantiated several claims that are usually made for mail answers—(a) answers to personal questions are more frequently given in an anonymous mail reply, (b) bias that comes from the respondent's desire to impress or conceal from the interviewer is eliminated, (c) a mail reply is filled out at leisure and thus produces a more thoughtful answer.<sup>8</sup>

The mail questionnaire can be used when responses are desired from individuals who are scattered over a wide territory, when answers to questions require considerable thought or investigation, and when the questions involve information so confidential that it is given only to a trusted associate or association secretary. If the questionnaire is to be used with a wide variety of consumers, it is often well to have it illustrated,<sup>9</sup> perhaps somewhat humorously illustrated. One magazine publisher

wished to find out what features of his magazine might be made more interesting to readers. He sent to his readers a questionnaire, printed on colored paper, illustrated with the picture of a wishing well, and made up of questions so interestingly phrased that the respondents enjoyed filling in the questionnaire.

If the content and the physical appearance of the questionnaire are made as attractive as any direct-mail advertising piece should be, it will result in a higher number of returns. Respondents should be stimulated to answer through the use of stamped return envelopes, "No need to sign your name" statement, and the use of a professional title by the sender.

When questionnaires are mailed to a random list of names and addresses, taken from a nonselective source such as a city directory, the percentage of returns is likely to range between near zero and 5 per cent. Ten per cent is a very high return, especially if the sender is an unknown or fictitious source. If the sender is known to the recipient, the returns will be higher, as in the case of a manufacturer or dealer who sends a questionnaire to a customer about a recent purchase. Such a mailing should produce a 20 to 30 per cent return. This percentage can be stepped up to 40 or 50 per cent by enclosing a shiny new nickel or dime. One magazine publisher has been getting a 60 to 70 per cent return from readers by enclosing a new quarter, a friendly letter, and a post-card follow-up.

### ***The personal interview as a source of research data***

Sometimes the questionnaire does not elicit the desired data when mailed. It may then be necessary to obtain the in-



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formation by means of interviewers. If a study were to be made of the reactions of vegetable hucksters, factory workers, or shoe shiners, the results of a mailed questionnaire would be inadequate. When necessary to secure answers to a large number of questions, the interview may be the best method of getting representative answers. Sometimes the same people who will not answer a list of questions by mail will do so when called upon personally.

For research problems that cannot be studied through mailed questionnaires, personal interviews must be obtained. An example of this is the advertiser who wishes to find out which of three proposed headlines, illustrations, or layouts is the best. If the researcher were to hand copies of the three advertisements, identical in every respect except the factor under investigation, to fifty buyers, and ask each buyer of the commodity to state which of the three advertisements was the best, many of the fifty persons would cease to be consumers of the product advertised and become advertising critics. Their reactions would be artificial. By means of interviews, it is possible to plan a technique which will lessen the artificiality of the judgments.

If a study is to be made of three different kinds of copy, three advertisements can be prepared which are identical in all respects except for the copy. Ten other advertisements of different products can be mounted on cardboard. When the investigator calls on typical buyers of the product to obtain their reactions, he may fumble in his brief case for the ten advertisements and "accidentally" pull out the three advertisements and hand them to the prospect with a passing remark such as, "Do you care

to look at these while I prepare my ten advertisements for your opinion?" In a few seconds he arranges the ten advertisements and the prospect lays aside the three important advertisements. After a five-minute discussion of the ten advertisements, the interviewer replaces in his brief case the ten advertisements, and then, *incidentally*, asks the prospect about the copy of the three layouts he saw in the early part of the interview. The reactions of the prospect will then approximate those which he would have if he saw the advertisements in a periodical where they would have to compete with many other interests.

If the field interview is used, it is usually necessary to choose and standardize the questions just as carefully as for a mailed form. The interviewers must be instructed also as to how they are to present the questions. They must be trained so that they do not put the answers into the mouths of the informants. When persons are interviewed who are not accustomed to supplying information to oral questions, the interviewer should be trained not to write down the answers in their presence. They may dislike the idea of having someone write down their statements as they make them. In some cases the investigator can be taught to memorize the questions and then informally write the answers on the margin of a newspaper and copy them later.

The research interviewer should have some qualities of salesmanship. However, salesmen are not, as a rule, competent to do field work of a research nature. Salesmen are trained to influence the answers of the person interviewed. They are apt to see only those factors of the situation that agree with their own

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prejudices. They are promoters rather than analysts.

Salesmen do have the ability to get more interviews than researchers are likely to get. For example, anyone who calls at the homes of housewives soon learns that many a housewife, hearing the doorbell, peers between the curtains to see who is outside. If she sees a stranger who has a brief case or writing pad, she often decides she won't bother to see him. The clever interviewer rings the bell and stands with his back toward the door, immobile as though he were rooted to the spot. The woman who looks out cannot see who he is or what he has and curiosity is likely to overcome her reluctance to open the door.

### *The depth interview*

Motives in buying are very difficult to uncover by direct questioning. When housewives, for example, are asked why they buy a certain brand of a household utility, most of them may mention its high quality. When, however, they are encouraged to discuss the product without prompting or suggestion of answers, they may reveal that the real reason for purchase is the economy, because of assured long life of the article. People are apt to rationalize when casually interviewed about their buying.

The *depth interview* is one of the newer methods of motivational research used by a few large advertisers and agencies. A depth interview is a three-hour detailed case study of the steps and reasons involved in a consumer's behavior. It is an attempt to get better answers than the usual surface responses, such as, "I like Blank's chocolate pudding because it's chocolate," or, "I like it because I like it." The person who is interviewed

by the depth technique is stimulated to talk, to reveal his basic attitudes, opinions, and reasons. Only psychologically trained interviewers can use this technique.

Ernest Dichter, a Viennese psychologist, has been a pioneer in the development of depth interviewing. Some of his procedures and findings are partially explained in the following excerpts from an article about his studies for *Time* magazine and the Chrysler Corporation.

*The customer's inner needs* The psychologist can be helpful in finding out the needs and innermost wishes the consumer expects to see fulfilled by a type of product. This is what might be called the functional approach.

In a study the author recently completed for *Time* magazine, direct questioning about why people read *Time* evoked such answers as "It condenses the news for me," or "It is written in a brilliant style," or other similar quality descriptions of the magazine. In the functional research approach, however, we are not so much interested in finding out what people think about the magazine, or what they think they think about it, as we are in finding out what the magazine actually *does* for them. In the case of *Time*, this approach showed that one of the major functions of the magazine was to provide what the psychologists call "ego-benefits." That is, it bolstered up the readers, because it made them *feel* like busy executives whose position demanded that they be well informed but whose schedule was so crowded that they needed to get their news quickly. As one reader actually said in response to deeper questioning, "When I read *Time*, I like myself." Such a statement is quite different from a descriptive remark about the product itself, it depicts a real psychological effect produced on the reader.

Now such a functional finding permits action on the part of the publisher. For example, if he knows that some of his readers are looking for such ego-benefits, then he can make use of this knowledge. The more

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*Time* offers those readers the opportunity to experience this kind of feeling by the way the magazine is written and edited, the better they like the magazine and the more they are inclined to buy further copies at the newsstand or to renew their subscriptions. Furthermore it can be decided, and actually has been, to make a specific appeal to this feeling in *Time's* circulation promotion efforts, where a fraction of a percentage point improvement in the rate of returns will add up to a substantial dollars-and-cents savings.

It is worth noting, too, that in this way *Time* introduces an important new aspect into the whole field of education. For hundreds and possibly thousands of years our good-intentioned educators have attempted to convince us that it is not an easy job to increase our knowledge. *Time* encourages and produces the opposite conviction. While the academic archeologist tells you that it takes scores of years to know the field, *Time* promises you a workable knowledge after only a comparatively few pages of reading.

For the Chrysler Corporation the application of modern functional research operated in the following way. The objective of the executives concerned was to use advertising to get more people to switch from other makes of cars to Chrysler cars. To do this they needed to know why about 75% of all car buyers purchase the same make of car year after year, they wanted to change that habit. Direct questioning uncovered the apparent reason: rational satisfaction with the quality of the previously owned car. The obvious advertising approach, dealing with such surface rationalization, would have been to stress the fact that the new make of car was startlingly different and better, that it was time to get rid of the old car with all its repair bills and troubles.

From the point of view of the psychological findings this was exactly the opposite of the correct approach. A psychological survey revealed that the real reasons for the high percentage of repeat purchases were based on unconscious fear of automobiles as dangerous, powerful instruments, taking the form of fear of the unfamiliarity of a new make of car, fear of disloyalty to the old car which had demonstrated its safety, emotional attachment to the old car, and

similar factors. Instead of talking down the old car, the advertiser needed to compliment the prospective customer on his friendship and loyalty to the presently owned car and to promise him that the new car would permit him to feel the old familiarity within a few hours. The Chrysler executives decided to use this approach in all their advertising and to include it in their sales training courses. The result was a 100% rise in the Starch rating of Chrysler and Plymouth advertisements and a substantial increase in sales.

For the same reasons, the salesman's usual habit of kicking the tires of old cars brought for trade-in was found to be psychologically detrimental to the transaction. Controlled tests showed that customers actually accepted lower trade-ins when the old car was complimented—"It's easy to see this car was well taken care of"—than when it was deprecated. Thus, functional research reveals the deeper-lying, real motivations for buying behavior and permits correct, effective sales methods to be substituted for others that are often dangerously wrong business-wise.<sup>10</sup>

In another report on his study done for Chrysler Corporation, Dichter stated that no matter how many direct questions the interviewer asked in a "formal" interview, he never got beyond such superficial motives as satisfaction with the previous car, better trade-in allowance, and so forth. The use of depth interviewing and motivational research brought forth truly basic reasons from the interview, such as dread of change, nostalgia, and the like. In explaining the need for the use of special techniques in learning motivations of the consumer, Dichter stated

... whenever we are dealing with motivations in research, we have to employ methods different from the ones used when a simple factual statement of *quantitative* relationship is required. Why should this be so when we are studying such seemingly simple problems as why Mr. Smith bought one brand of dental cream rather than another,

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or why women listen to certain types of radio programs?

The answer lies in the nature and the mechanisms of human motivations. Motivations are of such a different nature from our other research objectives that the usual research tools no longer suffice. One might well ask, at this point, what is it about motivations that makes them the subject of an almost separate branch of research requiring special tools? I should therefore like to turn now to a discussion of those aspects of motivation which make this necessary.

To begin with, *motivations are dynamic*. If I wanted to find out why Mr. Smith is wearing a blue suit today, the answer most likely would not be a single reason or even a list of reasons. When he opened the closet this morning, the blue suit was hanging nearest him and so he decided to put it on. Then, however, he remembered that he didn't have any tie his wife liked to go with it, and so he selected the brown suit. When he looked this over, he discovered that his wife still had not sewn on the missing button. Annoyed by his wife's neglect, he spitefully reached for the blue suit again. While he was putting on the blue suit, it occurred to him that his decision was a good one after all because he had not been wearing this suit for a long time.

Let us not go any further. This relatively simple example shows us how unsatisfactory any single statement of motivation may be. When questioned for the motivations of his choice, all Mr. Smith may have told us, was that he saw the blue suit first. This despite the complicated dynamics of the true motivation. We can understand, therefore, that a direct questionnaire technique will rarely be adequate for the registration of dynamic motivational mechanisms.

... a respondent is frequently unaware of his motivations. Dr. Maslow, in a recent study, "A Theory of Human Motivation," says the following about unconscious motivations:

"Everyday conscious desires are to be regarded as symptoms, as surface indicators of more basic needs. If we were to take these superficial desires at their face values, we would find ourselves in a state of complete confusion, since we would be dealing seri-

ously with symptoms rather than with what lay behind the symptoms."

This is extremely important as far as our methodological discussion is concerned. We must be able to distinguish between conscious and *unconscious motivations*. Depth psychology teaches us that unconscious reasons are usually more basic and powerful than the conscious ones. Obviously, a direct question runs no chance of success in uncovering unconscious motivations.<sup>11</sup>

Dichter uncovered some especially important findings regarding the purchase of automobiles. He found that only 2 per cent of car buyers buy convertibles. This 2 per cent figure, however, did not indicate the true importance of convertibles in car buying. When he counted the number of people who stopped in front of showrooms with convertibles in the window and compared the figure with the number who stopped in front of showrooms without convertibles, he found that the convertible was far more important than indicated by the 2 per cent sales figure. Investigation showed that the convertible is a symbol of eternal youth, coveted and dreamed about by almost every car buyer, but seldom actually bought. Convertibles are psychological lures to attract people to showrooms and to increase the attention value of advertisements.<sup>12</sup>

Psychologists realize that motives are difficult to uncover, but Lazarsfeld has shown that they can be uncovered, to some extent, by questionnaire procedures. Helpful answers to "why" can be obtained by asking a series of related questions that reveal aspects of motivation.

*A question such as, Why did you change to this dentifrice?* will elicit some such response as "I like it," a meaningless phrase. Other respondents may say, "My dentist recommended it to me," while still others re-

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port "It cleans teeth better than my former tooth paste." Obviously, then, the question must be rather specific in order to elicit comparable responses. Consider, for example, the following series of questions .

*What brand of tooth paste did you buy last?*

How long have you been using this brand?

What brand did you use before this?

In what respects do you think your present dentifrice is better than the kind you were using?

What was your principal objection to the brand you used before?

These questions elicited specific and meaningful reasons to explain behavior changes <sup>13</sup>

Sometimes the best answers to "why" can be obtained by asking a series of questions that begin with the words "what" and "when" and "how." Respondents who are unable or unwilling to answer "why" are able and willing to give valid answers when the indirect approach is employed

### ***Controlled sampling of consumers***

In order that the mail questionnaire or the field survey may produce reliable and therefore usable results, it is necessary that the researcher apply them in conformity with the principles of scientific sampling. The general theory of sampling may be illustrated in this way:

If an interviewer should stand on a busy street corner and ask 500 passers-by, "What is your favorite brand of cigarette?" and then should ask a second 500 persons the same question, the results in each case would be remarkably similar. Furthermore, the replies of 10,000 additional persons would not deviate appreciably from those of the first 500. Thus it would be necessary to ask only 500 persons in order to get a reasonably accurate measure of the cigarette preferences of the many thousands in that

locality. This same principle has long been employed by scientists in the field of physical research, by tradesmen who want to know the quality of the material they buy, and by the housewife who tests specimens of a basket of fruit, taking specimens from several parts of the basket before buying.

Such a procedure, however, is based upon the possibility of obtaining a completely random sampling of the larger classification one wishes to study, and for many reasons this is very difficult, especially when dealing with people rather than commodities. In its place, market researchers have developed the technique of the "controlled sample" as a more reliable method. By means of the controlled sample it is possible, within reasonable limits, to select a comparatively small group of people who will represent in correct proportions the significant qualities of the larger market to be studied. It is, in effect, a miniature of the larger population from which it is drawn.

The term "cross-section sample" is often heard these days, but the term means little unless there is a definition of the population that is sampled. It may be a cross-section of college students, of physicians, of a particular community, or perhaps of all adults. There has rarely, if ever, been a cross-sectional study based on all the people of the nation because very few issues, if any, involve us all. Even the public opinion polls at election time sample only qualified voters, not all of them. Market researches are usually even more limited in scope. They attempt to sample only those segments of the population that are relevant to the purposes of the particular problem at hand.

In order to obtain a truly proportional

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representation in the sample, certain control factors must be carefully worked out in advance and applied in the process of selection. Some of the more commonly used factors of control are

1. *Geographic distribution*. The sample should be distributed over the area under study in the same manner as is the total population included within the scope of the survey, whether it be nationwide or limited to a single community. For example, if we were attempting to find out what the average American believes to be a decent living wage, it would make a great deal of difference whether we consulted only people living in New York state or only those living in the South. We would have to include each of these areas, as well as others, in proportion to their populations if our conclusions were to be representative of the nation.

2. *Economic status*. Persons in various income levels frequently have different likes and dislikes, different opinions, and favor different brands of products. Any market survey that is based on sampling must consider this aspect carefully. A company seeking potential buyers for high-priced automobiles might be completely misled if its survey ignored the financial position of the interviewees. A random sampling of the population would produce replies chiefly from those who are financially unable to buy the product. A controlled sample must contain the correct proportion of persons from each economic group covered by the survey. Furthermore, it is not always sufficient merely to consider income. A man living in New York City with an income of \$3,000 may have considerably less purchasing power than a \$3,000 man living in Centerville, Indiana, and possibly dif-

ferent tastes and purchasing habits. Marriage status, size of family, and other considerations are often relevant variables to be considered.

3. *Age classification*. Many public opinion polls break down their results on certain issues in terms of age classifications of the respondents, because old people do not always have the same opinions as youth. Old people also tend to buy different products, or different styles of a product. If a survey is to present a sensitive picture of a market, it should include proper controls for the age factor. A house-to-house interviewing campaign, especially on holidays or in the evenings, may obtain far more replies from stay-at-home old people than justified unless definite quotas for each age group have been set up.

4. *Sex*. If a questionnaire or field survey is intended to apply to both sexes, care must be taken to see that the correct proportions of men and women are included. There are many situations in which men and women have different opinions, preferences, and even methods of stating facts. A random sampling during the morning hours might very well include many more women than men, because women shoppers or housewives may be more available than men, many of whom are in offices or factories at that time. Frequently a survey is limited to the members of one sex, but where the study concerns both, correct quotas must be made out for men and women.

5. *Size of the sample*. The number of persons to be given questionnaires or to be interviewed must be large enough to be statistically reliable. In some cases 500 may be sufficient, in others several thousand might be needed. The Gallup and the Fortune public opinion polls as a

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rule use about 3,000 and 5,000 cases, respectively, except for special studies. Tables have been worked out which indicate the number of persons needed for a "reliable" sample under various conditions and within stated degrees of accuracy, but such tables can serve only as a rough preliminary guide.

One practical method of determining the necessary size of the sample is through the "cumulative frequency" method. A chart is kept of the replies of a survey as they come in, each new batch being added to those already received, and a line is plotted indicating the responses of the interviewees. At first the line on the chart may fluctuate rather wildly, owing to the small number of cases received, but as more replies come in and are added to the cumulative total, the line begins to "settle down" and fluctuate within narrower and narrower limits. Finally a point will be reached when the line reaches relative stability and further incoming replies do not change its direction perceptibly. At this point it may be assumed that a sufficiently large sample has been obtained.

A number of other useful methods for estimating the size necessary for a sample to be statistically significant have been devised, but an adequate sample alone is not sufficient to guarantee valid results. All proper control factors, such as those mentioned above, and possibly others such as urban-rural distributions, occupations, educational background, and such special controls as the specific problem calls for, must be applied with exactness and intelligence. Accurate information upon which these control factors are to be based should be obtained from reliable sources and must be up to date if the sample is to be representative.

6 *Stratification* of a sample of the population. This term means that the sampling is done in accordance with the known facts about people. Quotas are set up. A census count shows that there are approximately 50 per cent men and 50 per cent women in the country, and the researcher therefore sets up the quotas for the interviewers accordingly. Such stratification of the sample is not considered sufficient to make an accurate market or public opinion survey because the formulas for sampling error do not hold unless the rules for random selection *within strata* are obeyed.

It, for example, sex, education, income, and age would definitely determine the kinds of books a person reads, the researcher could conclude the number of readers from known census figures alone. A survey would not be necessary. People, however, have other and unknown characteristics that are related to book reading. The numbers of their characteristics are unlimited, and the randomization of the sample becomes important. In this procedure, choice as to who should be interviewed is taken out of the interviewer's hands by using a procedure such as drawing a sample of addresses from an urn or by rigid mechanization of the interviewer's walking and doorbell ringing. Census area sampling has often been used as a basis for bringing about more complete randomization.

*Randomization* of a sample gives every member of the universe, statistically speaking, an equal chance of being interviewed. Formulas for estimating of sampling errors then become operative. Their use requires statistical training too advanced for treatment here.<sup>14</sup>

Neither an adequate sample nor one that is a true miniature of the larger

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population can insure trustworthy results. The time factor, the nature of the questions, the length of the questionnaire, the skill and objectivity of those conducting the survey, the cooperation of the respondents, and other considerations, many of them difficult to measure or analyze, are all vital to the ultimate success of the investigation. But complex as its problems may be, modern sampling techniques furnish us with one of the most useful tools available in the field of consumer study.

### ***Good consumer research is creative***

Experts in consumer research need so much statistical ability that they are apt to become engrossed in research techniques and lose sight of the creative aspect of their work. Business executives, particularly those in charge of advertising and selling, do not as a rule think in refined statistical terms. They are essentially promoters and innovators. They utilize the benefits of research, and they utilize its benefits most effectively when field research is an integral phase of their business philosophy. This attitude is fully expressed in the following admonition.

Remember that field research is essentially creative. Its value will be nil to a concern afflicted with complacency. If management's objective for its advertising is merely to ride the Babson sales curve, keep its name before the trade and "build good will and prestige," then it should not use field research. But if a company is progressive and alert, it can use field research profitably, for the research can help to create advertising that will increase sales and reduce unit sales costs.

All too often a business loses sight of the end purpose of its activities—a service to the customer which represents a sound value

to him. There is a tendency to feel that service to the customers is the special and exclusive province of sales and service departments. This may explain why we find credit departments which bite the customer; why we find design engineers who concentrate all their efforts on making a better gadget which may or may not be acceptable to the customer; why we find advertising that takes into consideration not what the customer wants to know, but what the advertiser thinks he should know.

Therefore, step number one in any consideration of field research is accepting the fact that every activity the company engages in is on behalf of the customer. This holds true of design, purchasing, distribution, sales, service, promotion, advertising, financing, administration, credit, etc.

To sum up, it may be said that field research answers three questions:

1. What should your advertising say? Obviously, your advertising is most effective when it gives customers information that is pertinent to the selection, application and maintenance of your product. . .

2. Where to say it? Advertising won't help much if it is directed to the wrong people. One field investigation disclosed that a certain company's direct-mail literature was being sent to purchasing agents, who had no voice whatsoever in the selection of the product. It was learned that production engineers were the real behind-the-scenes authority on purchases. The mailing list was completely revised and made really effective. Field research can indicate to whom to say it as well as what to say.

3. Why? Unless you know why a customer thinks or believes the way he does, there probably isn't much you can do about it.

Also, field research can give you freedom from doubt—doubt that appropriations are spent most effectively—doubt in the minds of management as to whether advertising is justified—doubt of the advisability of spending  $x$  dollars or  $y$  dollars. Field research answers the *why's* of management about advertising expenditures. It provides a sound sales reason why you say what you say and where you say it.<sup>15</sup>



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### PROJECTS

- 1 Choose any common product on the market today and compose questions which might be used in a free-association interview to determine consumer opinion and the extent of use by the consumer. Contrast an inhibiting question with one easily answered. To what other psychological principles would you give consideration?
- 2 Obtain a mail-order catalog of a number of years ago and list articles that are no longer on the market or which have been radically changed. Check those which were fads and suggest reasons why the others have disappeared or have been greatly altered.
- 3 Select a number of articles in popular use today but which you think may no longer be on the market 10 years from now. Present reasons for your selection and indicate what type of article may replace them. How could the manufacturers of the products adjust themselves to the change?
- 4 Look up the ratings of a number of products in both Consumers Union and Consumers' Research reports in your library. To what extent do the ratings of the two organizations agree?
- 5 Test the "cumulative frequency" method of determining the proper size of a sample by the following experiment. Toss ten coins into the air and note the number that come up heads. Plot the number of heads on a graph. Repeat the coin tossing, each time adding the number of heads to the cumulative total—and plot each succeeding total on the graph. At what point did the curve become relatively stable? How many coins need to be tossed to arrive at an adequate sample?
- 6 Obtain a copy of a mail questionnaire and analyze it from the viewpoint of the principles discussed in this chapter. Rewrite it if you believe it can be made more effective.
- 7 Outline the steps you would take in conducting a field survey to determine the potential market for a new type of electric toaster.
- 8 Consider the following goods or services and classify each as to the medium or media that would be most suitable for advertising purposes:
  - a A newly published book on engineering
  - b. Flowers
  - c Gasoline.
  - d Night-school classes in accounting
  - e Fresh meat and vegetables
  - f. Farm tractors
  - g Life insuranceGive reasons for your classification in each instance.
- 9 Should the manufacturer of products for women advertise that his products are designed and inspected by women?

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- |   |   |
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## Advertising that appeals to consumers

*A successful merchandiser stated several effective appeals in the following maxims "Any physical fact, like increasing fatness or the phases of the moon, is much more interesting to any woman than such outside activities as city planning, national politics, or the Bi-Centenary of George Washington, A man customer never grows up, and will spend twice as much time choosing a trout fly as a stair carpet or a refrigerator, People are steadfastly unwilling to skimp on things they buy for their own children To make sure of a sellout, at least 25 per cent of the merchandise must be in doubtful taste, and no advertisement, no matter how lavish, will persuade people to buy what they don't want." <sup>1</sup>*

RESEARCHERS IN ADVERTISING WHO HAVE made studies of the relative importance of various factors such as long copy versus short copy, big pictures or little pictures or no pictures at all, charts and diagrams as an accompaniment of other pictures or used alone, and testimonial versus reason-why copy seem to agree that none of them is so important as the *appeal* or *theme*. The appeal is the dominant idea which is supposed to arouse a dormant desire in the mind of the prospect and stimulate him to purchase the product. The appeal is far more important than type face, illustration, or headline.

One would expect the theme or appeal

to be the one great influence in causing us to be affected by the advertisement. Hand a page of closely typewritten material, haphazardly arranged, to a group of people and ask them to look it over. If the names of the readers are among the words on the list, it is easier for them to find their own names than to find the names of strangers. Twenty-eight adults were used in such an experiment to find out how long it would take each person to find his name on a page of closely typewritten material. Each person's name appeared five times in the copy. An examiner timed the subject with a stop-watch while the subject looked for and underlined his own name five times. Then the

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subject or person who had found his own name was asked to find the name of a stranger in the same copy. The stranger's name also appeared in five places in the copy and had to be underlined five times. Accurate records were kept for each name, and it was found that the average length of time required for each of twenty-eight persons to find his own name was 72.6 seconds. For these persons to find the names of strangers required 103.7 seconds, or 43 per cent longer.

A theme or appeal in advertising is any idea used by an advertiser when he seeks to influence people of the particular class who are logical prospects for his product or service. The advertiser does not seek to reach everyone with his message. Even though the advertiser sells a so-called mass product such as soap or food, he has narrowed his choice of appeals to the particular class or classes of people who are apt to buy his soap or food. The advertiser thinks of his advertising appeal as a selective device which is designed to be attractive to his prospects, not to all persons. Prospects are usually analyzed and classified on the basis of two general approaches:

1. The *appeals* effective in stimulating the logical prospects.

2. The *media* that will convey the chosen appeals to the prospects and do so profitably. Examples of advertising media are newspapers, magazines, radio, direct mail, book matches, exhibits, displays, and others.

Once the advertising man has learned the characteristics of his logical prospects—their sex, age, income, geographical location, or other classification—he can easily select his media accordingly. Almost every modern publisher of a periodical, manager of a radio station or net-

work, and head of an outdoor posting concern can supply printed data that describe the readers or listeners of his particular medium. By means of such printed data, the advertising man can easily decide which medium or media are most likely to reach the specific classes of prospects whom he wishes to reach. Once he has collected the data necessary for the intelligent selection of media, he also has much information available for making a choice of effective appeals.

**"He ain't heavy...  
he's my brother!"**



Funny how kids can make things absurdly simple.  
*Shouldn't that kid couldn't help another kid out? You don't expect a medal for it!*

Too bad we sorta forget when we grow up.  
Lots of times we get so wrapped up in our own problems that we don't even notice what's happening right around us.

For instance that aged widow down the street who lives on a meager pension.  
*It isn't her money I'll just sister, how do you think she managed to get a nurse?*

Or take the hospital she stayed in.  
*Did you know the hospital loses money—even when the average patient pays? It must be supported by outside funds.*

Or those happy kids you saw going off on hikes last summer.  
*The money to run our youth service doesn't grow so trees in the woods.*

Social agencies youth services clinics hospitals homes for the aged and the blind visiting nurses and scores of other Red Feather services need money to carry on too.

That's why it's so everlastingly necessary to have a Community Chest. Once a year—with one gift—you can be a Big Brother in the family that makes up this community.

*Everybody gives. Everybody benefits.*

**COMMUNITY CHEST**

35 APPEALS IN 1

AN EXAMPLE OF an effective appeal. This headline was first used in 1936 and revived in 1946 by its author, Jack Cornelius, of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., for a Community Chest campaign.

### How the appeal affects the reader

Psychologically, an appeal is a very complex set of influences in the life of a reader or hearer of advertising. A prospect's actions are greatly influenced by

his own inner needs and desires, particularly in the promise of satisfaction of his needs. An analysis of the reader's mental activity when he sees an advertisement would reveal the memories that it arouses, the pleasant and unpleasant feelings, associations, and thoughts of the possibility of satisfaction. Depth interviews uncover numerous unsuspected psychological responses on the part of the reader, responses that are difficult to measure by ordinary questioning. Dichter, for example, found in a study in the field of deodorants that

The appeal of social acceptance and safety is valid only for a small group of women. A much greater proportion considered such goals as much too far removed. What interested them more than anything else was to be able to like themselves, to feel clean, to consider themselves smart beauty technicians.

Very often in determining advertising campaigns, the advertiser makes the mistake of thinking that death, romance, fear or hope are valid and powerful appeals. This is a lay view of psychological facts. Actually the fear of being embarrassed or of having to consider oneself a failure far outweighs the power of such grandiose concepts as romance, love, death or happiness.

It can be shown again and again that the pure recital of technical claims about a product leaves the reader cold and does not arouse the emotions necessary to make him change to a new product. When buying cigarettes, the smoker is actually afraid to try a new brand. He does not want to give up the known security of his present brand, even though he may find fault with it, for the unknown, although possibly greater enjoyment of the new brand. Therefore to urge him to try brand X because it is different from anything he has ever tasted is a wrong and dangerous appeal.

Not every research method is capable of clarifying the real goals of an advertising campaign. In functional psychological research we distinguish between symptoms expressing the superficial rational explanations

of an action and the real, deeper reasons which form the emotional basis of such actions, and are connected with the functional role a product plays in the user's life.

Every time a reader views an advertisement three successive steps are set in motion. (a) an attempt to get into the advertisement, (b) a registering of the psychological effects and (c) a registering of the commercial effects of the advertisement.

a) *Ways of getting into the advertisement.* A reader viewing an advertisement for the first time tries to enter it by various means. Either he abandons the attempt after a few seconds of casual observation, or he is caught by the advertisement.

Among the various processes which help him into an advertisement are these: identifying, being curious, arguing, accepting, rejecting, excluding, memorizing, dissecting, assembling, and emotionalizing—feeling pity, hatred, love, sympathy, and so forth.

The channels enabling the reader to enter the advertisement can be grouped into two large classifications: emotional and intellectual forms of immediate reactions.

An emotional entrance would be signified by "I'm glad they're not talking about me," or "I hate that darn stuff."

That an intellectual process has taken place would be indicated by the exclamation "Gee, that's an interesting story!" or, "I'm curious to find out what this machine does."

b) *Ways of registering the psychological effects of an advertisement.* An advertisement may leave the reader with any of a number of possible gratifications: "I feel relieved," "I've learned something new," "I feel sure of myself," "My curiosity has been satisfied," or "It makes me feel that I'm smart."

What might be considered a well-planned advertisement can have negative psychological effects if one is not conscious of the mechanisms stimulated by it. This was the case in a study for a well-known reducing remedy. Although women accepted the desirability of slimness, they rejected the advertisement and the product. Investigation showed that the stout women featured in the "before" half of the "before and after" routine were too extreme to be accepted by the readers. Their reaction to the picture was, "That's not me," and "I don't look that

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bad." The effectiveness of the ad was lost because of this psychological blunder

c) *Ways of registering the commercial effects of an advertisement* The real commercial effects of an advertisement are difficult to ascertain solely in terms of actual sales. . .

The only real test of an advertisement's effectiveness is a knowledge of the thoughts, associations, and mental images produced in the reader. In concrete terms each purchasing act is really the result of a mental rehearsal for buying. A shoe advertisement, for example, is successful if at some point the reader reacts with the thought, "I imagine myself trying on the shoes." Similarly, an airline advertisement produced a desirable commercial effect because it provoked such associations as "I'm daydreaming. I visualize myself sitting in a plane and I'm proud of myself," or "I see myself getting into a plane."

In other words, the closer any advertisement comes to producing thoughts which have the appearance of a purchasing act or which rehearse use of the product, the higher the commercial value of the effect of the advertisement. . .

An advertising program, brilliantly conceived and executed from a technical viewpoint, may miss completely if it neglects to control the psychological effects. The intangible implications of an advertisement often are more significant than its actual content. No item of merchandise is ever sold unless a psychological need exists which it satisfies. In other words, the actual merchandise is a secondary. Advertising's goal has to be the mobilization and manipulation of human needs as they exist in the customer.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Appeals that have been found effective***

The experienced advertising man who plans a campaign looks for the dominant idea that will appeal to the consumer classes whom he can reach by means of media available to him. He wants to find out what can be said that will answer the needs of prospects. When we study the progression of appeals of advertisements

and sales talks, we find important changes made to increase their effectiveness. Let us note a few examples.

1. In the past, manufacturers of shoes assumed that readers of their advertising were most interested in style, price, construction of shoe, details about fancy punching, and so on. However, one shoe manufacturer conducted a survey of 5,000 men and found that when they were asked what they liked about the shoes they were wearing, 42 per cent replied "fit and feel" or some equivalent; 32 per cent said "wear and tear", 16 per cent said "style and looks", 9 per cent said "price and value." The manufacturer changed his advertising accordingly, using themes such as "Walk-Fitted," and benefited by the change.<sup>3</sup>

2. One candy manufacturer found that when he advertised the quality of his candy and made reference to its excellence he did not sell so much as when he changed his appeal to that of buying his brand as a gift. He discovered that the bulk of his business came from men who buy candy to take home to their wives and daughters and from young men who buy it for girls. Price as an appeal was not so important a consideration as the appropriateness of the article for gift purposes.

3. The maker of a game, well-known to the public, devoted his sales and advertising messages to the story of the pleasure his game would yield to the family circle. His advertisements usually pictured father and mother and the two children playing the game with happy smiles on their faces. His appeal for years was: "For Enjoyment." Then, upon consulting a marketing specialist, the appeal was changed: "To Be Popular." With this appeal the players were pictured in

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a home which was the rendezvous of delighted friends. The response to the advertising doubled in sixty days and the sales of the game tripled.

4. A certain insurance company found that in the advertising of accident insurance the note of protection to loved ones was not nearly so effective as some other appeals, such as the low price of the insurance of this sort. The best-paying advertisement they had was one headed "Three Cents a Day," which explained how many thousands of dollars of protection this small expenditure would bring. The fear motive and the thrift motive were somewhat less effective.

5. One of the most interesting records of appeal effectiveness has occurred in the advertising of "Dr. Eliot's Five-Foot Shelf of Books." Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, made a famous remark in 1909 to the effect that an individual could acquire the equivalent of a liberal education by devoting fifteen minutes every day to the study of great literature. Since that time, the P. F. Collier & Son Corporation has sold 500,000 sets of the Eliot-chosen books at an approximate cost to the consumer of \$50,000,000. The price of a set has ranged from \$40 to \$600, depending upon the binding.

The basic appeal in the advertising always has been to "get ahead"—to grow. The self-improvement theme has been supplemented with appeals to the reader's desires for self-confidence. One insertion, captioned "How to get rid of an inferiority complex," has been used with success for more than ten years.

Another successful theme, on a slightly different note, was, "Like a conquering army these books have marched triumphant

through the centuries," accompanied by an illustration of a medieval army. Introduced in 1925, this insertion was used until some time in 1936. Copy with a bargain appeal, describing the cost per volume of the Harvard Classics as one-third the price of popular fiction, was instituted some time ago and continues in use.

Long reason-why copy, seeking prompt return of a coupon, has always prevailed, and experiments with more emphasis on an artistic layout and less copy have proved that such an approach carries little weight with the reader who seeks to improve himself.

Seriousness is the key. From its inception, advertising of the Five-Foot Shelf represents the efforts of a conservative and serious salesman. Carefully abjuring flippancy, it has employed a wide variety of sales approaches, always characterized by a note of sincerity and earnestness. The man who feels himself inferior to his fellows evidently does not take it lightly, and is deadly serious when he decides to improve himself.

As described by W. W. Beardsley, advertising manager of Collier books for the past 12 years, "People don't go in for education with a filip. The luxury type of advertising doesn't sell books."

One innovation introduced by Mr. Beardsley is an illustration picturing the 50 books piled on end instead of on a shelf. The illustration borders the copy on one side and has produced good results.<sup>4</sup>

These five examples from literature in the field of advertising illustrate the reason why advertisers and salesmen seek the one keynote that will touch off the spark of interest in the prospect. The history of advertising reveals many examples of appeals, both ineffective and effective ones. Until recently, psychologists often analyzed instincts as possible sources of effective appeals. Today we no longer study lists of instincts and reflexes in the quest for effective appeals, because instincts and reflexes usually have been analyzed by means of armchair or laboratory methods only. The modern market-

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ing analyst does not bother with such obsolete approaches to the choice of appeal. He uses more recent and better research techniques, such as analysis of readership surveys. (See Table 73.)

The method of measuring the effec-

TABLE 73

HOW READERSHIP OF NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS  
VARIES BY COPY APPEAL

<i>Copy Appeals</i>	<i>Average Readers-per-Dollar</i>		
Ads featuring a USFR benefit	Men	Women	Total
Popularity and prestige	57	146	203
Style and beauty	24	135	159
Comfort	71	78	149
Health	39	105	144
Ads featuring a PRODUCT advantage			
Proved successful	52	110	162
Safe	58	80	138
Dependable	62	74	136
Efficient	39	91	130
Convenient	39	91	130
Economical	47	74	121

All evaluations are expressed as average readers per dollar spent for advertising space. These are computed from three factors:

1. The *per cent of readers* interviewed who said they saw or read any portion of the ad (called "Any this Ad" in the Studies)

2. The *line rate* of the newspaper in which the advertisement appeared.

3. The Audit Bureau of Circulations statement of *circulation* at the time of the study.

Line rates and readers per copy differ from one newspaper to another. Therefore it is not permissible to compare readers per dollar of *single* ads in different newspapers.

However, in relative comparisons of *large numbers* of ads, as in these Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, Inc., analyses, these differences tend to average out, and "Average readers per dollar" becomes a valid yardstick, readily understood, easily visualized, and with emphasis where it should be.

Data obtained from a recent study by the copy research department of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., entitled *How Newspaper Advertisements Can Get Extra Readers per Dollar*, a cross analysis of the readership of 3,745 national advertisements reported by "The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading," a project of the Advertising Research Foundation.

tiveness of advertisements by means of field surveys of readership has many minor modifications, but it usually means that an interviewer calls at the homes or offices of a representative sampling of persons. The interviewer asks the interviewee whether he has read a certain issue of a periodical. If the answer is "Yes," the interviewer produces an unmarked copy of the periodical, explains the purpose of his investigation, and asks "Won't you kindly tell me what you have read as I turn these pages?" The interviewer usually marks the advertisements noted or observed, headlines read, and amount of copy read. Sometimes the name of the advertiser or the product is masked (painted out) and then the interviewer inquires whether the interviewee can identify the product or name of the advertiser. Readership reports often present their findings by giving percentages of readers who (a) noted or observed the advertisements, (b) read the headline, (c) read most of the copy, and (d) *identified* the name of the product or advertiser when names were masked.

One particularly extensive readership study by the Gallup Research Bureau included interviews with 29,000 representative readers of 46 issues of 20 different Sunday newspapers located in 16 cities. The effectiveness of the basic advertising themes was tabulated in this study, and the themes are ranked in terms of readers per column inch, averaged for men and women. See Table 74.

The extreme right-hand column of the table shows the percentages of distribution of the dominant appeals found in a random selection of one hundred advertisements of one industry, the figures having been compiled by the writer. Apparently the weakest appeals, those at the

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bottom of the list, were used by advertisers of the selected industry. Though some differences of opinion would occur in the classification of the appeals used in a large number of advertisements, the table has considerable general significance to the advertiser.

The basic advertising idea is the "vehicle" that holds the reader's interest and is repeated in many advertisements, as is explained by a successful teacher of advertising:

An advertising idea is usually a "vehicle"—it may be a special format (a strip, a car-

TABLE 74<sup>b</sup>

HOW SUNDAY NEWSPAPER READERS REACT TO BASIC ADVERTISING THEMES

<i>Copy Appeals</i>	<i>Readers Per Column-Inch</i>		<i>Distribution of Appeals Found in the Advertisements of One Industry</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	
1 News features	653	1 007	4 0%
2 Sex allure	377	1 027	1 0 (weak!)
3 Social advancement	476	837	2 0
4 Narrative technique (both strip and straight copy)	318	695	10.0
5 Characters from the product's radio program	388	541	—
6 Reason-why copy	316	563	17 0
7 Contests	162	414	—
8 Testimonials	200	356	1 0
9 Scare appeals	139	407	1 0
10 Smartness and newness	271	251	—
11 Health appeal	218	272	—
12 Product's reaction under test	276	263	1 0
13 Price reductions and values	262	167	2 0
14 Premiums	167	256	—
15 Service given with a product	083	321	21 0
16 The product alone with no drama	232	073	40 0
			100.0%

In many of these ads two or more of the above themes have been combined, and the classification under which they have been listed is open to challenge. However, when any such conflict has arisen the theme motivating the illustration has been taken as the dominant one.

These advertisements used in this Kimberly-Clark study were national advertisements.

### THE ADVERTISEMENT

The advertiser who knows the important characteristics of consumers that are associated with the buying of his product also selects a basic advertising idea to advertise the product. The product is analyzed for ideas that will cause people to buy it, but these ideas must be presented in some attention-getting, attractive man-

ner. The basic advertising idea is the "vehicle" that holds the reader's interest and is repeated in many advertisements, as is explained by a successful teacher of advertising:

toon, a unique arrangement of pictures and text), or it may be an advertising character (the Borden cow family, Spry's Aunt Jenny, American Mutual's Mr. Friendly, Philip Morris's page boy, Bon Ami's chick) or a string of testimonials (Pond's engaged girls, Lux's movie stars). It may be a special kind of art work (DeBeers' high art paintings, Wyeth's historical series, Cannon's pop-eyed gull).

Such ideas generally depend for their effectiveness upon their disunction (degree of



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unusualness) and their manner of use. Their creation is an important part of the copywriter's function. You can't write copy until you have *some kind* of idea, even though it be only a conventional one. You can't write a headline or picture captions until you know what parts of your sales idea the other elements of your advertisement will tell.

So, in preparing yourself for a copy job, study ideas. Learn to distinguish between basic sales ideas and vehicular advertising ideas.<sup>6</sup>

### ***The format or kind of advertisement***

When an advertising man has studied the needs of representative consumers, decided upon the central theme or appeal appropriate to the campaign, and chosen the vehicular idea, he begins to visualize specific advertisements. He decides whether he shall use as the format a comic strip, picture-and-caption, humor panel, poster, or other variety of advertisement. The most commonly used formats or kinds of advertisements used in magazines are the following.

1. *Conventional*. The illustration is a dominant part of the layout, copy is directly under the illustration, and the headline is usually placed directly under the illustration, above the copy.

2. *Picture-and-caption* (*news photograph and caption*). A format that duplicates the newspaper picture pages that have large pictures with explanatory captions, the caption usually being placed beneath the picture. In the conventional layout, the picture occupies about one half (or less) of the area of the advertisement. In the picture-and-caption advertisement, the illustration occupies most of the area of the whole advertisement.

3. *Editorial*. The text is dominant; pictures, if any, are of minor importance; artistic quality of the layout is incidental,

because the aim is the attainment of a readable page or advertisement.

4. *Eccentric*. Design dominates the format, as exemplified in some of the futuristic and abstract forms of art.

5. *Comic strip*. Duplicates the newspaper comic strip, pictures are in cartoon style, copy usually in balloons leading from the mouth of the speaker, each picture is a part of a series of related pictures, and text and pictures tell a story by means of fictitious characters and a simple plot.

6. *Humor panel*. Main illustration pictures a humorous situation, humor is usually exaggerated; the selling argument is obviously farfetched and likely to entertain rather than convince the reader.

7. *Oddities*. Repeats the Ripley oddities technique.

8. *Newspaper columnist*. Like the oddities technique, the newspaper columnist technique, such as that used for Aunt Het-Poor Pa, is duplicated for advertising purposes.

Obviously, the format of any given advertisement may be in typical or mixed form, but one of the more common forms is likely to be discernible in the plan of the advertisement.

Researchers in advertising are constantly analyzing the effects on readership of all the objective factors, such as the size of the advertisement and the format. When, for example, Alfred B. Stanford,<sup>7</sup> Bureau of Advertising, A.N.P.A., analyzed female readership figures reported by "The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading," size was not found to be the sole factor in determining readership. When formats or so-called "techniques" were analyzed, more definite clues for attracting reader attention began to appear. See Table 75.

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The statistical analysis of 2,211 national advertisements in newspapers made by the Copy Research Department of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., indicated that advertisements which follow the same layout treatment as the best-read features of the editorial part of the newspaper almost always get extra readers per dollar for the advertiser. The number of readers stopped per dollar varied as follows:

<i>Layout Treatment</i>	<i>Readers per Dollar</i>
Comic strip	778
Humor panel	751
News photos and captions	251
Average of all 2,211 ads	176

When used in the drug classification, the oddities type of advertisement was three times more effective than the other advertisements. In the grocery field the newspaper-columnist type of advertisement won four to five times as many readers per dollar as the average grocery product advertisement

TABLE 75\*

PERFORMANCE OF ALL TECHNIQUES OR FORMATS

	<i>Index Number</i>
Humor panels, 1 column	459
Aunt Het-Poor Pa	393
Comic strips	272
News photos	177
Dominant photo	121
All-type	98
Dominant art	73
Incidental photo or art	61
Sports cartoon	53
Continuity panels	49
Average performance, 902 ads = 100	

\* Alfred B. Stanford, "What Makes Newspaper Ads Pull?," *Advertising and Selling*, September 1946, p. 41

When Harold J. Rudolph made a statistical analysis of the Daniel Starch readership figures for 2,500 half- and full-page

advertisements in *The Saturday Evening Post*, he found that the "comic strip" format on the average did not get quite as much attention as conventional advertisements, but was especially effective in getting thorough readership:

This is to be expected because of the inability of "strip" ads to make use of those elements of high impact value such as large illustrations and generous use of white space.

But second, this survey clearly indicates that "comic-strip" advertisements possess a significant advantage over conventional advertisements in thorough readership. *On the average, "comic-strip" advertisements are read thoroughly by almost twice as many people as conventional advertisements*, and the "comic-strip" ads are actually twice as good for thorough readership as they are for partial readership. The "comic-strip" format, therefore, may be looked upon not as a device for getting attention but as a means of stepping up the thorough reading of the advertiser's message.<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes a change in layout technique will activate an advertisement that has elements proved right by tests but lethargic in effect. Walter H. Weintz, copy director of VanSant, Dugdale & Company, reported an example:

I recently tried to revise a mail-order advertisement that did not pull satisfactorily. The ad had a good, tested headline and body copy with illustrations that had been successful sales makers in other ads for the same client. But this ad flopped.

I knew the headline, copy, and illustrations were all effective. But they were put together in a very conventional manner—headline at top, a solid block of body copy, illustrations at one side, coupon at the bottom. In terms of layout and typography, it was *just another ad*.

Accordingly we did the ad over, consciously making use of a simple readership-getting device: breaking up the bulk of the body copy into short captions which were placed under the illustrations. This device

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changed the ad from one composed of a block of copy with incidental illustrations to one made up of a number of illustrations with explanatory copy. Let me emphasize that headline, copy, and illustrations remained the same—only the manner of presenting them was changed, and in a way intended to increase readership. In its new format the ad proved successful.<sup>9</sup>

### *The illustration*

In most cases, the noteworthy part of the advertisement is the illustration. Most people are pictorially minded. Picture shows are far more attractive than lectures. Pictures were our first written language. They attract and hold attention more readily than cold words. One of the most common problems of the advertiser

who uses an illustration is its relevancy to the product advertised. A picture of a beautiful woman on a calendar attracts attention to the calendar, but it may not attract attention to the product.

Mark Wiseman studied many readership reports, covering thousands of advertisements, and listed the kinds of pictures most interesting to men and to women. At the head of the list for men was "men" and at the head of the list for women was "women." A part of his explanation follows.

The reason is not that each sex is not interested in pictures of the other but that the sex of the sole or dominant figure in a picture is a symbolic selector—a signal to the

TABLE 76<sup>1</sup>

READER INTEREST IN NEWS PICTURES  
Percentage Looking at Photographs by Classification

<i>Type of Picture</i>	<i>Number of Pictures</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
		MEDIAN PER CENT	MEDIAN PER CENT
Human interest	109	67	70
Crime—local and national	45	66	70
Accidents and disasters	35	64	68
Science and oddities	38	61	66
Sports	270	56	18
National politics	43	55	52
International and national general news	198	53	54
Beauty queens and glamour girls	43	53	60
Local civic and political groups	74	46	54
Children and babies	47	46	69
Local general news	373	45	53
Obituaries	37	36	47
Theater, movie, radio celebrities	160	31	49
Weddings and engagements	142	28	70
Women's society and club news	126	26	67
Fashions	50	13	64
Food and table decorations	51	7	54

\* *The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading, 100-Study Summary, 1946*, an Advertising Research Foundation report. The Advertising Research Foundation is sponsored jointly by the American Association of National Advertisers. These studies are made in cooperation with the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

The *100-Study Summary* disclosed the readership of advertising and editorial content of daily newspapers during prewar, wartime, and postwar eras. National defense and foreign war news pictures had highest median scores among men, while servicemen's news photographs tied for eighth-place attention among men. Data for these three groups of pictures have been dropped from the original table because of the time factor.

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reader that the advertisement is directed to one sex and not the other. Men are rarely interested in an advertisement which they think is meant for women, and vice versa, although a larger proportion of women will observe and read a man's advertisement than the other way around. If you use the wrong sex in a picture, you risk missing or misleading your audience.

In a women's advertisement don't use pictures of combat or adventure, don't use diagrams unless they are very simple and easy to understand, don't use sports scenes unless the chief figure is a woman, don't use mechanical equipment unless you show it in use by a woman or in relation to a woman's job, don't use animals which women might fear or dislike.

The kinds of pictures most interesting to women are those containing domestic scenes, foods in full color, babies or small children, women's apparel, decorative details (room furniture, floor coverings, table settings, boudoir accessories). If you use a picture of a woman, give her an interesting coiffure, one or more pieces of jewelry, an unusual dress, and a background—women love details. Be sparing of cartoons—if you use them, be sure they are easy to "get" and do not ridicule women. If you use before-and-after pictures (before using and after using), make them credible—don't let them arouse suspicion that they are faked or doctored.<sup>10</sup>

Data concerning interests in pictures fluctuates from year to year, depending upon the topics of current interest to the public. In wartime, for example, pictures of pretty girls are of less interest than army and aviation subjects. Human interest and crime pictures get high attention at all times and from both sexes. See Table 76.

Harold J. Rudolph's statistical analysis of readership figures for 2,500 half- and full-page advertisements in *The Saturday Evening Post* indicated that the most effective type of picture for attention value is the one that depicts what might happen to the reader if he fails to use the

advertiser's product. This type of picture gives considerable emphasis to the reader's problems, and problem-solution advertisements tend to have high attention value.<sup>11</sup> Experimental investigation has indicated that an effective way to depict the reader's situation is to emphasize his need or want.

In Rudolph's study (see Table 77), he found that the second most effective type of picture for stopping power is the testimonial or statement of an actual user. People like to see pictures of other people whom they know, even though the acquaintance is through the moving pic-

TABLE 77<sup>b</sup>

<i>Type of Picture</i>	<i>Index of Attention</i>	<i>Per Cent Loss of Readers</i>
Result of use	96.9	20.0
Product	101.7	22.3
Irrelevant	102.8	11.1
Product in use	106.4	21.3
Testimonial	110.0	11.9
Result of nonuse	122.7	11.4

In studying these data, it is of interest first of all to observe that the type of illustration affects the performance of an advertisement in two ways, namely, in attention and in readership of the copy. Moreover, a picture that is a good stopper may not necessarily be effective in inducing readership of the copy.

In some respects the figures showing the relative loss of readers resulting from various types of pictures are especially significant. These figures show that the greatest loss of readers occurs in the case of an illustration of the product or package and of the product in use. The irrelevant illustration, on the other hand, has the lowest reader loss of any type of illustration shown. This is evidence of the power of irrelevant illustrations to rouse curiosity and carry a high proportion of the audience into the copy. Both the testimonial and the negative type of illustration also show low reader loss, which in turn indicates a high degree of interest in the picture.

<sup>b</sup> Harold J. Rudolph, *Attention and Interest Factors in Advertising*, Printers' Ink Business Bookshelf, Funk and Wagnalls Company in association with Printers' Ink Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1947, pp. 68 ff.

ture, television, or radio. For example, experiments on the stopping power of various types of window displays indicated that having pictures of well-known radio personalities increased considerably the stopping power of the displays.

People enjoy both the real and the ideal. Readers of advertisements prefer to see a product in pleasant surroundings, appropriate to the theme of the advertisement. Generally, people like to imagine themselves in ideal rather than realistic situations. In a study of readers' habits in reading women's magazines, it was found that women preferred to read two kinds of magazine articles—those that dealt with specific household tasks in terms of "how to do it" and those that presented colorful idealistic home settings, the more highly imaginative the better for reader interest.

Of course the type of art work and subject used in an illustration is greatly influenced by the product advertised and the purpose of the advertisement. A product such as linoleum or a carpet requires illustrations that are attractive and in color.

#### ***Color in the advertisement***

Colors are used in advertising to such an extent that the layman does not appreciate the painstaking thoughts that have been applied by the artists. The easiest way to catch the reader's attention by color is to use very bright colors. The advertisement that is just one mass of bright red colors is certain to attract our attention, but it may not hold it. Splashing on brilliant colors has been discarded by most advertisers for the more interesting effects of esthetic colors.

*Contrast* is closely allied to color brightness. Black on white is one of the

oldest combinations of contrasting colors in advertising. Other combinations are used, such as blue on yellow, red on green, and so on. An attempt is made, not to combine the colors into a pleasing effect, but rather to select colors that clash with one another. When all the parts of a picture, a setting, or a situation are harmoniously arranged, no part tends to attract attention over the other parts. By having one part shifted out of the unity of the whole, that part is at once noticeable. So, in contrast, the aim is to attract attention by the sharpness of the differences rather than by a pleasant blending of colors.

The opposite of contrast is obtained by arranging pleasing colors so that an effective blend results. This is the aim of every artist who wants to paint a beautiful picture. He wishes to have the colors blend into a unified whole that expresses an idea. He does not use one color merely to attract attention to itself by its brightness, nor are colors chosen to clash with others just for the sake of attracting attention. Rather, all the colors and other factors are combined into an integrated whole. The use of colors for brightness or contrast values, as such, are mechanical devices that attract but do not hold attention. Beauty of color holds our attention. Some of our present-day advertisements are sufficiently beautiful to merit hanging in our art galleries. One reason why few advertisements have pleasing combinations of color is the added expense of printing the extra four or more colors that are necessary to obtain truly esthetic effects.

In recent years, colors have been used to an increasing extent because new mechanical methods to reproduce them economically have been invented. Their use

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is especially important in products which are purchased often because of their physical attractiveness, such as floor coverings and foods. In general, color is more stimulating to women readers than to men, as stated by one man who has supervised thousands of magazine readership surveys:

Color is one of the accessories that may be used to gain a larger proportion of the potential woman audience. It has a far greater effect on women than on men, and usually the brighter and more garish the color the greater the likelihood of an added woman observation.<sup>12</sup>

The use of color in magazine advertising increases the cost of the advertisement. A two-color advertisement costs about 17 per cent more and a four-color about 44 per cent more than a black-and-white advertisement. When the effects of color are measured on the basis of attention or stopping power, the use of two colors does not on the average increase attention appreciably. The use of four colors, however, does pay the advertiser a bonus in attention value over and above its extra cost.<sup>13</sup>

Daniel Starch has made extensive studies of the effects of color on readership. One of his reports on an analysis of the effects of 15,028 advertisements revealed the following data:

Specifically, for every 100 persons attracted by a dollar spent in a black-and-white advertisement, there were 106 persons attracted by a dollar spent for a four-color advertisement and 100 persons for a two-color advertisement.

The four-color fractional page appears to be a particularly good value, while the two-color fractional page was practically equal in effectiveness with the black-and-white page.

The four-color fractional page was relatively also more effective than was the two-color full page.

Averages computed from visibility results on a per-person basis for each of these 15,028 advertisements were translated into persons reached per dollar spent. These data were then converted into index numbers. All sizes of space from one-half page to one page were included in the findings. All data were properly weighted in accordance with the number of advertisements in the particular classification.

Other data released by the Starch organization showed that for identical advertisements run in black and white and in full color, the results were:

Among men the visibility of the black-and-white page was 30.9 per cent; the four-color page 46.4 per cent.

Among women the visibility of the black-and-white page was 31.1 per cent, the four-color page 52.1 per cent.

Among both men and women a black-and-white page had an average visibility of 30.7 per cent, a four-color page 50.5 per cent.

Perhaps the 53 per cent advantage of ten years ago has been shaved somewhat. But the picture is still bright. In the '20s, *The Saturday Evening Post* ran about 28 per cent pages in color—today the figure is approximately 64 per cent. In Sears Roebuck catalogues, the number of colored pages has consistently grown—from 94 in 1914 to 246 in 1941.<sup>14</sup>

When Harold J. Rudolph made a statistical analysis of the Daniel Starch readership figures for 2,500 half- and full page advertisements in *The Saturday Evening Post*, he stated some of his findings in regard to color as follows:

On the average, two-color advertisements cost about 17% more than black-and-white, while four-color advertisements are approximately 44% more expensive. The substantial added expense of color emphasizes the importance of considering cost when studying the relative effectiveness of black-and-white and color advertisements.

In investigating the effectiveness of color based upon recognition statistics, the per

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cent of magazine readers who reported seeing an advertisement was accepted as a measure of the attention value of that advertisement. The comparison, then, was between black-and-white, two-color and four-color advertisements of exactly the same size, and featuring the same product or service.

Examination of the data reveals that advertisements in two colors show very little (0.9%) more attention than black-and-white. Four-color advertisements, on the other hand, show a 54% greater average attention value than comparable black-and-white pages. Considering that a four-color full-page advertisement costs about 44% more than one in black-and-white, it can be concluded that four-color provides a net advantage in attention value equal to approximately 7%. ( $154.144 = 100$ )

Briefly stated, the evidence in the present survey indicates that two-color, on the average, does not produce sufficient added attention to justify its cost, whereas four-color provides a definite bonus in attention value over and above its extra cost.<sup>15</sup>

Color is of more value in advertising products such as foods and floor coverings than for such products as machinery. Its value also depends upon how it is used. The adaptation of color to an advertisement increases or decreases the readership, depending upon the way the art director and artist use color in the illustration. When a Shell gasoline advertisement contained a predominantly green color, the Shell advertisement was mistaken by many readers for a Quaker State advertisement. Shell had used yellow in its gas stations and advertising, whereas Quaker State had used green in its advertising and displays. Color may even become a detriment when the tie-up is inconsistent with the advertiser's previous advertising colors.<sup>16</sup> Color is especially useful in depicting trade-marks.

Color is not a certain answer to any

advertiser's needs. It must be used with discretion, but it can aid in accomplishing the following objectives: (1) increase realism through a more natural portrayal of a product, (2) increase a desired psychological effect, as by the use of red to give warmth, (3) create distinction, and (4) promote beauty. In conjunction with these advantages certain extra costs must be considered, as the higher publication rates for color, high cost of color plates, and the extra fees for art work done in colors.

### **Copy**

As previously stated, the dominant factor in successful advertising is not the layout, illustration, color, or size of the advertisement, but the character of the copy itself. The success of an advertisement is determined by the manner in which its central theme or idea identifies the product with some current desire, irritation, problem, or habit on the part of a portion of the buying public. "Stop those runs in stockings," for example, identified Lux soap with current irritations toward runs in stockings.<sup>17</sup>

Copywriting is an art, and, like most arts, its effects depend upon the creative skill of the artist. Furthermore, an art has few invariable rules. However, we can note the findings of some of the most significant researches on copy. One finding from several studies in regard to copy indicates that effective copy is informative.

Charles M. Edwards, Jr., made a seven-year study of the advertising of 72 retail stores. A total of 671 factors, including the kind of advertisement, sales results, weather, media, layout, illustration, headline, price, and copy were considered. The characteristics of successful

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low-cost advertisements were contrasted with unsuccessful high-cost advertisements. Edwards stated his most significant conclusions, in part, as follows

When we summarized the findings in each of our studies, we learned that no technique had always succeeded and no technique had always failed. We did discover conclusively, however, *that certain techniques invariably succeed more often than they fail, while certain other techniques invariably fail more often than they succeed*. For example, we learned that an advertisement's chance for success invariably increases as the number of *pertinent* merchandise facts included in the advertisement increases. The more you tell the more you sell!

One store discovered, for instance, the following relationships between the number of merchandise facts included in its advertisements and the sales results of the advertisements

Of all the store's advertisements that included

4 or more merchandise facts, 44.2% succeeded

5 or more merchandise facts, 49.6% succeeded.

6 or more merchandise facts, 57.7% succeeded

7 or more merchandise facts, 60.0% succeeded

8 or more merchandise facts, 66.7% succeeded

The necessity of including all the pertinent merchandise facts does not mean, of course, that the mere cramming of all conceivable facts into an advertisement assures the success of the ad. It does mean that an imperative condition for the fullest success of an ad is the inclusion of all the essential merchandise facts—facts that the customer needs or wishes to know about a particular article before she can or will buy it. Actually the *character* of the facts included is more important than the *number* of facts. Whenever a store omits from its advertisements any essential merchandise facts, it instantly reduces sales response.

### *Per Cent of Ads That Failed*

Facts about appearance omitted (designs, colors, etc.)	60.1
Facts about composition omitted (materials, parts or pieces, etc.)	58.0
Facts about construction omitted (construction, workmanship, etc.)	56.5
Facts about serviceability omitted (uses, benefits of use, etc.)	56.1

Not only must an advertisement contain all the essential facts, it must also present the facts in a definite sequence. It must draw readers through the selling message from the point that interests them (the advantages that they may realize through the use of the merchandise) to the point that interests the store (the completion of the sale). It seems a little incongruous to urge customers to buy the merchandise before telling them the satisfactions that they will derive from possession of the merchandise.

After the advertiser has conveyed his selling message to the customer in an interesting and organized manner, he must not sign off until he has urged or invited the customer, directly or indirectly, to take some specified buying action. The evidence proves conclusively that he can increase sales results appreciably by incorporating into his advertisement one or more of a score of devices for prompting immediate buying action. This conclusion is borne out by the typical findings in a large Eastern store. In this store our analyses disclosed that 65.2 per cent of all the ads that included a direct or an indirect urge to action were successful while only 34.8 per cent were unsuccessful.

As you might expect, our summaries indicate that many factors affect the productivity of an advertisement. We found, however, through our analyses in stores of all types and sizes, that in the advertising of every organization a relatively few factors stand out head and shoulders above all the rest. In each store a few factors are so basically important that their use invariably exerts a marked influence on sales results. Accordingly, for each organization we have aided in developing a check list of the objective elements that are essential to that store's adver-



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tising Although a few of the minor elements vary slightly from store to store, several of the major elements are so universally important that they inevitably recur in all stores' check lists. Accordingly, we have been able to compile a composite check list of the elements that are applicable in all stores.<sup>18</sup>

Daniel Starch found evidence about the importance of copy being informative when he analyzed 583 advertisements from 16 issues from the *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1945 to April 1946. He classified the advertisements into the six groups shown in Table 78.

that proper mingling of information and reader interest would not be a more pertinent sales combination than reliance chiefly on reader interest.

It is not easy to understand why copy writers often lean so heavily upon hokum in their writing when they can as easily include useful information. This is something of an overstatement, of course, because it is not entirely an effortless matter to include useful information. The latter may require making a study of the characteristics of the product, learning how it is grown or fabricated, and some inquiry into how the product is used by customers or how it might better be used. So perhaps there is merely laziness on the

TABLE 78\*

INFORMATION AND READER INTEREST IN RELATION TO SALES POWER OF 583 ADVERTISEMENTS

<i>Groups</i>	<i>Number of Ads</i>	<i>Buyers per Dollar</i>	<i>Sales Performance Index</i>
1. Above average in both information and reader interest	113	5 80	163
2. Above average in information but average in reader interest	203	4 92	138
3. Above average in information but below average in reader interest	35	3 38	95
4. Average for all advertisements	583	3 56	100
5. Below average in information but above average in reader interest	30	3 83	107
6. Below average in information but average in reader interest	119	2 83	79
7. Below average in both information and reader interest	34	2 00	56

\* Daniel Starch, "Informative Ads Out Sell Others by 3 to 1," *Advertising and Selling*, December 1946. See also *The Journal of Marketing*, April 1947, p. 409.

and found the number of buyers per dollar of advertising cost as shown in the Starch Buyometer reports. The tabulation showed that advertisements which were above average in both information and reader interest (Group 1) had three times as great sales power as advertisements that were below average in both informative and reader interest (Group 7).

In the case of some products, such as cosmetics or cigarettes, among which differences between brands are subtle or difficult to state in factual terms, copy technicians rely chiefly on reader interest. High reader interest may go a long way to offset absence of information. However, it does not follow

part of copy writers who eschew information for words, who bridge lapses in their knowledge with nicely turned phrases.

Perhaps they are not lazy but believe that it is better to be smart than soberly helpful. This point of view is hard for many of us to understand, but it is common enough, and it is a point of view that does more harm to the advertising business than any other single factor. It tends to emphasize superficiality, when information and the sound use of it are of paramount importance.<sup>19</sup>

In another study, Starch analyzed the copy treatment of the 50 least-read and 50 most-read advertisements.

After fifteen years of measuring the readership of magazine advertisements, during which period some 2 million interviews were

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conducted, I have concluded that the observation of advertising by magazine readers during these years increased 18 per cent and thorough readership of advertisements has increased 24 per cent. By "thorough readership" I mean the reading of half or more of the text matter of an advertisement.

The possible explanation for these increases is that during this period advertising technicians have learned how to prepare better, more readable advertisements. Individual advertising agencies with whom I have had business contact over these years tell me that by paying particular attention to developing readership for their advertisements, they have increased it for some of their clients by as much as 100 to 150 per cent.

In order to examine the principles which are used to produce more readable advertisements, I selected 100 advertisements from our readership records. Fifty of them had been read most thoroughly by the largest number of people.

The most-read advertisements had been read by as many as 30 to 35 per cent of the persons interviewed. This is a very high percentage, since these advertisements contained as many as 400 to 500 words and some more than 1,000. Which is a good deal to read when it is considered that the average one-page magazine advertisement contains approximately 250 words. The high percentage of readership is also remarkable in view of the fact that the average one-page four-colored advertisement receives thorough readership by 7 per cent of persons interviewed.

At the other extreme, the 50 least-read advertisements had been read half or more each by only 1 to 2 per cent of the persons questioned.

An analysis of these 100 advertisements from the standpoint of copy treatment revealed that they fell into five general groups. Based upon copy approach, the subjects begin

1 *People* In these advertisements people were the center of the illustration and text matter. Usually these persons were doing something or saying something. They were

of three different types. There were living persons, often well-known, such as Gary Cooper and Henry Ford. There were fictitious persons such as Little Lulu and Charlie McCarthy. Then there were persons with or without names but representing types, such as a father and son or a family group.

2 *"How to" do things* These advertisements told readers how to lay out a modern kitchen, launder silks, use tape, prepare certain recipes, or do other useful things.

3 *Striking events, facts, or statements* Examples are "More Thousands Will Go to Rio by Clipper" and "4,300,000 Jobs to Do Today."

4 *Broad, general assertions* Examples are "Tavern Wax for Longer Lasting Lustre" and "Ozite Makes Rugs Look Lovelier, More Cheerful."

5 *Product* These advertisements made no use of persons or their actions. Examples are advertisements that merely show a picture of the package or product, such as a cake of Fels Naptha soap in the wrapper with a headline "The Inside Story" or a large picture of a Van Heusen shirt and collar with a headline "Choose a Name You Can Trust."

Classifying these 100 advertisements in this manner, I derived the following results:

<i>Type of Copy Treatment</i>	<i>50 Read Most</i>	<i>50 Read Least</i>
	<i>Most</i>	<i>Least</i>
Advertisements about people	29	10
"How to" advertisements	15	2
Striking events, facts, or statements	6	2
Broad, general assertions	0	4
Advertisements about product as such	0	32

Of the 50 advertisements read most, 58 per cent were about people in action, whereas among the advertisements least read, only 20 per cent were about people and in several of these cases the people were not in action. In this successful group none dealt merely with the product as such, without the use of people in action, whereas among the 50 least read, two-thirds were of this variety.

In other words, the two groups of advertisements were exactly reversed in respect to their use of people in action and their dealing with the inert product as such.<sup>20</sup>

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### **Words and titles**

Words are the "working tools" of the advertiser. The choice of words and their use determines the effect upon hearer or reader. Words are the vehicles of ideas, and any idea that we may have can be expressed in words if we but wish to express it.

E. Haldeman-Julius, in his book *The First Hundred Million*, tells how he sold that number of books at a nickel each. He has had a rich experience in the use

first listed as "Poetry" and then as "Evolution." When it was listed as "Humor," the sales jumped to 21,000. Also, certain titles sold better in different magazines. The results for one year from several magazines of different types gave the following percentages of orders for books that related to sex: *Liberty*, 71; *Smart Set*, 70; *Graphic*, 62; *Nation*, 61; *Time*, 54; *Pathfinder*, 27. He found that the strongest appeals were (1) sex, (2) self-education and improvement, (3) free-thought or skepticism, (4) (a poor fourth

TABLE 79

<i>Old Title</i>	<i>Yearly Sales</i>	<i>New Title</i>	<i>Yearly Sales</i>
Fleece of Gold	6,000	Quest for a Blonde Mistress	50,000
The Mystery of the Iron Mask	11,000	The Mystery of the Man in the Iron Mask	30,000
The King Enjoys Himself	8,000	The Lustful King Enjoys Himself	38,000
None Beneath the King	6,000	None Beneath the King Shall Enjoy This Woman	34,000
Ten O'clock	2,000	What Art Should Mean to You	9,000
Pen, Pencil, and Poison	5,000	The Story of a Notorious Criminal	15,800
"Patent Medicine" and the Public Health	3,000	The Truth about "Patent Medicine"	10,000
Addison and His Times	0	London Life in Addison's Time	7,000
Art of Controversy	0	How to Argue Logically	30,000
Life of Tolstoy	2,500	Life of Tolstoy Russian Novelist	6,500
Essay on Shelley	2,000	Shelley Idealistic Dreamer	8,000
Casanova and His Loves	8,000	Casanova History's Greatest Lover	22,000
Poems of Evolution	2,000	When You Were a Tadpole and I Was a Fish	7,000

of words, and he gives some interesting examples of how changes in words or phrases, and new ideas, have increased the sale of certain titles among his "Little Blue Books." When a book did not sell well, it was sent to a department known as the "hospital" where the title was studied to determine what it lacked in appeal. Some examples of how the changes in title affected the sales are given by Mr. Haldeman-Julius.<sup>21</sup>

He also found that when certain titles were put under new classifications the sales increased or decreased. "When You Were a Tadpole and I Was a Fish" was

on the list) entertainment, fun, and laughter. Words which were especially successful in titles were "true love," "how to," and "facts that you should know." In the advertising that was used to sell the "Little Blue Books" not one book was favored over another, but each received the same amount of space—one agate line in each advertisement.

### **Headlines**

Headlines of advertisements have been studied, and in some cases the headline seems to be a major influence in response to the advertisement. An unusual

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example occurred with a life insurance company full-page advertisement. A simple switch in headline only from what sounds like a good headline, "Beware of Spiders," to another that appears to be less effective, "Want to Get Ahead?" increased the reader response 4,500 per cent.

Sometimes the use of uncommon words increases reader response to a surprising extent. Examples are "Life's a PUSH-OVER when you feel like THIS" and "Why some foods EXPLODE in the

dorf-Astoria," may produce better results than "How tall is a famous hotel?"

A good headline is selective. The effective headline picks from the millions of readers who see it those few prospects interested in the advertiser's proposition. Most advertisers do not aim to have everyone read their advertising, rather, they want their advertising to be attractive to the logical prospects for their proposition.

William T. Laing<sup>23</sup> has explained how a distributor of washing machines, for example, decided whether he could sell a distress lot of washing machines by conducting copy tests in newspapers of several cities. Past experience in selling on the part of the distributor indicated that if he could obtain inquiries at a cost of \$2.50 each from the newspaper advertisements, he could sell the machines at a profit. He knew that he could spend \$25 to sell the average machine, and he could count on selling 10 of every 100 inquirers; hence, \$2.50 was all he could afford to pay for securing inquiries through advertising. Before deciding to buy the machines, the distributor tested various themes and obtained the results summarized in Table 81.

***Illusion in advertising is legitimate; delusion is wrong***

Within certain limits, human beings dislike humdrum or repetitive acts and ideas. We like to see ourselves in certain situations which lift us out of our actual condition. The movie-goer enjoys the movies because he can project himself into a new world. We attend the theater, not to see life as it is, but to see it in a romantic situation. We read fiction, not because fiction is written in the same English and style that we use in our

TABLE 80\*

	AMOUNT OF MONEY PRODUCED BY	
	A <i>This is what doctors do when they don't feel up to par</i>	B <i>When doctors "feel rotten?" this is what they do</i>
<i>Medium</i>		
<i>Time</i>	\$3,032	\$5,108
<i>The New York Times</i>	3,060	4,348
<i>Elks Magazine</i>	860	1,514

\* Victor O. Schwab, "Headline Stoppers," *Printers' Ink*, October 27, 1939.

stomach." One advertising expert experimented with headlines for a health proposition, using headlines A and B. He used the same amount of space and copy in the same media, with the results shown in Table 80.

Headlines are often classified into three general kinds, as aptly stated by "Aesop Glim":<sup>22</sup>

1. *Label* which states the product. For example, "On the subject of pickles."

2. *Message* which gives information. For example, "Pickles are good for you."

3. *Provocation*, which challenges, arrests, or provokes further reading. For example, "How the pickle got its warts."

Provocative headlines are considered most effective usually. However, a simple label or message headline, "There is only one Wal-

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daily conversation, but because it is distinctly different. Very few of our best-sellers or stories in literature have been written in realistic or conventional style, or have painted life as it is lived from day to day. Romance is just as essential in advertising as in the play or the novel. It is the writer's conviction that modern advertising has used some puffery, but that readers prefer advertising that has the spirit of romance, newness, and exaggerated beauty, even though it is not strictly factual.

Finally, the manufacturer and distributor of merchandise should appreci-

ate the clear-cut distinction between objects as objects and the use of the objects as a means to satisfy some craving or desire. Food is not desired as an object. It is wanted as a means to the pleasant experience of eating. This statement may seem trite, but it emphasizes that we should think in terms of human tendencies or wants and not in terms of machines, cloth, or combinations of metal and wood. The advertiser has the privilege of painting his product in attractive colors. Interest in life is enhanced through the use of products which we have learned to admire.

TABLE 81

RESULTS OF TESTING A SERIES OF ADVERTISEMENTS

<i>Appeal</i>	<i>Inquiry Cost of Appeal on Test</i>	<i>Inquiry Cost of Appeal in Final Campaign</i>
Less-work theme		
A A New Easy Way to End Washday Toil	\$1 00	\$0 68
B Tired? Worn out by Rubbing and Scrubbing?	0 65	0 87
G Good News for Washday Toilers!	1 43	1 40
D The Secret of Easy Washdays!	0 95	0.73
Beauty theme		
E Say "Goodbye" to Red Swollen Hands!	0 89	1 43
L Just Imagine Once She Was a Beautiful Woman!	4 28	
M Soon She'll Look Like an Old Wash Woman!	10 30	
K Don't Let Washday Rob You of Your Youth!	3 78	
Health theme		
H A Wash Tub Never Brought a Woman Health!	4 97	
Band-wagon theme		
C New Kind of Washer Wins Women by the Thousands	0 86	1 24
I Going Like Wildfire! Don't Take Chances on Washers!	1 97	
Admonitory Appeal		
J The Truth about Washing Machines!	1 97	
F Amazing New Discovery Revolutionizes Washing!	1 22	
N No Other Washer Can Give You These 5 Exclusive Features!	2 96	

*Note.* A to G passed the tests, H to N were discarded, "Inquiry Cost of Appeal in Final Campaign" figures represent actual magazine insertions and results. All findings checked by coupon response.

## PROJECTS

1. *Match your judgment of popular appeals against their recorded pulling power.* True Story conducted an editorial department entitled "Home Problems Forum." The editors described the forum as follows:<sup>24</sup>

Each month a controversial problem involving certain basic human emotions and viewpoints is presented. Every one of these problems stems from actual experience, since they are written from real life by *True Story's* own readers. This is con-

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sistent with *True Story's* editorial policy. For the best solution from a reader, a series of prizes is offered. These prizes are kept modest (\$15, \$10, \$5) deliberately so that response may be credited to the problem rather than to the cash!

Some problems bring letters by the thousands—others by the thin hundreds.

The editors admitted that eighteen years of experience in picking the ideas for the forum and predicting response from readers has made the editors loath to offer many dogmatic generalizations. However, two sets of the problems are given below. Rank each of the six problems of Group I and of Group II according to your estimate of its relative pulling power, marking the best as 1, second-best as 2, and so on. After you have made your rankings, turn to the appendix, page 687, for the correct answers.

### GROUP I

—A— *Extravagant Husband* Bob, anxious to maintain a big front, is living on credit and getting himself more and more in debt. His wife, Helen, led to believe that he was wealthy, now wants him to return things, move into a small house and live within his income, as she expects a baby, and would like to make a new start free from debt. Bob says he must splurge in order to help his business. Whose viewpoint do you favor?

—B— *Should They Have Children?* Due to their present economic situation, Sarah wants to postpone having a child, while her husband Ken sees no reason for waiting. He feels that things will come out all right in the end in spite of the added expense. They love each other but the difference of opinion has almost caused them to part. What would you suggest to this couple—should they have a child now as Ken wishes?

—C— *Step-Mother Can't Manage Boy.* Warren has a son, age 7, by a previous marriage when he marries Gertrude. The boy's mother died when he was two, and until this second marriage he had really had no care at all. Gertrude has been patient and tolerant but the child

is mean, impudent and steals from her purse. Gertrude wants to send him to his grandmother who loves him. Warren says he must stay with them—he insists that the boy is her responsibility. What do you think?

—D— *Should He Adopt Wife's Child?* Harvey was shocked to learn that his wife Sue had had an illegitimate child prior to their marriage. They have two children of their own. Sue wants to adopt the boy. Harvey wants him sent to an orphanage. Fears he may be a bad influence on his own children—furthermore, he says he could not stand the sight of him. What's your opinion?

—E— *Is Work or College Best?* George has been brought up by his parents, with the expectation that he would go to college. Now his father feels he ought to go to work. His father is willing to support him for two years while he is looking for a job—but thinks college unnecessary. His mother feels it a crime to deprive the boy of his education, in view of the fact that he is a fine student and has won a scholarship. With which parent do you agree?

—F— *Sulking Husband.* Before their marriage Helen and Marvin were friends as well as sweethearts. Shortly after, Marvin begins to show traits she never thought he had. At any disagreement he sulks. Will not eat at home for days, or try to come to some agreement. Helen is desperate because of the unhappiness in her home. Marvin says he needs solitude when hurt. Sees no reason why Helen should be distressed but that she should be made to realize the fact when she hurts him. What do you think?

### GROUP II

—A— *When Should Insurance Be Cashed?* Joe and Helen find it difficult to meet the premiums of their insurance policy. Now Joe wants to cash in on the policy and invest in some business. He has no definite plans but feels sure he can find something which will bring them more than the insurance. Helen feels that the cash value of the policy is so small

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that Joe could do very little with it. She would rather scrimp and pay the premiums than surrender the policy and in the end, perhaps have nothing. With whom do you agree?

—B.— *Father's Attitude to Step-Child.* Mary and Roger are married and have three children. Roger was very fond of Timmy, Mary's child by a former marriage, until his own two children were born. Now he is cold and harsh toward Timmy but kind and affectionate to his own two children. Mary is hurt by the change. Roger says it is natural for a man to love his own children most. How would you settle this problem?

—C.— *The Unemotional Husband.* Gertrude and Joe have been married 10 years and Gertrude realizes that they are ill-mated even though Joe has made money. Though they love each other, she is the type that requires visible affection. Joe is an unemotional type who dislikes to be fussed over and says money is the best affection any woman can have. Are two such people wise to marry? Is Joe right?

—D.— *What Should We Tell Our Children?* Elsie and Stan are the parents of an unusually bright boy of 8. They do not agree on his upbringing. Stan thinks he should be conversant with the details of marital and sex life. Elsie objects. She thinks his attitude can only make the boy sex-conscious at an age when he cannot understand its meaning. She believes this will result in a perverted mental attitude toward life. How do you feel about this problem?

—E.— *The Dependent In-Laws.* Jack and Ruth are farmers—they have little money but plenty of food and a home. Ruth's sister, her husband and children are in dire straits. Ruth wants them to live on the farm. Jack would rather supply them with food and a little money, but not under his roof. He will take the children for a while until conditions are better. Whose plan do you think most feasible?

—F.— *Shall Wife Forgive Errant Husband?* Helen goes home to her par-

ents, who live in a town where there is a good hospital, to have her baby. Later she discovers that her husband, George, has had an affair with another woman while she was away. Unable to stand her husband, she takes baby away to her sister's home where the child dies. She is too dazed to resist George when he comes to take her home, but feels there can be no happiness for them now. George says he loves her and wants another chance. What do you think?

- 2 One of the country's most successful teachers of dancing says that he does not sell people *dance study*. He sells them what dancing will do for them, such as bring them popularity, health, charm, relaxation, or other benefit. A lawyer, for example, who buys the lessons does not "take lessons", he relaxes. Apply this principle to the advertising of a canned food, an automobile, a bank account, or a radio.
- 3 James W. Young has built a business of selling men's ties through the use of split-run tests in *Sunset* magazine. For example, he tried three different headlines: (a) HAND WOVEN by the mountain people of New Mexico, (b) SHABBY HUSBAND made over—by my hand-woven ties, and (c) HUSBANDS LOVE my hand-woven ties (and you). The first outpulled the others by a wide margin. Why?
- 4 A split-run test in *The New York Times Magazine* for the sale of a popular-audience book tried two different appeals in the headline. The headline "How to win friends and influence people" produced twice as many sales as "How to ruin your marriage in the quickest possible way." Why?
- 5 One advertising man claimed that an advertisement is like a pretty girl—the more she only partly reveals her charms, the more interesting she becomes. Study advertisements which have been written to induce readers to ask for more information. Give examples of the copy that has been written for that purpose.
- 6 Study a number of illustrated advertise-

## *advertising that appeals to consumers*

ments and list the qualities shown or implied by the central attractive figure. Check those qualities which seem to be

superficial and those which have more intrinsic worth. Upon which set does the advertisement depend for effectiveness?

### COLLATERAL READINGS

Frey, Albert W., *Advertising* The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1947

Hepner, Harry Walker, *Effective Advertising* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949

Kleppner, Otto, *Advertising Procedure*, 4th ed. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, Chapters 3-6

*Small-space Advertising* Printers' Ink Busi-

ness Bookshelf Funk and Wagnalls Company in association with Printers' Ink Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1948

Wiseman, Mark, *The Anatomy of Advertising* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1942

Wolfe, Charles Hull, *Modern Radio Advertising* Funk and Wagnalls Company in association with Printers' Ink Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1949



## Measuring the effectiveness of advertising

*Successful research in appraising advertising must depend upon a method rather than upon the judgment of an individual expert. Unless his system or method yields the same results in the hands of others, the system is unreliable. This means that anyone who seeks to learn a system of appraisal should choose one that depends upon observable factors, recognizable to anyone, rather than upon the opinions of a clever critic.*

WHEN KENNETH GOODE TAUGHT CLASSES in advertising at Columbia University, he showed the students copies of eleven pairs of advertisements whose effectiveness was known from actual use. Each member of the class decided which advertisement of each pair was the better one. The results were almost a matter of chance. Later, he changed his procedure with some classes by first giving them only two guiding principles for evaluating the effectiveness of advertisements:

"Don't tell people how good you made your goods. Tell them how good your goods make them!"

"If your promise of a direct personal benefit as direct reward for your reader's response comes later than the first subheading of your top title, maybe it will come too late!" . . .

With these two vital fundamentals, that class thereafter not only voted wrong on fewer advertisements, but fewer members voted wrong. Thus advantaged, in fact, in-

stead of following earlier Columbia classes placing correctly any six or seven advertisements out of 11, it got all 11 right but two! <sup>1</sup>

Psychologists and other researchers are seeking better methods of predicting the probable effectiveness of a proposed advertisement. Years ago, they conducted experiments with students as subjects in the laboratories. The results of such experiments had little or no value because laboratory situations did not approximate real life situations.

Most measurement studies of advertising effectiveness are made after the advertisement has been published or broadcast. However, some important research has been done on predicting results before publication.

### *The consumer jury or panel ratings*

To improve his judgment, almost every advertising man shows sketches of

## *measuring the effectiveness of advertising*

proposed advertisements to the consumers whom he meets. However, when representative consumers are systematically interviewed and shown proposed advertisements, more reliable ratings are obtained. Investigators interview and obtain reactions of selected individuals who are typical buyers of the product. Calls are made at the homes or offices of consumers, who are asked which of two or more advertisements they consider most effective in inducing them to buy the product. Sometimes the proposed advertisements contain only certain constituent elements, so that direct comparisons can be made regarding headline, layout, or some other important factor.

Consumers are interviewed and asked to rank two or more advertisements, as in the following example:

We are making an investigation to see what kinds of advertisements people are interested in. Here are six rough sketches of oil-burner advertisements. Which one of them would be most likely to interest YOU? Look through them and put that one on top. Which would be next? Put that one second. Then arrange the others in the order in which they appeal to you so that finally you have the best on top and the poorest at the bottom. Thank you.

Usually, no additional questions such as "why?" need be asked. The only answers that are likely to be useful are those in answer to "which?" "*Which of these two (or more) advertisements do you like the better?*" Lengthy questionnaires may be used in product and market research, but extra questions are more confusing than helpful in consumer-opinion appraisals of proposed advertisements.

Two advertisements at a time may be compared, each pair shown to exactly

the same number of typical prospective customers of the same income classes. Results may be analyzed by social class, size of community, and any other influence that previous consumer studies have revealed as significant. Random samplings are dangerous.

The method may be applied to dealers as well as consumers. Of course, opinions of dealers may differ considerably from those of the consumers of the product.

Many of the consumer-opinion studies have given results remarkably consistent with over-the-counter sales. Results have shown that preliminary advertisements can be ranked correctly as to their later effectiveness.

One of the best studies of the value of the consumer jury test was made under the direction of Neil H. Borden and Osgood S. Lovekin. Seventeen series of advertisements, each series published with a coupon-return provision, were tested for reliability.

The series were submitted to groups ranging from 60 to 120 individuals, the standard of ranking expressed in two questions: (1) "If you were turning the pages of a magazine, which of these advertisements would be most likely to attract your attention?" (2) "Suppose you were going to reply to the offer, which one of these advertisements would be most likely to influence you to do so?" Emphasis in each case was placed on personal, individual answers, not estimates of public effect.

Possibility of chance in a consumer reaction was eliminated by choosing advertisements which showed decided differences in effectiveness, measured by mathematical formula. Similar precision was used to rank the significance of the final response.

Of the 17 series tested, only one was marked by direct contradiction of known results by consumer opinion on both questions. Disagreement occurred in one of the questions for two cases, yet for the remaining

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

fifteen instances, consumer rankings and business rankings from inquiry returns corresponded directly. This correspondence was by a majority proportion in each of the 15, though in some cases, the investigators' report points out, the majority was insufficient to inspire confidence in their reliability.

Five important conclusions which Borden and Lovekin believe justified by the study are the following:

1. The consumer-opinion method can be depended upon to give correct ranking of effectiveness of advertisements if properly conducted.

2. Conversely, blind use of the method, without appreciation of its limitations, might give misleading evidence regarding effectiveness of advertisements.

3. Among the more important requirements in using the method is that of securing an audience really interested in the product advertised if a dependable ranking of the advertisements carrying different appeals is to be had.

4. This indicates an important limitation in the use of the method, it should not be applied to products other than those having fairly general use or interest unless an effective and economical way of reaching a jury really interested in the product can be devised.

5. If the differences in the advertisements to be ranked relate not to differences in appeal but to such variables as illustration, arrangement of mass, type, and spacing, then dependable results in ranking probably can be secured whether the jury is actively interested in the product or not.<sup>2</sup>

### **Prompted-recognition surveys of readership**

The prompted-recognition, or aided-recall, method of studying advertisements has been used for many years by Daniel Starch and Staff, which has made available to agencies and others, the tabulated results of various studies of advertisement readership.

The procedure is simple. Readers of a medium are interviewed and asked several questions, such as, "Did you see this

ad?" "What product is advertised?" "Did you read the headline?" "Did you read the copy?" "How much of the copy did you read?"

Since 1939, Starch surveys have given the results of the aided-recall test for all advertising of one column or larger, appearing in certain magazines, including *The American Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Redbook*, *True Story*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Pictorial Review*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Collier's*, *Liberty*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Time*.

From results obtained in the field surveys, the Starch organization compiles for advertisers and advertising agencies the "Advertising Rating Service." Starch supplies percentages of visibility and readership of individual advertisements, includes computed costs per person for visibility and readership, and provides percentages of readership of the component parts of each advertisement.

After Starch had conducted studies of the readership of advertising in magazines, he reported on the question, "To what extent do readers buy as well as read?"

We have been collecting certain sales-power data since July 1, 1944. In that time we have tested, through 35,000 interviews, the sales power of 3,000 advertisements in *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Woman's Home Companion*.

In making such studies it is necessary to consider carefully the factors that influence purchases. It is obvious, for instance, that not everyone who reads an advertisement and buys its product does so merely because he reads the advertisement. There are some who read the advertisement because they already use the product. Moreover, there are persons who both read and buy because external factors impel them to these actions. Finally, a certain number of those who read

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

and buy would buy anyway, whether or not they read the advertisement

Our data are such that we can determine how many of each type there are in a given case. On the basis of 30,000 interviews covering 2,000 advertisements in 96 issues of *The Saturday Evening Post*, we find typical results to be about as follows

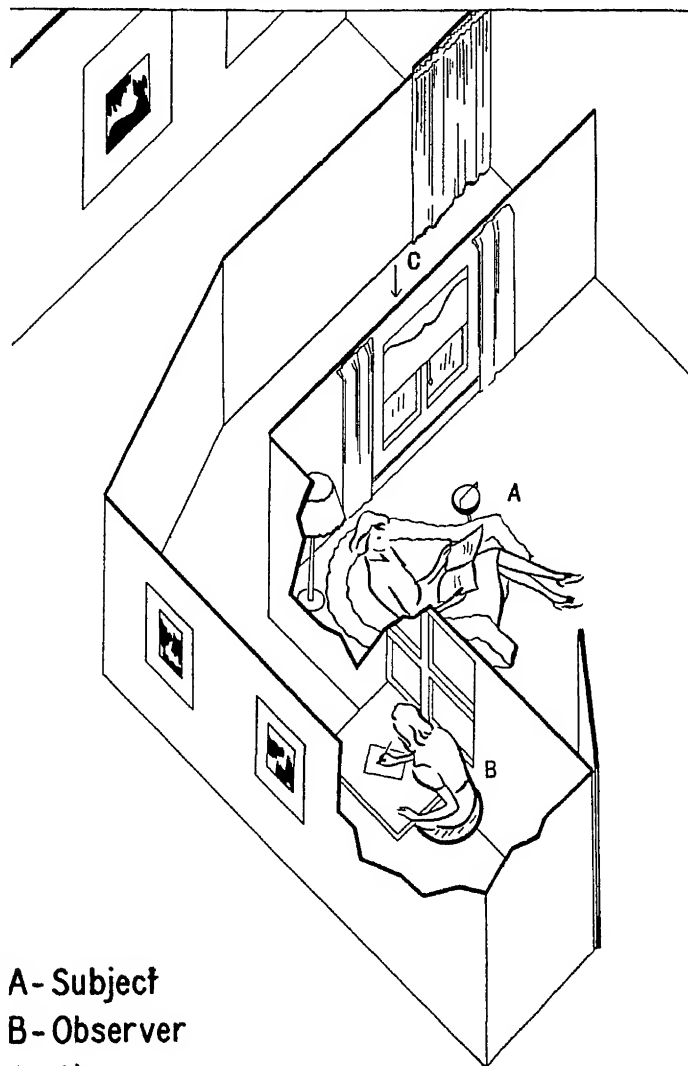
Of 1,000 persons interviewed who have read this publication

330 read the average advertisement, one-half page or larger, of products purchased frequently, such as dentifrices, soaps, breakfast foods, cigarettes

42 read the advertisement and buy the product within 10 days after the advertise-

### READING CORNER WITH WALL SECTIONS CUT

THIS SITUATIONAL TECHNIQUE was used in a study of interviewing methods in reader research. Forty-eight women were asked to participate in what appeared to be a study of reading fatigue. Each woman's eyes were tested before and after she had spent one hour and thirty minutes sitting in the chair, reading an advance copy of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The observers at B and C were hidden from the view of the woman reader by means of a one-way-vision screen. The observers recorded their observations as to what the reader saw or read in the magazine. From 1 to 14 days later, trained field interviewers called at the homes of the 48 women and asked each what she had "seen," "read some of," or "read all of" in the copy of the magazine used in the laboratory. A comparison of the data obtained from the field interviewers with those of the observers in the laboratory showed a remarkably close agreement. See Herbert C. Ludeke and Ruth A. Inglis, of the Curtis Publishing Company, "A Technique for Validating Interviewing Methods in Reader Research," *Sociometry*, Vol V, No. 2 (1942).



A- Subject  
B- Observer  
C- Observer

## *measuring the effectiveness of advertising*

ment has appeared in the publication

Of these 42 readers who buy:

24 would buy the product anyway, whether or not they read the advertisement.

7 read the advertisement because they use the product

2 read and buy because of external factors

9 buy as the result of reading the advertisement<sup>3</sup>

The prompted-recognition method has certain limitations. For example, some media are read for their news columns, others are only skimmed for personals. The thoroughness of reading varies considerably for different magazines and newspapers of the same general class of publications.

For most national advertisers, it is more economical to buy the Starch reports than to attempt a checkup of readership independently. Obviously, these reports are more in the nature of an audit of what has already been done than a guide to what should be done with a given advertisement, which is often the advertiser's practical need.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, a measure of general reader interest may have little value for the advertising of a product that interests only a definite small class of consumers or the advertiser who seeks direct action from his copy.

Starch's study of the relation between readership and sales applied only to products of the kind purchased frequently, such as dentifrices, soaps, breakfast foods, and cigarettes. Advertisers who are interested in getting direct action, such as coupon inquiries or purchases of a book, have not found a close correlation between readership and direct response. The same situation exists in radio and personal salesmanship. A given radio show that has a high Hooperating for program popularity may or

may not sell the product. Similarly, one salesman may make twice as many calls as another and get fewer orders. These limitations of readership figures are appreciated by many advertising men, but their significant values can be utilized, as explained by Carl G. Gaubert of Grey Advertising Agency, Inc.

Do the ratings have qualitative value . . . is this ad better than that simply because it scores a higher ranking in readership?

When the readership reports first became available, I raised that question. At that time, I was servicing a well-known food product and had had long experience in analyzing inquiries which came to us as a result of the advertising. Was there any correlation between readership and inquiry response? If advertisement A scored 25% higher readership, did it bring approximately 25% more inquiries per 100,000 circulation? I compared records for more than a year. There was *no* correlation. In fact advertisements that stood below average for the series in readership often ranked far above average in ability to bring inquiries.

I did not discard readership reports as of no value for this reason. I pursued the study further. For years, the client's inquiry records had shown this. The more recipes we packed into a single advertisement the higher the ratio of response. The advertiser's sales record, too, indicated the importance of recipes in making his advertisements work hard—his sales began to soar from the time when we started making recipes a major element instead of merely an incidental one in the advertising. What would readership records disclose?

I divided all food advertisements in six months' issues of the leading women's service magazines into three groups: (1) those with no recipes, (2) those with one recipe, (3) those with two or more recipes, and I determined the median percentages for *seen* and *read-most* for each of these three groups.

The advertisements with a single recipe secured, on the average, a higher *seen* rating and a much higher *read-most* rating than those without recipes; the advertisements

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

with two or more recipes measured markedly above both those without recipes and those with one recipe in both attention value and thorough readership

In other words an important advertiser's records had disclosed an element that helps bring inquiries and make sales, analysis of readership reports gave evidence that this same element measurably improves the chances of food copy securing attention and thorough reading

The result of the study, I believe, indicates a *method* by which readership surveys can be used with benefit to advertising. Not to determine whether or not this individual advertisement is, say, 55% better than that one but to uncover elements, techniques, which (on the average) can help make advertising better read and—to the extent that more readers mean more sales—more resultful.

It's plain that people read specific advertisements *in spite of* small type, *in spite of* long copy—not *because of* it. They read because of their *interest* in the advertisement—interest inherent in the product or interest which the writer has injected into the message.<sup>5</sup>

### The coupon

Advertisers use coupons for several purposes but largely either as a device for measuring the effectiveness of the advertisement or as a means of bringing about a response. An advertiser may make his coupon highly selective in its influence or he may design it to make all kinds of readers respond. If the advertiser wishes to obtain a very wide distribution of his coupon, he may feature it in the copy and place it at the top of the advertisement. Daniel Starch found that the reply ratios for coupon positions were as follows: upper center, 180.0, outside bottom, 100.0, inside bottom, 74.9, across bottom, 66.6, and lower center, 56.1.<sup>6</sup> Starch also found that the nature of the offer influences the number

of returns. See Table 82. He further discovered that copy without a coupon brought, on the average, about one fourth as many replies as a free coupon, and that a charge coupon brought slightly more than one half as many as the free coupon. The reply ratios for this data were: free coupons, 100, charge coupons, 55.9, and no coupons, 25.8.<sup>7</sup>

When the coupon is used as a device to measure the effectiveness of advertising, we should bear in mind that an average of less than one fourth of 1 per cent of the paid circulation of a magazine is likely to clip a coupon from a full-

TABLE 82\*

<i>Nature of Offer</i>	<i>Reply Ratios</i>
Sample	153.2
Recipe book	137.8
Booklet	100.0
Other novelty	86.4
Name of dealer	69.3
Special service	24.1

\* Daniel Starch, *An Analysis of Over 5,000,000 Inquiries*. New York, 1930, p. 28.

page advertisement and send it to the advertiser. Daniel Starch made a study of more than three million inquiries received from 2,339 magazine advertisements and found the relations between size of page and number of replies per 100,000 circulation which are shown in Table 83.

When these figures are considered in relation to cost of space, they indicate that many an advertiser who offers to give away samples of his toothpaste or other product often spends \$2 of his money to give away each sample. Of course, if an appreciable percentage of the requests for samples results in the development of repeat customers, the cost of giving away the samples may

## *measuring the effectiveness of advertising*

eventually result in profits to the advertiser

Several advertisers have found that if the advertisement has a designed border and the coupon is separated from this by a diagonal plain rule, the number of replies is consistently less than when the separation is made by a dash rule. Even the dotted rule is less effective than the dash rule. The reason for these results may be the fact that the dash rule suggests actual perforation to the reader.

Here are more rules for the form of the coupon if a large number of returns is desired.

1. The copy in the main part of the

TABLE 83\*

<i>Size of Space</i>	<i>Size Ratios</i>	<i>Number of Replies per 100,000 Circulation</i>	<i>Reply Ratios</i>
One page	100	225.3	100.0
One-half page	50	120.4	53.5
Quarter page	25	71.8	31.9
Sixth page	17	38.9	17.3

\* Daniel Starch, *Analysis of Over 3,000,000 Inquiries*. New York, 1927.

advertisement should refer to the coupon and indicate that the reader will be well repaid for his effort if he will send in the coupon. The more the copy boosts the coupon value, the greater will be the returns.

2. The coupon should have a supporting illustration of the booklet or sample that will be sent to the person who mails the coupon. Putting this illustration in colors or having arrows point to it will add to the coupon returns.

3. The coupon should be sufficiently large to be noticeable and should have sufficient space to enable most people to write their names and addresses on the

lines. Some coupons are so small that from 5 to 25 per cent of the names and addresses cannot be deciphered correctly.

4. The coupon should contain the name and the address of the advertiser. The reason for this seems to be the fact that many readers clip coupons but do not mail them at once. Later, when they wish to mail the coupon, it is difficult to find the original advertisement with the address of the firm. One advertiser found that returns fell off 30 per cent when he omitted his name and address.

5. The coupon should refer to a definite person who has had an important part in the offer which is being made through the coupon. Returns are greater if the coupon states, for example, "Emily Harper Stevenson, Expert in Interior Decoration of the Moderne Galleries, has written this book for you."

### ***Effects of big news events on coupon returns***

When readers have their attention directed to outstanding news events, they are likely to decrease their response to advertising. This is especially noticeable in periodical advertising, the effects generally decreasing with the length of the interval between publications of the periodical. This means that effects of the news event are most pronounced in daily newspaper advertising, usually somewhat less in newspapers and magazines published weekly, and least pronounced in monthlies. Victor O. Schwab of Schwab & Beatty, Inc., an advertising agency that has done extensive research in inquiry types of advertising, supplied the following illustrative examples of effects of big news events on the number of inquiries received from the same or comparable

# measuring the effectiveness of advertising

TABLE 84

<i>News Event</i>	<i>Medium for the Paired Advertisements</i>	<i>Inquiries Received</i>	
		<i>Before the News Event</i>	<i>After the News Event</i>
Lindbergh kidnapping, occurred March 1, 1932	<i>a</i> A daily newspaper Feb 7, 1932	554	
	<i>b</i> Same newspaper, March 27, 1932		280
	<i>a</i> A weekly pictorial magazine, Feb 13, 1932	125	
	<i>b</i> Same weekly magazine, March 26, 1932		37
Germany's Attack on Poland, started September 1, 1939	<i>a</i> Monthly magazine <i>A</i> , issue out Aug 5, 1939	470	
	<i>b</i> Same magazine, issue out Sept 5, 1939		322
	<i>a</i> Monthly magazine <i>B</i> , issue out Aug 1, 1939	781	
	<i>b</i> Same magazine, issue out Sept 1, 1939		646
	<i>a</i> Monthly magazine <i>C</i> , issue out Aug 10, 1939	432	
	<i>b</i> Same magazine, issue out Sept 10, 1939		354
Germany's Invasion of Netherlands and Belgium, May 10, 1940	<i>a</i> Monthly magazine <i>A</i> , issue out April 5, 1940	964	
	<i>b</i> Same magazine, issue out May 5, 1940		619
	<i>a</i> Monthly magazine <i>B</i> , issue out Feb 15, 1940	1,172	
	<i>b</i> Same magazine, issue out May 15, 1940		340
	<i>a</i> A Sunday newspaper, issue of April 21, 1940	112	
	<i>b</i> Same Sunday newspaper, issue of May 12, 1940		59

advertisements that were published before and after great news events.

Advertisers who study inquiries and the factors affecting their numbers know that good weather, like a news event, decreases returns. One advertiser who made an 11-year study of weather reports in relation to inquiry response concluded that the response to Sunday newspaper advertisements averaged 19 per cent better for wet-day than for dry-day advertisements.<sup>8</sup>

## Seasonal variation

Obviously, people do not respond to bathing-suit and fur-coat advertising to the same extent in the same seasons of the year. The relation between season and response varies with the product and other influences. Daniel Starch studied 3,998,245 returns from 2,500 magazine and newspaper advertisements and found that the reply ratios varied as indicated in Table 85.



## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

TABLE 85<sup>+</sup>

SEASONAL VARIATION IN THE NUMBER OF REPLIES  
Based on 3,998,245 Returns from 2,500 Magazine  
and Newspaper Advertisements

Month	Reply Ratios	Month	Reply Ratios
January	120	July	83
February	130	August	92
March	121	September	108
April	99	October	116
May	86	November	99
June	83	December	80

\* Daniel Starch, *An Analysis of 5,000,000 Inquiries*, 1930, p 19

His analysis showed that the summer months, when people do less reading, and December, the holiday month, were the lowest in responsiveness to advertising

### Predicting inquiry responses by months or weeks

When a couponed advertisement is published in a monthly magazine, returns may continue to come to the advertiser for as long as two years after publication. The advertiser, however, can predict the total number of returns

at the end of one month. Each magazine has some influence on the rate of return, but 50 per cent of the total returns from a monthly are likely to reach the advertiser within one month after publication.

The same principle operates with the weekly magazines, except for factors such as the geographical area covered by the magazine and whether the distribution is made by mail or news stands. However, the advertiser who keeps adequate records can compute a table of predictions which will not vary more than 5 per cent above or below previous experience. The Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Co., for example, developed the prediction charts shown in Table 86. John Caples explained that the table of rate of response to coupon advertisements

... enables you to predict the total number of coupon returns you will receive from an advertisement without waiting six months. For example, suppose you have an advertisement in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* which has brought 100 coupon returns after the magazine has been on sale six days. The chart states that these 100 coupons are 10 per cent of the total you will receive. Therefore,

TABLE 86†

	TOTAL NUMBER OF INQUIRIES RECEIVED BY							
	Thrd Day, Per Cent	Sixth Day, Per Cent	Second Week, Per Cent	Thrd Week, Per Cent	First Month, Per Cent	Second Month, Per Cent	Thrd Month, Per Cent	Sixth Month, Per Cent
Monthly magazines								
<i>American</i>	1	4	22	34	48	70	79	90
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	4	10	24	36	49	71	81	92
<i>Redbook</i>	3	10	25	43	52	70	74	94
Weekly magazines								
<i>Time</i>	21	40	65	76	85	92	96	98
<i>Liberty</i>	12	40	67	77	85	92	95	98
<i>Collier's</i>	18	44	67	77	83	91	94	98
<i>New York Times Sunday Magazine</i>	43	64	80	86	91	96	98	98½

† "Coupon Prediction Chart," *Advertising and Selling*, April 28, 1932, p 30. See also John Caples, *Tested Advertising Methods*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1932.

## *measuring the effectiveness of advertising*

you should get approximately 1,000 coupons from the advertisement. This chart is based on an average of seven couponed advertisements in each of the above magazines. An easy rule to remember is that a monthly magazine brings in about half its total in the first month! <sup>9</sup>

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6
2	3	4	5	6	1
3	4	5	6	1	2
4	5	6	1	2	3
5	6	1	2	3	4
6	1	2	3	4	5

Prediction tables like this one, developed for the advertising of one company, do not mean that the advertiser of a different product can use exactly the same chart for making his predictions. Obviously, each advertiser should keep systematic records for returns to his own advertisements and plot his own charts and tables of prediction.

### ***Predicting effectiveness of advertisements previous to extensive use***

The marketing expert who believes that he can analyze an advertisement and predict by his subjective analysis the public's response to that advertisement is a dangerous man. His estimate may be worth more than that of the girl at the switchboard in the office, but he is likely to be sadly mistaken if he continues to make predictions based on subjective analyses only.

Consumers' receptiveness to each advertisement of a series can be predicted by means of balanced schedules in daily newspapers or other inexpensive media. For example, some advertisers select six typical cities and run six different advertisements for one week in each city. The advertisements are so arranged that every one of them is run in each of the six orders. For example, the six cities may be designated by letters *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, and *F*. The advertisements may be designated as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. A schedule of the test campaign might be arranged as follows:

This kind of test prevents misjudgments because of unusual news events, weather, or the cumulative effects of preceding advertisements. Such a six weeks' method involves a great deal of time and it may be expensive, but it is a fairly safe way to predict the public's reaction to the advertisements proposed for use in an advertising campaign.

### ***Split-run tests***

When several advertisements are to be tested in order to predict their relative effectiveness, the conditions under which they are to be tested should be as nearly identical as possible. The split-run test supplies these conditions.

The split-run test means that the publisher of the magazine or newspaper arranges the printing of the copies into two or more divisions. For example, an advertiser may want to know which one of three advertisements, *A*, *B*, or *C*, is the most effective in drawing inquiries. To answer the question, the publisher does the printing so that one third of the copies have advertisement *A*, the second third have *B*, and the last third have *C*. In the printing plant where the three streams of copies meet, a workman or a mechanical device alternates the copies of the several streams. This means that the three advertisements are of the same size, have the same position, appear on the same day, are read by the same classes of readers, and advertise the same product under directly comparable conditions. Any one factor such as the head-

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

line may be changed in order to test its several variations

Scores of newspaper and magazine publishers are now equipped for and willing to help an advertiser make split-run tests. Alert advertisers have used this device to discover the most effective ap-

peal but it also has certain limitations. For example, some advertising campaigns must be planned to gradually build up a reputation for an article, a purpose for which the split-run test is not especially applicable. Also, split-run tests can be misleading when the circulation given

### WHICH AD PULLED THE BETTER?—PICTURES OF ACCIDENTS OR CHECKS?

WHICH OF THESE TWO ADVERTISEMENTS, split-run in the *Kalamazoo Gazette*, January 11, 1949, secured more inquiries about the White Cross Plan for Bankers Life & Casualty Co., Grand Rapids? The theme of both ads is about the same, but one uses reproductions of checks paid to individuals for various types of injuries, and the other uses pictures and captions to dramatize the same detailed sample payments. Turn to the Appendix for the answer—From *Printers' Ink*, July 29, 1949, p. 30

peals, headlines, copy, illustrations, coupons, and other factors. The procedure is far more accurate in its predictions than the older laboratory method in which people are asked what they like or think they like.

The split-run method is one of the most scientific tests available to the adver-

each advertisement is not large enough to produce volumes of inquiries that are statistically significant.

Split-run tests are more significant for the measuring of effectiveness of different appeals than for determining the most effective presentation of one appeal. A whole series of split-run tests on the pres-

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

entation of a chosen appeal may reveal which presentation is best, but the best presentation may not sell the goods at a profit

The split-run test has not displaced all other methods of testing. Certain tech-

Even mechanical devices are helpful under certain conditions

### Measurements of radio

Radio is a more recent medium than the newspaper or magazine, but it has

WHICH AD PULLED THE BETTER?—TODAY NOT TOMORROW OR IT'S FUN?

# TNT

## TODAY NOT TOMORROW

IS THE TIME TO PREPARE FOR YOUR FUTURE

**The NEW 1946 Funk & Wagnalls**  
**LANGUAGE PHONE Method**

SPANISH FRENCH GERMAN ITALIAN



**SEND FOR THIS BOOK AT ONCE IT'S FREE!**

Here is the easy, pleasant way to learn a foreign language right in your own home, alone or with friends. It is the practical way, too, because you learn so quickly. In fact, with the new 1946 Funk & Wagnalls Language Phone Method, you can actually **START TO SPEAK A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CORRECTLY IN ONLY SEVEN DAYS!**

Think what learning another language can mean to you! It can mean a better job and more money. It can mean successful business or social trips to foreign countries. It can mean the thrills of seeing new places, meeting interesting people, doing exciting things.

**HOW THE LANGUAGE PHONE METHOD WORKS**  
Have you ever noticed how easily you acquired the tune of a new popular song? Well, that's just how easily you can learn to converse in another language—when you use the new **Language Phone Method!**

This way, sitting comfortably at home, you listen to the cultured voice of your language professor, electrically transmitted on records. At the same time you see the words he is speaking in a supplementary manual and almost at once you will be speaking and reading words and phrases in the language you are studying.

**SEND FOR FREE 24 PAGE BOOKLET**  
Suppose you wish you could speak Spanish, French, German or Italian. Take advantage of the opportunity which may spell success for you and your family and fill in the coupon below. It will bring you a beautiful 24 page booklet and information about how you can get a complete new **Language Phone** kit for seven days' free trial. Remember when you send in this coupon you are not ordering anything. You are merely requesting your free copy of the booklet. No obligation and no agent will call.

**ALL INCLUDED IN YOUR 7 DAYS' FREE TRIAL**  
You will receive one electrically transmitted lesson recorded on a new recording staff of your perfect pronunciation. Famous language professor. New self-teaching language guide book. Two language dictionaries. Commercial business and travel section in each advanced course. All in a handsome simulated leather carrying case.

**MAIL THIS COUPON**

**FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY**  
Dept. 10, 100 Broadway, New York 1, N.Y.

Yes, send me my free copy of the 24-page booklet about your new method of learning a foreign language and I am sure I will be able to learn Spanish, French, German or Italian. I am sure I will be able to learn Spanish, French, German or Italian. I am sure I will be able to learn Spanish, French, German or Italian.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_  
Please Print Name and Address Plainly



**It's fun to learn a foreign language this New Easy Way!**

Right in your own home alone or with friends

Yes, there really is an easy way to learn French, Spanish, German or Italian. It is a highly practical way, too, because you learn so quickly. In fact with the new 1946 Funk & Wagnalls Language Phone Method you can actually **START TO SPEAK A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CORRECTLY IN ONLY SEVEN DAYS!**

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_  
Please Print Name and Address Plainly

WHICH OF THESE TWO ADVERTISEMENTS, used by Funk & Wagnalls Company to sell the Language Phone Method, produced the greater number of inquiries? The two advertisements were split-run tested in the *New York Sunday News*. One produced almost 20 per cent more returns than the other. Study both advertisements carefully and then turn to the Appendix, page 688, for the answer. For a complete report of this split-run test, see "The Pay-Off," *Advertising Age*, April 22, 1916, the source of this information.

niques still have special values. Techniques that are especially useful are the field surveys of readership, spot testing of sales results such as the A. C. Nielsen store audits, and coupon inquiries. Predicting the effects of advertising involves so many influences that almost every technique has its appropriate applications.

been subjected to closer analysis than any other medium. One reason for these extensive studies is its intangible nature. When an advertiser buys space in a periodical or on a billboard, he can look at his message whenever he feels so inclined. But when he buys radio time, he knows only that his message has been

sent out into time-space, and he wonders who heard it. Accordingly, radio stations and market researchers have sought to supply data concerning circulation or listenership

*Automatic recorders* have been developed by several inventors. The recorders are attached to radios and record every turn of the tuning dial on a moving tape. Comparison of the tape with broadcasting schedules shows which programs were listened to and how long. The "audimeter," sponsored by the A. C. Nielsen Company, is an example of the recorder.

Until recently the recording device had to be attached to the radio set, but Nielsen has developed a new super-Audimeter which can do its work while stowed in the closet or under the bed. The meter is plugged in only to the electric light wire, over which a signal is passed from a special oscillator attached to the set. The signal, recorded on 16-millimeter film, is constant and shows in coded form whether the set is on or off and to what station it is tuned, if any. Each roll of Audimeter film will record simultaneously the tuning record of four different sets in the home.

Every two weeks the Nielsen home office mails a new magazine or film cartridge to the 1,500 sample homes. As an incentive to the housewife to uphold her end of the deal, two shiny quarters jump out when she inserts the new cartridge in the Audimeter and removes the old one, which is mailed to Nielsen for tabulation. When she pulls out the old cartridge, a buzzer keeps sounding off until she inserts the new one.

One value of the audimeter is in the fact that some programs get 67 per cent of their audiences in nontelephone homes, whereas others get only 35 per cent from the same class of homes. Early reports

from the use of the Nielsen automatic recorder indicated that nontelephone homes listen an average of 44 per cent more than do telephone homes. The records also showed that listeners do not turn on the radio and let it blare for hours, regardless of station or program, as some critics of radio have suggested. Audimeters show that 56 per cent of all listening periods are of no more than 15 minutes' duration without switching of stations, the average of all listening periods being about 28 minutes.<sup>10</sup>

Nielsen uses an automatic recorder to compute the "Nielsen Radio Index" (NRI). This service enables the advertiser to key his use of radio to the product market. One advertiser, for example, tried to use a drama program that appealed only to sophisticated urbanites to advertise a baking powder, a decidedly rural product. Audience and market can be matched through analyses such as are shown in the chart on page 621.

. . . It shows 10 typical NRI homes. Just below each home there is an index figure for the quantity which this home buys (annually) of the specific commodity under consideration.

The next line reveals how the commercial impacts of Program "A" strike these homes. Note that the pattern is very wasteful, for the bulk of the commercial effort is expended on homes that buy little or none of the commodity!

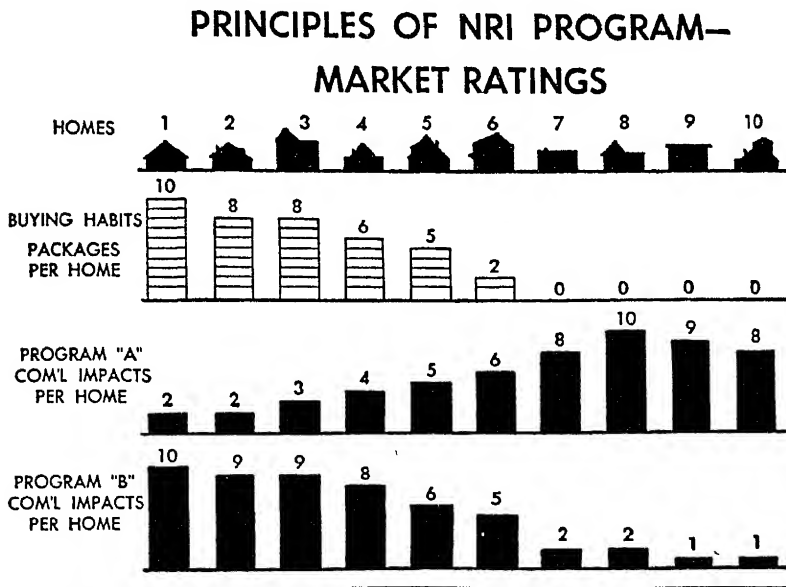
Now observe that Program "B" has a pattern excellent for the commodity in question, for it strikes hardest at the big buyers, and expends relatively little effort on the small buyers and the non-buyers.

The *Program Analyzer* is a mechanical device developed in 1937 by Frank Stanton and Paul Lazarsfeld to make qualitative analyses of listeners' reactions to parts of radio programs. The 10 or 100 persons whose reactions to a program are being analyzed sit in a room

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where the Program Analyzer has been installed. Each person holds in his hand two electric push buttons that are connected by wire with the machine. Impulses from the buttons are recorded on revolving rolls of graph paper. Pressure on the green button is registered as favorable reaction and means, "I want to hear more of that kind of material." Pressure on the red button means, "I

In New York City, Columbia Broadcasting System, Audience Research, Inc., and Schwerin Research Corporation are prominent among the companies engaged in research to gauge program appeal. The systems used by these three organizations contain certain elements of similarity. All three try out programs on a preselected audience and record their reactions. For participation in the



don't want to hear more of that kind," and is registered as unfavorable. If the respondent is indifferent, he presses neither button.

The program analyzer is used to pre-test programs in various stages of production, to discover weak spots in a program, and to measure the effectiveness of appeals. In actual practice, findings from the analyzer are supplemented with further information gathered in oral interviews and through questionnaires.

test, each person receives some small gift or favor. The main differences in their methods are in the recording of the reactions and in the size of the sample used.

Schwerin's radio tests start with the selection of the audience. Spot radio announcements, card handouts in the New York subways, and direct mail let the public know that the company is planning to conduct tests. After each respondent has mailed in the answers to a short questionnaire, the company selects the

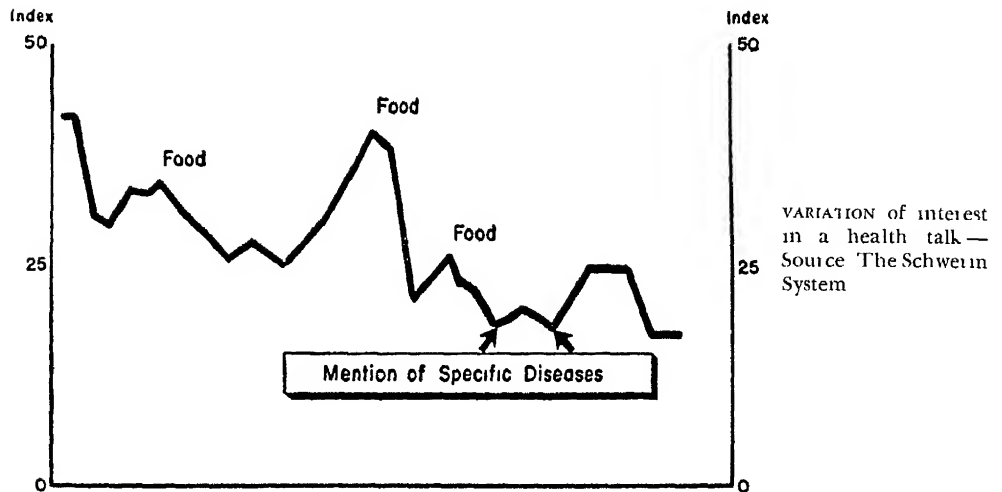
## *measuring the effectiveness of advertising*

persons for its audience and mails out enough admission tickets to insure an audience of 250 to 350 persons

In the studio, the audience fills out an amplifying questionnaire and the transcribed show begins. At various "reaction points" during the broadcast the audience is asked to mark at the proper place on a sheet of paper whether they think that part of the show is "good," "fair," or "poor."

Listeners are questioned again after

diet, and the preparation of foods (See figure on this page.) Listeners sent in letters asking for information or telling how successful certain of the program's recommendations had been. Adult women comprised 70 per cent of the audience, adult men 30 per cent. The sales results, garnered over a period of years, were excellent. When the listeners discovered that the authority substantiated their existing opinions, they, perhaps unconsciously, began to cultivate a



the program, and the results of the entire test are tabulated. Schwerin's client then receives a "profile" of the total reaction to the program, this consists of a graph showing audience acceptance of the show, minute by minute. When desired, "profiles" of reactions by specific age, sex, income, or educational groups are made separately.

Horace Schwerin has described a number of case histories that were affected by the findings from analyses of the programs. One of these was a daytime talk series by a man who discussed health,

respectful, almost hero-worshipping attitude.

This series was subjected to studio testing, with three major findings:

- 1 Listeners felt the program personality spoke too casually, informally, it spoiled the picture they were constantly building of him as a dignified authority.

- 2 The level of interest was more stable than for most programs, listeners either liked or disliked it all the way through.

- 3 High points of interest always occurred where food was mentioned. Ap-

## *measuring the effectiveness of advertising*

parently, since food preparation is one of the problems women meet most frequently, it is of more than usual interest

As a consequence, the conductor of the program put more emphasis on foods—especially on meal preparation—offered more homely philosophy, and spoke with more dignity. The results were impressive. His weekly fan mail which had averaged thirty-five cards and letters, jumped to a new weekly average of three hundred.<sup>11</sup>

The *psychogalvanometric* method has been used to pre-test radio programs and periodical advertisements. When advertisements are being tested for consumer reactions, electrodes are fastened to the hands and arms of those who are to view (or listen) to a series of advertisements. Each person's total response to a given advertisement is manifested through nerve impulses that are transmitted to the skin surface. The electrodes pick up these impulses and they are recorded on a tape. Gordon Eckstrand and A. R. Gilliland have shown that, under properly controlled conditions, it is possible to predict by this method the extent to which some advertisements will be effective in producing sales.<sup>12</sup>

Psychological studies of the electrical resistances of the human body have been made since 1880. The evidence shows that the autonomic nervous system is in activity all the time and that it responds to very small stimuli; that, as in the case of the lie detector, certain stimuli produce certain bodily reactions which it is almost impossible for the individual to prevent, and that the functioning of the human sweat glands is closely associated with bodily resistance or tension.

Improved galvanometers measure the

most minute change in the functioning of the human sweat glands. By exposing subjects to external stimuli—copy, advertisements, packages, odors, sounds, or anything else—the effect of these stimuli upon the subject may be measured. The device indicates whether or not an advertisement or a radio program “aroused” a person to any marked degree. The subjects used in the test should be logical buyers or prospects of the products. Furthermore, it is necessary to combine the machine test with competent after-test interviewing.

One important aspect of the results of measurements by means of the psychogalvanometric types of devices is that degrees of strength of the reactions of subjects are shown, but pleasantness and unpleasantness are not differentiated. However, this limitation is not as serious as first thought might indicate, because a strongly disliked radio commercial, for example, may be as effective as a strongly liked one, certainly better than a neutral one. Many advertisers purposely use irritating rather than pleasing commercials. One of the best investigations of the “sales” effectiveness of irritation advertising was conducted during World War II. Horace Schwerin conducted a carefully planned study of the relationship of liking for a commercial to remembering. The remembering was measured by the extent to which listeners performed the recommended acts, not merely by the extent of abstract recall.

The “commercials” urged better care of shoes on the part of G.I.s. The shoe-care habits of soldiers were measured without their knowledge. Matched groups of soldiers were exposed to each of several shoe-care commercials that had been rated on a liking-disliking scale, ranging

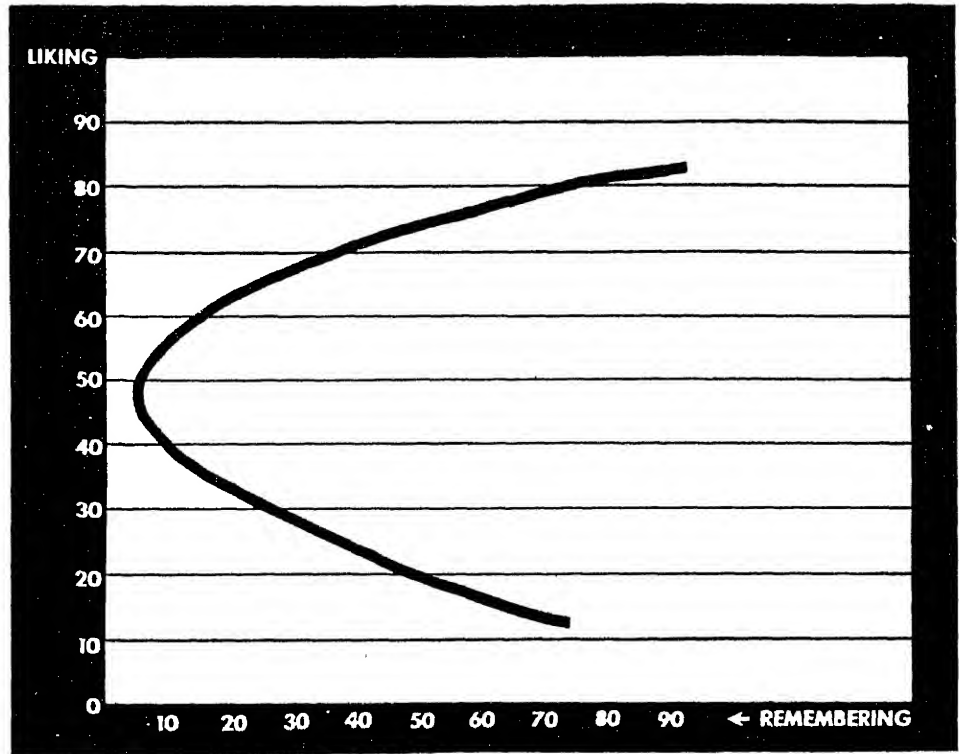


## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

from 0 to 100. The shoe care habits of the matched groups of soldiers were studied to learn the effects of the commercials

Those men who had been exposed

Charles Hull Wolfe has analyzed in further detail the evidence concerning the effects and dangers of the disliked radio commercial. Some of his conclusions are the following



THE RELATION OF LIKING TO REMEMBERING OF RADIO COMMERCIALS This "Schwerin curve" means that the best-liked and the least-liked commercials had the most pronounced effects on inducing soldiers to improve their shoe-care habits. The radio commercials that rated near the middle (50) or neutral part of the scale had the least effect on the listeners—Source: The Schwerin System. See also Charles Hull Wolfe, *Modern Radio Advertising*, Funk & Wagnalls Company, Printers' Ink Bookshelf, New York, 1949, pp. 482-489.

either to the best-liked or to the least-liked commercials were found to be influenced most in improving their shoe care habits. The soldiers who had been exposed to the commercials more neutral in their effect improved their shoe care habits least. See the accompanying chart for Schwerin's graphic representation of the findings.

*Plan your commercials around the law of extremes, making them either so entertaining that they create an immediate pleasurable response or so forceful, aggressive, and repetitious that they produce a momentarily unpleasant reaction.* A major fallacy of some academic research in the field of radio commercial effectiveness is the assumption that the major criterion for judging a commercial is its ability to avoid irritating the audience. Without specific experiments or experience

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

to justify the view, some writers have arbitrarily assumed that any disruption of the listener mood established by the program would work to the disadvantage of the sponsor. Hence the keynote of their suggested approach was coddling the listener, handling him with kid gloves lest you arouse his wrath. . . .

It puzzles some observers to explain how a "disliked" commercial can avoid doing more harm than good. Such an announcement must be skillfully planned. You cannot be blatantly insulting or indiscriminately offensive. You cannot ignore the listener's self-interest and spend your radio time in amplified chest-pounding. But if your copy theme is right, and based on tested appeals, you can present it with so much emphasis, repetition, and fanfarish showmanship that it is momentarily intrusive and almost permanently remembered. . . .

Despite the advantages of irritation advertising, suggested by research, experience, and personal advocates, it also has drawbacks which should be borne in mind.

First, research clearly shows that a highly *liked* commercial is even *better* remembered than a highly *disliked* announcement, even though the disliked blurb is better remembered than the commercial which gets a more neutral reaction.

Second, research guarantees only one advantage for the irritating blurb: memorability. It does not prove that the annoying commercial will be remembered in the particular way most likely to induce maximum sales.

Third, while irritation advertising can sell goods, it cannot sell good-will for the sponsor, and good-will is a valuable asset. So make your commercials either extremely well liked or extremely disliked, but remember: when you put repetitious, irritating blurbs on the air, you may be taking chances.<sup>13</sup>

Some investigators of irritation advertising have found that even though unpleasant commercials do sell goods, people who are stimulated by pleasant commercials continue to buy the advertised product longer than those who were

aroused by unpleasant stimuli. Irritation advertising may bring both quick sales and a quick falling off of sales. Either form of commercial, however, appears to be more effective than the kind that produces no recordable reaction.

### Television

Researches on the effectiveness of television as an advertising medium are still in the early stages of development, but most of the methods used for measuring other media are being developed for television. One method that appeals to advertisers is to measure the sales effectiveness of television programs and commercials. Telephone interviews are used in a pre- and post-test survey. The main stages in the procedure are to telephone owners of television receivers before the program has been telecast, saying: "Hello, I'm making a survey of (*name of commodity*) and I wonder if you'd be so kind as to answer a couple of short questions for me, please?" Without waiting for an answer the person telephoning continues: "Have you bought any of *blank commodity* during the past two weeks?" The investigator records the answer. If it is "Yes," he asks "What brands did you buy?"

When 500 completed calls have been made, the television program or commercial is telecast for two weeks and the telephone questions are repeated with a new set of television owners. The results of most of these surveys regarding frequently purchased low-priced products indicate that television is an unusually effective selling medium. Of course, as television facilities grow older and are improved, methods of research on television's sales effects also will improve.

## measuring the effectiveness of advertising

### What endorsements, stamps of approval, influence the consumer?

Little or no truly scientific evidence is available concerning the influence of stamps of approval. Several surveys have been made of what consumers think about the influence on their buying of such endorsements.

Daniel Starch<sup>14</sup> conducted such a study with 3,959 persons in the course of a continuous nation-wide survey among readers of nineteen leading general mass publications, such as *Time* and *American Weekly*. The question used was, "When you are buying packaged foods, which of these endorsements do you consider important?"

Consumers' Research, Inc  
Consumers Union, Inc  
*Good Housekeeping*  
*Parents' Magazine*  
Store clerks  
Others (specify)

The answers of 1,646 men and 2,313 women were as follows

Endorsement	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
<i>Good Housekeeping</i>	30.4	65.6
Store clerks	28.8	26.9
Consumers' Research	23.2	15.8
<i>Parents' Magazine</i>	1.9	9.7
Friends	3.4	5.8
Consumers Union, Inc	9.4	4.3
American Medical Association	0.6	1.8
None	19.7	5.6

Some gave more than one answer. All percentages are based on the total number of interviews—not total mentions.

It was interesting to note that a higher percentage of men and women in the over \$2,000 than in the under \$2,000 annual income level mentioned Consumers Union, whereas the reverse was true with respect to store clerks' endorsements.

### Is advertising being analyzed regarding the use of unethical advertisements?

Of course the consumer is less concerned about techniques of measuring the effectiveness of various forms of advertising than about the amount of unethical advertising. Actually, advertising *per se* is neither ethical nor unethical. It is a tool that is used by advertisers, most of whom are ethical, but some of whom are unethical, in their use of advertising. Consumers have a right to be protected against the unethical practitioner. They have it to some extent in the form of certain legislation.

In 1940, two years after the Wheeler-Lea amendment added "unfair and deceptive acts and practices" to Sec. 15 of the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, an analysis of the effects of the amendment was made. The commission had instituted and acted upon 1,137 cases, of which 391 were still pending on March 31, 1940. The records also revealed that a large proportion of the cases that came before the commission were satisfactorily disposed of by stipulation procedure whereby, after contact, investigation, and conference with the advertiser, he voluntarily agreed to cease and desist from his questionable practices.

By 1947 the annual report of the commission showed that of the thousands of advertisements examined less than 5 per cent were considered questionable. *Printers' Ink* summarized the report as follows.

Of 360,198 advertisements in newspapers, magazines, farm and trade journals, only 5.4% appeared to warrant further investigation as untruthful.

Of 11,731 pages of mail-order catalogues and circulars, only 3.2% contained possibly misleading representations.

Of 518,061 broadcast continuities, just 1.6% were marked for further study.

*Glorious Opportunity to Get Rich Quick*

INVEST IN

**THE CALIFORNIA RANCHING COMPANY**

*Now being organized to start a cat ranch  
in California*

We are starting a cat ranch in California with 100,000 cats. Each cat will average twelve kittens a year. The cat skins will sell for 30 cents apiece. We figure a daily net profit of over \$10,000.

**NOW WHAT SHALL WE FEED THE CATS?**

We will start a rat ranch next door with 1,000,000 rats. The rats will breed twelve times faster than the cats. So, we'll have four rats to feed each day to each cat. Now what shall we feed the rats? We will feed the rats the carcasses of the cats after they have been skinned.

**NOW GET THIS**

We feed the rats to the cats, and the cats to the rats, and get the cat skins for nothing. Shares are selling at 5 cents each, but the price will go up soon.

*Invest While Opportunity Knocks at Your Door*

**California Ranching Company**

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**WARNING**

Some gullible people will try to buy this stock. It is a foolish fake, of course, but no more foolish than many "wildcat" schemes being promoted today. Investigate before investing. Don't hand your money over to any unknown glib-tongued salesman.

This poster was placed in the front window of a Cleveland, Ohio, bank as an example of fake schemes which are being offered the public. Unfortunately, many people accepted the negative advertising in the positive manner and wanted to buy some of the stock. When used in another bank, this poster caused sixty-seven people to come into the bank to find out where and upon what terms stock in the cat-and-rat farm might be purchased. Wherever the above poster was used to advise the general public to "investigate before you invest," the result was such great misunderstanding that it had to be removed. See *Printers' Ink*, May 6, 1920, p. 182.

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The amount of advertising actually proved false or misleading is still less, for many of the questionable advertisements will receive a clean bill after further study

That the FTC considers that less than 5 per cent of all advertising is questionable is a fine tribute to the progress advertising has made toward a completely good and honest job. A few years ago, it would have been a larger percentage.

But the years haven't changed one thing. The great body of ethical advertisers must still take the rap for the few miscreants, just as all advertisers suffered for the sins of what was a larger minority in the early 1920's.<sup>15</sup>

The work of the commission has been highly effective in correcting advertising

abuses. As a result, many advertisers have developed check lists of representations that may not be used in advertising, such as claims that a given cosmetic feeds the skin or restores glands.

On the whole, the most important protection to the consumer comes from the fact that our people are becoming better educated in regard to their buying and that our competitive economy tends to eliminate unethical advertisers. Admittedly, some unethical businessmen can prosper for too long a time. However, in a competitive economy the ethical advertiser tends to acquire more repeat customers than his dishonest business rival.

### PROJECTS

- 1 Alexander Hamilton Institute ran advertisements with the following headings
  - a "Those Who Shy at Unpleasant Facts Should Not Read This Page"
  - b "Men Who Are Satisfied to Wait Ten Years for Success Will Find Nothing Interesting on This Page"
  - c "Afraid to Face the Facts—then Don't Read This Page"
  - d "Men Who Know It All Are Not Invited to Read This Page"One of these pulled marvelous results. Select the one that pulled best (*Printers' Ink*, November 8, 1928, p. 132). See Appendix, page 688, for answer.
- 2 As an advertising man in a large manufacturing concern, you are asked by your employer to design a coupon to be used with the product which will draw responses from a large number of users and will stimulate sales of the product. Design such a coupon and point out the characteristics of it which justify your opinion that it will fulfill your employer's request.
- 3 Leaf through three distinctly different types of magazines, noticing the advertisements. Do the advertisements seem to be designed to appeal to the particular class of readers of that magazine? Why? Why not? Select some good and some poor examples from each of the three mediums.
- 4 Find an opportunity to observe one or more persons while they are listening to the radio for at least four different programs. What do you notice about their attention to the radio broadcast every minute while you are observing? What do they do when the commercial comes on? Are they more attentive to musical, announcer-read, or drama-type commercials?
- 5 Inspect a large number of coupons in newspaper or magazine advertising and note the methods sometimes used to prevent replies from children and persons who clip coupons merely through curiosity. Discuss with your friends the effectiveness and defects of the methods for which you found examples.

### COLLATERAL READINGS

Committee appointed by Advertising Research Foundation, *Copy Testing*. The Ronald Press, New York, 1939.

Hepner, Harry Walker, *Effective Advertising*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1949, Chapters 40-42.

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- est Surveys," *Journal of Marketing*, April 1945, pp 359-363
- Sandage, C H , *Advertising Theory and Practice* Business Publications, Inc , Chicago, 1939, Chapters 23 and 24
- Nafziger, R O , "Problems in Reader-inter-

## Salesmanship that serves consumers

*People do not buy what they really need merely because they need it. They must be sold. For example, in 1797, American farmers made their plows out of crooked tree-forks. The implement was so crude that it only scratched the soil and required a small herd of steers to drag it over the ground. In that year, Charles Newbold patented a metal plow that would turn the soil in neat, smooth furrows. The operation of the plow required only one man and two oxen. Newbold showed farmers fields of splendid grain for which his metal plows had turned the sod, but the farmers still believed that iron plows would poison the soil and produce only weeds. Years of salesmanship were necessary before farmers could be induced to use the better implement. People must be taught not only the psychological arts but also the use of available resources for material living.*

**A**N INTELLIGENT RECOGNITION OF THE importance of salesmanship may be brought about by an analysis of its value to people in general.

Would society be better off with or without salesmen who annoy us and take our money away from us? The economist knows that salesmanship has been of immeasurable value in raising the standard of living and the magnificence of our civilization. Were it not for sales efforts of the past, few of our modern conveniences would now be among the necessities of life. Without salesmanship some of us might still be living in holes in the

ground or in rude cabins, eating roots and dried meats. Through salesmanship we find it worth while to change raw materials into the luxuries of modern life.

Let us assume that a scientist, after spending several years experimenting on methods of child training, discovers a scheme of training which would give society a better generation. Which would be the better for society—to write an article or a book about it and get a fee or a royalty for it, or to put it into an attractive form and commercialize the system? Let us estimate the results to both author and society. If he were to write a com-

*salesmanship that serves consumers*

plete description of it and sell it to a popular ten-cent magazine with a large circulation among mothers the author's compensation might be two thousand dollars. Two million mothers would then have access to the scheme. Perhaps 500,-

be sold. Of these sold at the higher price, a far larger percentage of mothers would apply the system and more children would be benefited by it. We shall set this estimate at 25 per cent, or 50,000. Certainly society would be improved far more

THE MAN WHO MADE THE BEST MOUSETRAP WAITS FOR THE WORLD  
TO MAKE A BEATEN PATH TO HIS DOOR



CARTOON BY Nate Collier. Reproduced by special permission from *The Saturday Evening Post*, copyright, 1924, by The Curtis Publishing Company

000 mothers might read the article. If very successful, 1 per cent, or 5,000 mothers, would apply the system and the children would be benefited by it.

Now let us suppose that the system were commercialized and a charge of ten dollars made for it. In the course of ten years 200,000 copies of the scheme might

be sold. Of these sold at the higher price, a far larger percentage of mothers would apply the system and more children would be benefited by it. We shall set this estimate at 25 per cent, or 50,000. Certainly society would be improved far more



able to society as the preacher or the banker. Experience indicates that if 1,000 units can be sold at a price of one dollar without salesmanship, it is often possible with salesmanship to sell 10,000 units at a price of fifty cents. More people can have the article, more people have work to do, and more people have money to spend when salesmanship is applied to any useful article. Once a man grasps the economic importance of salesmanship, he may find it possible to lose his childhood prejudices against selling and become convinced of the respectability of the salesman's vocation.

However, a man cannot become a successful salesman just because he knows that salesmen are a necessary part of our economic system and modern civilization. Salesmanship must have a halo around it. If he sees someone selling poultry food to farmers, the job will not have any emotional approval; but if he recognizes the poultry food salesman as a man who shows farmers' wives how to get the hens to produce so that those wives may have better clothing, better health, better children, and better-educated sons and daughters, then the job of selling poultry food becomes just as socially valuable as the work of the nurse, the teacher, or the physician.

Placing a halo around the job of selling is not so effective in giving salesmanship an emotional tone as an overwhelming experience of an emotion-gripping type. One of the best salesmen in the country was unable to sell very many safety electric switch boxes until he had had such an overwhelming emotional experience. One day he called at a factory, tried to sell the manager some of his protective devices, and as usual failed to make the sale. On the way out of this

factory he saw a worker pull an unprotected switch. The worker made a mistake, the current passed through his body, and the workman, a father with a wife and six children, suffered an early death, just because the thing the salesman failed to sell was not in use in that factory. After that the salesman could talk with an evangelistic zeal that aroused even the coldest prospects.

***Training in selling is beneficial to all personality types***

The need for careful selection and training of salesmen is indicated by the oft-repeated statement of sales managers that "the top quarter of the average sales force sells three-fourths of the total volume." The editors of *Sales Management*<sup>1</sup> asked several hundred subscribers regarding the truth of this statement and the answers were as follows:

In 8% of the companies, the top quarter sold 71 to 80% of total volume

In 35% of the companies, the top quarter sold 51 to 70% of total volume

In 29% of the companies, the top quarter sold 41 to 50% of total volume

In 28% of the companies, the top quarter sold 30 to 40% of total volume

Considerable statistical evidence is now available which indicates that sales results depend primarily on the selling methods used rather than on the personality type only. Field studies of the selling methods used by individual salesmen have been made by a number of organizations. C. Y. Belnap, of Trade-Ways, Inc., has furnished the following example of the close relation between selling methods and sales volume:

The salesmen in this case are food jobbers' men, driver salesmen operating in representative cities, towns, and rural areas throughout the United States.

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After eliminating the factors of geographic differences, of city, town, and rural differences, and of store differences on the routes studied, there remained only two other factors which could account for the wide variations in sales as between the men. These two factors were variations either in the personalities of the salesmen themselves or in the methods they were using.

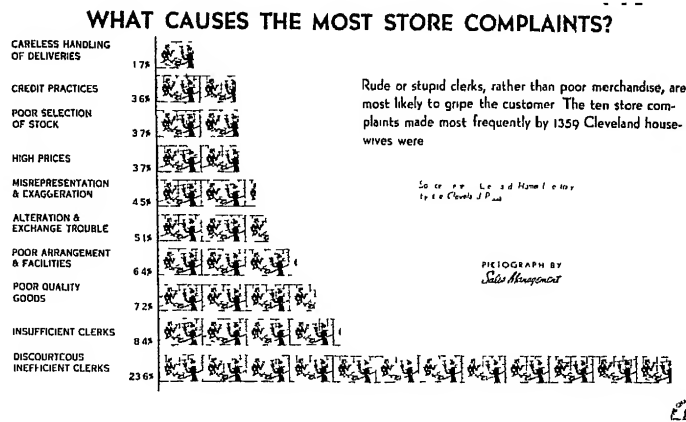
The experienced observers making the survey reported that as regards personality, the salesmen seemed to divide about equally into four groups:

1. Men whose personalities appeared "negative, colorless, weak, drab."

differences in *what they did* which accounted for the differences in *how much they sold*.

Regardless of their personality rating, men who started their calls by making a physical count of the dealer's stock of the sixteen products in the line they handled, averaged orders two and one-half times as large as the orders obtained by the men who didn't make this their first step.

Again, the men who discussed the week's special offer with the dealer *before* trying for the regular order, averaged 27 per cent more per call than the men who wrote up the regular order first and then brought up the subject of the special.



Courtesy of Sales Management, May 15, 1940.

2. Men described as "quiet, serious, steady, plodding."

3. Men described as "genial, cordial, familiar, easy-going, back-slapping."

4. Men described as "aggressive, energetic, breezy, decisive, high pressurer."

As this type of sales operation is a routine daily grind, you'd suppose the men in the second group—the serious, steady, plodding type—would be the fellows who make the most sales. But they weren't. All four groups were getting just about the same average order per stop. But the individuals making up each group differed widely among themselves in volume of sales. So the methods which the men were using were checked against their orders to see whether it was

Or take a third method. Only 15 per cent of the men suggested to the dealer what quantities of each item he should buy, but they averaged orders 300 per cent larger than the orders of the men who let the dealer himself suggest what he needed.

To be sure, this is only one sales operation. But it illustrates the point that it's not so much the men themselves as it's the methods they use, which determine their sales volume.<sup>2</sup>

These and several other analyses of how salesmen spend their time and what they actually do in the presence of prospects have put a new emphasis on the

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development of effective methods regardless of the kind of personality that uses the methods. Studies of retail store complaints (see figure on page 633) indicate that selling methods can be improved. Also, observations of 4,000 cases in department stores throughout the country brought out the fact that in only 16 per cent of the cases observed was there any actual showing of merchandise by the sales people, 53 per cent did not use suggestive selling with regard to merchandise in their own departments, and only 2 per cent suggested merchandise in other departments.<sup>3</sup>

Anyone who wants to conduct an experiment on the power of suggestion can do so. As an example, the old story of the sergeant and the apricots is repeated here:

The young sergeant was passing out apricots in small paper dishes to the chow line. He decided to experiment. He asked the next few men as they came by "You don't want any apricots, do you?" And 90 per cent of them said "No."

To the question, "You *do* want apricots, don't you?" approximately 50 per cent answered "Yes, I'll take some."

The sergeant then started asking "One dish of apricots or two?" And despite the fact that soldiers don't like any apricots, 40 per cent took two dishes, and 50 per cent took one.—*Connecticut Mutual Topics*

### **Formulas for selling**

Most of the formulas for selling deal with mental states.<sup>4</sup> E. St. Elmo Lewis in 1898 formulated the slogan, "Attract attention, maintain interest, create desire." Later he added a fourth point, "Get action." Numerous additions and substitutions have been made to this theory of

selling, such as "Gain confidence" and "Give satisfaction."

Strong<sup>5</sup> has formulated a theory of selling in terms of "Want, solution, action, and satisfaction." This formula, like its predecessors, also deals largely with mental states; it directs the attention and efforts toward what goes on in the prospect's mind. Some sales managers who have trained salesmen claim that it is very difficult and decidedly confusing for a salesman to focus attention upon what the prospect is thinking. An easier and more effective method is to train the salesman to think of what he himself does rather than what may be happening in the mind of his prospect. The mental states of the prospect cannot be ignored, but *the emphasis should be upon what the salesman does and the objective factors of the selling act*. The salesman should think in terms of

1 *The prospect as an individual*—his education, health, business affiliations, and so on

2 *The situation of the prospect*—his problems, financial status, and other objective characteristics relevant to the purchase of the salesman's product.

3 *The methods or acts in the sales canvas*—the time of day he calls, the methods of demonstrating, the words he speaks, the number of calls, the method of closing the sales talk, and other controllable acts on the part of the salesman.

When, for example, a leading nursery management studied the records of interviews with farmers and other prospects for fruit trees and berry plants, the carrying of the brief case proved to be an important factor in the selling.

	<i>Per Cent of Interviews Producing Orders</i>	<i>Average Order</i>	<i>Sales per Interview</i>
When brief case was carried	86	\$39	\$34
When it wasn't carried	45	28	11

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This management also found that it was helpful for the salesman to introduce himself on a first call on a home owner

In the first calls that began in this way, the salespeople got permission to prepare plans 86% of the time

In the first calls that did not begin in this way, they got permission only 33% of the time<sup>6</sup>

Obviously, such simple but very important acts can be taught salesmen.

### ***Directing the sales talk toward the prospect's problem***

The dominant attitude of the true salesman is that of the man who wishes to render service. Many men do not want to sell a prospect unless that prospect really needs the article under consideration. Some concerns are even changing the title of salesman to "serviceman," or, in the case of those who sell to dealers, "merchandise counselors." This attitude toward the prospect is expressed in the frequent mention of the "'You' viewpoint," "Prospect analysis," or the "Objective attitude." Selling has become a matter of "combing" the prospect's situation and then capitalizing that part of the situation which can be made more satisfying.

One salesman for a large paint manufacturer found it difficult to sell the first dealer he called upon in a certain city because of a pronounced business depression. To the next dealer he called upon in that city, he presented the suggestion, "Now is the ideal time to advertise and push paint. Men here are temporarily out of work and they can use their spare time to good advantage by painting at home and for others." The argument was accepted by the dealer. They advertised paint, and manufacturers, dealers, and the community benefited, because a sales-

man was able to capitalize the situation.

One salesman uses the vocational plan of selling. He learns a great deal about one line of business at a time. Then he specializes on selling people in that line of business. For example, a heavy duty truck salesman learns about the coal business. He sees all the coal dealers in his territory. He can talk intelligently to them. He knows about delivery costs, operating costs, repair costs, mileage expected, and many other facts about the coal business.

Then he moves on to the lumber business, the building materials business, and so on. He finds this plan very productive in selling heavy duty trucks. Prospects in each line of business are glad to talk with a salesman who knows something about their problems.

The best salesmen study the prospect, capitalize the immediate situation, and then arouse in the mind of the prospect a feeling of want. The prospect must be made to feel that his present situation could be better or more profitable. A man may wear the same suit for a year, but he may not have any sense of want for a new suit until his wife mentions his shabbiness so often that he wants a new suit. The *need* may be present, but, until that need is transformed into a *want*, it might as well not exist so far as the salesman is concerned. The salesman must induce in the prospect a feeling of inadequacy, a *felt need*. This feeling of a need or a conscious want takes place as soon as the salesman demonstrates his article in such a way that it fits into the prospect's problems. The suggested purchase becomes an answer or a solution to a want. In a few cases the salesman finds it an easy matter to fit his product or service into the wants of the prospect, as in the case of the fire insurance salesman who

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finds that his prospects want fire insurance right after a big fire in the community. At such times, they have a felt need or a conscious want. However, it is usually necessary for the salesman to arouse the want or to connect his product with some present want.

The salesman who sells books for school children does not create a new want on the part of the mother, but he associates his books with the "want" for her child's success. The automobile salesman does not create new wants, but associates the new big car with the prospect's present want of social prestige. He shows the prospect how he can have his want satisfied *now*. The skillful salesman is adept in the art of presenting means to *immediate* satisfactions.

To do this, the salesman does not emphasize the product itself but describes the product as an *end*. The product is not even the means to the desired end. The salesman gives a vivid description of the product so that the prospect pictures himself as enjoying those delights which the product gives. The automobile salesman does not say "When you have this car, it will give your wife a lot of pleasure," but, "When you have this big car, your wife and your friends will realize that it is worthy of a man of your caliber."

It often happens that the inventor of a machine is unable to sell it. The technical expert knows so much about it that he describes the machine. The salesman describes not only the things that the machine does but also the satisfactions and pleasures that it gives. He describes not just the means to the end but the end in its most pleasant aspects. The dealer is given attractive descriptions of the profits to be made from handling the

product rather than a description of the product itself.

Some salesmen who sell to dealers think that they are giving the dealer service when they arrange his stock for him, sweep the store, wait on customers, or wash the windows. These acts are not rendering a service based on the goods the salesman sells. They are merely a method of approach to put the dealer in a receptive state regarding the salesman's commodities. The approach may be made from any one of several angles.

### *The approach*

Tricky approaches are popular with a few salesmen. They refuse to discuss their proposition with anyone except the "big boss," because they are calling on a "personal matter." The "personal matter" approach is an exceedingly weak and stereotyped start for an interview. It is a deceitful method of getting into an office, because any official can be made to leave a meeting of his board of directors if his secretary tells him that a man wants to see him about the "accident" his son just had.

The dramatic approach which was used by an insurance salesman demanded the prospects' attention, even though it may have irritated some of them. His method was to come into a prospect's office, stand in front of his desk, and say not a word for a full minute, but gaze steadily into the eyes of the prospect until he became embarrassed or angry, and then bring his fist down on the prospect's desk with a thunderous bang, and say "I came in here, Mr. Man, to sell you some life insurance." The usual answer to the salesman was, "Is that so?" But the salesman stood his ground and plunged

## *salesmanship that serves consumers*

into an immediate attack. The method of approach was unique, but the salesman had an excellent record (Perhaps his sales were good in spite of his approach rather than because of it.)

One firm whose canvassers found it difficult to gain admission to the homes of wealthy women instructed them to wear spats and carry a cane and light-colored kid gloves. The maids and butlers then assumed that the canvasser was making a social call and readily admitted him. Another woman who sold books hired a big car and a liveried chauffeur. Thereafter she had no difficulty in gaining admission to the homes of the well-to-do. Of course, simpler schemes are used, such as leaving a certificate for a small gift one day and presenting the gift the next day. This device has been worked successfully, but it is of doubtful value in the long run, unless the companies promoting it can train their salesmen to use it skillfully.

Elmer Wheeler has conducted many researches regarding ten-second sales messages or "Tested Selling Sentences." He adapted his technique to Johns-Manville salesmen's needs in making an effective approach to arousing interest in home improvements on the part of housewives:

Johns-Manville realized the importance of the first ten seconds. In a study of the psychological factors surrounding the sale of home improvements and to introduce the new Housing Guild plan, we watched J-M salesmen approach doors. We studied their opening words and their approaching techniques. Our observations again proved that what was said and done during the first ten seconds either got them past the door, or failed.

One salesman would approach the door and say "I'm from Johns-Manville. Would you be interested in knowing about the new Housing Guild plan of improving your home

at a cost similar to the down payments made for your radio and refrigerator?"

The answer was usually "No." Desire had not been aroused. Curiosity not piqued. Several different and shorter approaches were tested. Finally, this "Tested Selling Sentence" and the "Tested Technique" were evolved.

The salesman approached the door. He rang the bell, stepped back slightly, and when the woman came to the door he held a booklet toward her and said,

"This is your free copy of *101 Ways to Improve Your Home*."

As she unhooked the screen door, or opened the door wider, to reach out and receive the booklet, the salesman would quickly open the booklet to a page and say,

"Here is a kitchen *before* remodeling, and here is one *afterwards*."

The woman was, naturally, interested in seeing how other women were remodeling their kitchens. Her interest was aroused in ten short seconds.

Even so simple a device as putting mysterious-looking initials after the name of the salesman helps to gain admittance.

MR. WILLIAM B. BAKER, S. M. CU.

When this specialty salesman was asked what the S. M. Cu. meant, he answered, " 'Saving money for customers,' and that is what I want to talk to you about."

Many of the better salesmen do not use cards at all. The standard card which states the firm name, the address, and the name of the representative is far too trite to be effective. If deemed necessary to use a card, the firm and the salesman should show some originality by using a card of

distinctive color, shape, or information. In most cases a card should not be used, and, when the secretary of a buyer insists upon a card, the salesman should write an interesting bit of news or information on a scratch pad for the secretary to hand to the buyer. Such notes may be similar to the information given in advance letters which are sent to prospects. Example: "When the Booneville Emporium placed two of our Beautybilt washers on the floor, they sold ten machines during the first week and made a profit of \$473.87. May I explain the interesting plan they used?" The item of profit or saving made by a firm mentioned in the note should be one regarding an out-of-town firm in a similar business, or of a firm that has great business prestige, such as Marshall Field & Company.

A helpful type of business card is the "Business Reply Card," having the address of the company and the salesman on one side and space for a message, particularly an order, on the other side. Such a card may be printed in two or more colors, but must be at least 2½ inches by 4 inches. The effectiveness of this device is indicated by the finding of one company that wanted to find out why a certain salesman outsold all others of the industry. Investigation revealed that he had only one superior characteristic: he systematically asked his customers to send him orders by mail. Before leaving a customer, he always gave him a reply card, saying as he did so: "Be sure to mail this in if you need anything before I am this way again."<sup>8</sup>

If a salesman does not wish to use reprints of the company's advertising or an original card, he can make his approach through the use of unusually interesting photographs that show the value of his

product or service, but have so much human interest that anyone will enjoy seeing them. One life insurance salesman found it easy to talk to his prospects when he went to the county poorhouse and took pictures of twenty old men who once had had money but who did not keep up their life insurance payments. On the bottom of each card he typed a short human-interest story of each inmate. Similarly, any product or service will lend itself to some sort of human-interest photography.

Sometimes an approach is made through an introduction arranged by some respected person in the community. One salesman of farm machinery obtained a letter of introduction from the local banker and then hired a retired farmer to accompany him on his calls among the farmers. His official introducer paved the way for his sales talk and made his sales efforts far more profitable than they would have been without the prepared introduction.

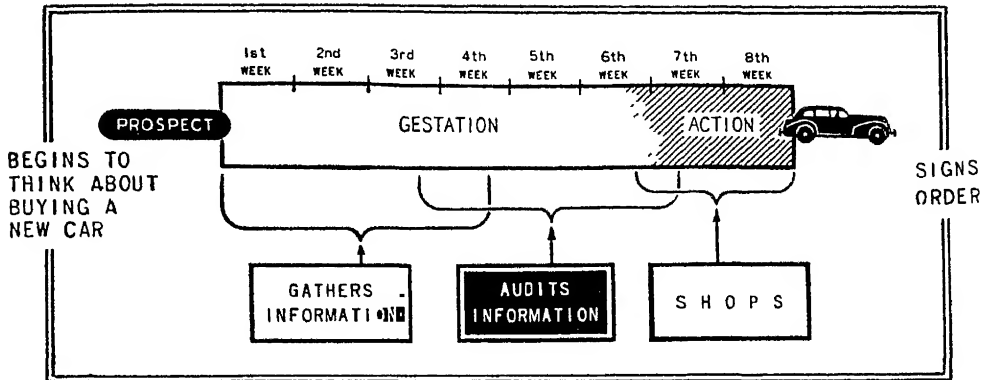
Salesmen often try to find out a prospect's hobby before they call. This kind of interest in a prospect's affairs is legitimate if the salesman does not try to bluff. His interest in the prospect's hobby should be that of a learner. He can have a genuine desire to learn something about the hobby, but if he exhibits an artificial interest merely to make a sale, he is likely to make himself ridiculous. The salesman should mention the hobbies of the prospect in such a way that the prospect is pleased with himself because the salesman is willing to listen to his exploits. Sincerity is always important for the salesman, but it is especially important when hobbies are discussed.

Furthermore, the prospect approached by the salesman should be a live prospect

at the time of the call. Studies of automobile selling, for example, indicate that typical motorists who buy new cars gather information and think about cars for about two months before they purchase.<sup>9</sup> During the "period of gestation" the prospective buyer gathers information and makes up his mind as to which cars he should look at before buying. In many cases he wants more information than is

### *The demonstration and sales talk*

When the salesman enters the presence of the prospect, he is apt to say: "I am Mr. So-and-so and I represent the Blank Company. I would like to show you one of our new grommets." This kind of opening is stereotyped and bores the prospect unless he happens to be in a receptive mood. Some of the best sales-



THE BUYER makes up his mind in advance. "The typical motorist is in the buying mood only about 2 months out of every 3 or 4 years." During the "period of gestation" the prospective buyer gathers information and makes up his mind as to which cars he should look at before buying. In many cases he wants more information than is given in automobile advertising. At the same time, he is often reluctant to ask for such information because he does not wish to be subjected to "sales pressure." If the manufacturer can bring to his attention some new type of information that is sufficiently attractive to overcome his reluctance, and get him to tell who he is before he becomes exposed to competitive solicitation—then the salesman has a far better chance of selling him.—From "27 Suggestions for Locating Prospects," C. R. Report No. 3606, General Motors Corporation, Detroit, Mich.

given in automobile advertising. At the same time, he is often reluctant to ask for such information because he does not wish to be subjected to "sales pressure." If a salesman can bring to his attention some new type of information that is sufficiently attractive to overcome his reluctance, and get him to say who he is before he becomes exposed to competitive solicitation—then the salesman has a far better chance of selling him.

men omit introductory remarks and plunge at once into the demonstration. The various types of demonstration may be classified as follows:

1. *Sample in the salesman's hand.* In this common type of demonstration, the salesman shows the device to the prospect. He shows what it does and how it operates. The prospect looks on and shows interest, asks questions, or gives evidence of boredom.



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2. *Sample in the prospect's hand* The salesman hands the device immediately to the prospect. It is so placed that the prospect is compelled to touch, taste, smell, hear, see, or manipulate the article. If the article is novel in appearance, the prospect may be eager to observe or to try it. This method has been used with success in selling pianos and washing machines. The salesman delivers the article to the home, and the prospect accustoms herself to the use of it.

3. *This-is-what-you-are-losing method* The salesman tries to show the prospect what a man in his position is actually losing in convenience or in dollars and cents. He takes out a pencil and a pad and asks the prospect just enough simple and generally known facts about his business to enable the salesman to compute the prospect's daily, monthly, or yearly loss. Some salesmen actually use a new shiny silver dollar or a crisp ten-dollar bill to dramatize the loss. One salesman had a printer make some blank checks with the name of the bank as "The Bank of Lost Money." To the prospect he handed a check for the amount that was being lost annually through failure to use his product.

4. *This device will enable you to do more or be more.* The salesman does not dwell on the old situation or the present situation, but proceeds at once to the future situation—the prospect's. He shows how much money the dealer can make if he stocks these goods.

5. *The comparison method.* This method combines 3 and 4. The salesman does not emphasize the commodity itself but shows the prospect his present situation and then shows him how much better the new or other device would be for his needs. This does not mean that the

salesman should knock his competitor's product or give the prospect the impression that he must be a "boob" because he is not using his article. If tactfully done, even the correspondence school salesman can make the prospect feel, without embarrassment, that he could be using his evenings to better advantage and obtain more money and prestige if he were to change his present status. The salesman should always be careful to avoid statements that might make the prospect feel that the salesman considers him unfortunate or ignorant just because they have never met before.

6. *The moving picture and graphic chart methods.* It is often difficult for the salesman to demonstrate the service or article with the service or article itself, so he must depend upon some graphic means to enable the prospect to realize his present situation and to visualize the best possible situation. The film method of demonstration is one of the very best methods, because the prospect can really see the benefits claimed for the product instead of attempting to visualize them. The moving picture machine is a means of demonstration that should be used more frequently. The chief objection to most of the films seems to be that they deal with the manufacturer's problems rather than with the customer's problems.

7. *The stunt method.* The stunt is the favorite form of demonstration to the beginner in selling. It has its place in the sales interview, but it often directs the prospect's attention to the stunt as a stunt rather than to the article as a solution of the prospect's problems. Any dealer can crowd the sidewalk with people by putting a stunt in the window, but the store management does not want everybody

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to stop. Only the worth-while prospects should be attracted to the window. The circus sideshow barker wants to attract everyone to his entertainment, and the stunt is legitimate advertising for him; but the salesman cannot depend upon a stunt to do his selling. The stunt may be made an attention-getter, but it should be relevant to one strong talking point.

### ***The sales talk***

The first rule of the successful sales talk is that it must deal with the prospect's situation and be directed toward a more satisfied, more contented, or more effective prospect-situation. The talk that starts nowhere and gets nowhere seldom leads to a sale. Even though a salesman dislikes the "canned" sales talk, he should have certain definite goals in each talk. Far more sales have been lost through lack of a planned sales talk than because of having the talk too highly standardized.

One "quota-beating" salesman who sells a specialty tells his prospect that he has planned his sales talk so that he, the prospect, will be able to see clearly what his machine can do and that the prospect can judge for himself as to whether the machine will make money for him. Then he hands the prospect a small printed card, saying "This card has listed on it the six most common questions which my prospects ask or want to ask while I demonstrate this machine. If I do not make myself clear on some point, check that question. Of course, if you think of a point not on the card, be sure to ask that." A significant part of this scheme is the fact that the salesman has omitted from the card the most common question asked by the prospects and which every prospect is almost sure to ask. When the pros-

pect raises that question, the salesman acts as though the prospect has thought of something no one ever before thought of. He scratches his head, then answers the point, and compliments the prospect's ingenuity, but at the same time the acceptance of that point practically commits the prospect to the purchase of the machine. The above method can be adapted to almost any product or service sold today.

A major fault of some salesmen is to talk in abstract terms. They discuss *quality* in a general way. The word "quality" and similar terms should never be used. Quality should be described by actual examples of what a user did with this machine under certain trying conditions. The salesmen of a paper company, selling paper towels, do not talk about superior absorbency. They take two inkwells having the same amount of ink in them and stick their own towel into one inkwell and a towel of another brand into the other inkwell. After a few seconds, the difference in their absorbent qualities can be seen by the prospect.

Advertisers long ago learned that people do not read advertisements that are full of abstract ideas. They want pictures that illustrate a concrete and definite situation. All abstractions such as *best*, *strongest*, *newest*, *value*, *service*, and *most economical* should be avoided, the talking point should be stated in terms of the concrete with actual instances of how that characteristic has been proved by other users.

The use of definite terms in the sales talk does not necessitate boring technical descriptions of how the product is made, the kind of raw materials used, or the way it is sold. When technicalities are used, they should be related to the pros-

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pect's problems. The reason for a detailed description of a gear in a machine should be stated to the prospect to convince him that, while a specific part has been giving trouble in some machines of other makes, it cannot cause difficulties in this brand. The prospect wants definite facts that he can grasp.

Goodall Company, manufacturer of Palm Beach suits, operated a retail laboratory and experimented with various sales approaches to customers. The company found that when salesmen addressed customers with a time-honored bromide, such as, "Can I help you?" 7 per cent bought. When salesmen used the system of letting the customers alone until they asked for help, 12 per cent bought. But when the salesmen greeted customers with specific comments about the merchandise, such as, "This will be this year's most popular tan," 25 per cent bought.<sup>10</sup>

The sales talk should be definite in its mental imagery, but it should also have human interest. Cold, intellectual appeals are not so stimulating to action as are appeals that arouse the warmer emotions. The prospect wants to hear a story. He likes to have a lump in his throat and a tear in his eye. He wants to hear about people and things that make him smile, that cause him to love more devotedly, to sacrifice a little, and to dream new dreams. The prospect wants to take sides with what he believes to be right. It is necessary to invest the sales talk with an emotional tone. As the old banker said to a young salesman: "If you are trying to sell the services of a bank, show the prospect the pictures of your officers. Describe the little human-interest aspects of their work. Tell how one of those officers helped a man to pull out of a bad situation and achieve business success.

Don't talk the usual talk about the financial strength of the bank."

### **Answering objections**

The true salesman hopes that the prospect will raise objections before he buys. The objection offers the salesman an opportunity to demonstrate his product. One of the best salesmen in the country always has a pang of regret when the prospect indicates that he is sold and wants to sign on the dotted line. This salesman enjoys selling: the meeting of minds, the fencing-like encounter, the parries, the thrusts, and losing or gaining a new friend. He sells because he loves the game of selling.

Objections are a natural part of the game of selling. The prospect seldom welcomes the salesman with open arms. Can we blame the prospect? If we try to analyze the various ideas in the prospect's mind, we can understand why he does not, as a rule, want to see another salesman. The reason is that the salesman interrupts the prospect's *ongoing activity*. Even a newborn baby objects to having its activity thwarted or retarded. Hold a baby with his arms tight against his body and he will soon show his anger in no uncertain manner. When the salesman comes to see a prospect, he interrupts the flow of ideas and activities of the prospect. The worth-while prospect is always busy doing something else, mentally or physically. The most natural response of the prospect to the salesman is that he does not need or does not want what the salesman has to offer. The salesman must, first of all, get the prospect into a new line of thought, and, if the salesman has planned his demonstration and sales talk in the right manner, the sale should follow as a matter of course.

## *salesmanship that serves consumers*

The live prospect will make some objections in order to clarify his ideas and to ascertain whether he really understands what the salesman has just told him.

When the prospect says, "I am not interested," the salesman can say "I know that you are not interested, Mr. Prospect. That's why I called. You have never used this device and Mr. Blake of the Samson Company thought I ought to show it to you." The salesman who can smile and accept the objection with nonchalance will be able to go ahead with the demonstration. The objections of most dealers to buying because conditions are bad can be answered with definite, prepared figures to show the dealer that business will continue regardless of conditions. Certain professional and other people who are not affected by the current conditions are always buying. The bank clearings of the city may show that they are greater than last year in that town. Ask the dealer to look out on the street and see the cars that are going up and down. People are still wearing clothes and eating.

To answer objections, the salesman should be able to show facts and figures that have been collected by a disinterested person. If the buyer does not believe that the salesman's shirts do not fade, the salesman should show the results of tests conducted under conditions that will satisfy the prospect. The shirt that went through the tests should be handed to the prospect for inspection. The salesman often depends upon his wits and bullying to answer objections, when the objections could be answered far more easily by just a tested sample, a page of charts, or a testimonial letter.

"The price is too high" is one of the arguments which should be answered in

a straightforward manner rather than by evasion or humor. If the price objection is evaded, the customer may not mention it again but may refuse to buy. After all, the customer should know why the price asked is fair. A direct answer to the price objection is the dramatized form of answer. A salesman of washing machines capitalizes the high price of his machine by demonstrating the machine with money in his hand. Every time he points out a strong feature of his machine, he places a dollar bill or a quarter on that part of the machine. When he gets through he adds up the amount of money and shows the prospect that the price asked is fair in comparison to the value.

If the prospect has been sold during the sales talk, neither price nor any other objection will prevent the sale. The prospect may raise the question of price, but he may do it because he really desires to have ample justification for the price. The salesman who is unduly price-conscious has never been convinced that the product is worth the price asked. If his standard of living has been on a scale below that of the price level of the article he is selling, it will be necessary for the sales manager to re-educate the salesman.

When the prospect wants a handy excuse for not buying, he objects to the price. Only one other excuse is more common: "I'll see you next time." If the dealer presents this excuse, it simply means that the salesman has not done a good job of convincing the prospect that he can make money with the line. The salesman can answer "Of course, I'll see you next time, but that will not be for three months. In the meantime, according to my quota, 4,600 people are going to buy this article in this county."

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They will pay the dealers who sell them a gross profit of \$2,300. You will want to be one of the dealers to have your share in the profits."

The salesman should not have the impression that it is well to "annihilate" the prospect when he makes an objection. To knock the prospect's objection too hard causes him to lose his self-respect. When an objection is stated, the salesman should restate the objection briefly and fairly, then the prospect knows that his objection is appreciated. Pay the prospect a compliment when he raises a threadbare objection—act as if it were an unheard-of objection and answer it—not too quickly but satisfactorily to the prospect's sense of worthwhileness.

The answering of objections should never degenerate into an argument. The salesman may be able to win the argument, but, if he does, he loses his sale. As soon as the discussion between salesman and prospect tends toward the argumentative type, the salesman should use humor. In fact, since most salesmen do not take the trouble to ~~prepare evidence~~ state of multiplicity of interest that will meet objections, they should at least collect a set of anecdotes that will answer the most frequent objections.

### *The art of getting the order on the order book*

The psychological moment to close has received much attention in sales discussions. As a matter of fact, there are few true psychological moments when the prospect wishes to order and the salesman catches the prospect off his guard for the order. Orders that must be "caught on the fly" are often countermanded. The salesman should not pounce upon the prospect for the order. If the salesman has studied the needs of

the prospect and is anxious to render a real service, the order will follow of its own accord.

It is true, however, that some prospects find it difficult to make a decision and the salesman must help them to decide. A few salesmen claim that they can recognize the moment when the prospect is ready to decide. They note whether the prospect leans forward, toward the salesman, and toys with the sample. One salesman even claimed that a prospect once told him that he did not want the article under discussion but the salesman said, "Your lips tell me that you do not want the article and yet your body tells me that you do, because you ~~leaned~~ toward me when you said that you would not buy it now." The prospect ~~admitted~~ that he wanted the article, but ~~that~~ he had an inhibiting objection which he hesitated to mention. When the objection was stated and answered, the prospect bought. In the best sales ~~circumstances~~, the salesman and the prospect get into the same mood or attitude, into a mental state of multiplicity of interest, so that the salesman does not view the prospect as a mere plaything but as a fellow businessman whose interests are ~~complementary~~ to his own.

The salesman may help the prospect to make a decision by arranging the situation so that he need decide only a minor point. The experienced life insurance salesman does not, as a rule, ask the prospect whether he does or does not want his policy. Rather, he asks him: "Will it be convenient for you to have our medical examiner call at your home on Tuesday evening and give you the health examination?" If the prospect indicates that that time is satisfactory he has also indicated incidentally ~~that~~ he

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will take the insurance. The jobber salesman often does the same when he asks about the method of shipment or the date of delivery, the salesman naming a plan that he knows will be satisfactory to the customer.

Some salesmen apply this "minor-decision" method too frequently, when they get into the habit of asking for a trial order. The trial order of a half-dozen lot is easily asked for and easily given. But a trial order simply means that the sale was not completed. The customer still has many mental reservations, or he would give a worth-while order. Of course, the trial order may be used as a starting point and the amount can be stepped up to a profitable figure.

The prospect will find it easier to buy if the salesman has succeeded in getting him to say "Yes" several times during the interview. The prospect who is in a hostile or negative attitude is hard to persuade, whereas the agreeing prospect is in a mood for further action. The unskillful salesman who tries to have his prospects "Yes" themselves into an order is likely to lose his grip on the situation. This method can be used only by those who are unusually adept at controlling the sales situation. The salesman can concentrate on the one point which appeared to appeal most to the prospect. Automobile salesmen know that the points about a car that appeal to those who know cars are not the points that appeal to prospects. The car salesmen tend to be interested in the mechanical qualities of the car, whereas many prospects are interested in the accessories, such as the cigar lighter and the vanity case. The real estate salesmen know that building construction does not interest the modern housewife nearly so much

as the design of the fireplace and the arrangement of the cupboards in the kitchen. It is legitimate, therefore, to emphasize those factors that appeal most to the prospect in hand.

Each prospect varies in his susceptibility to assistance in making the decision to buy. Some prospects sell themselves. Others must be pushed and tugged at. Still others need a simple sales technique to do the thing they want to do but cannot, because the habit of turning down all salesmen is too strong to allow them to lift themselves out of the channels of indecision.

Aggressive selling produces more orders than easy-going salesmanship. The man who has lived among farmers knows the pleasure they get from chatting with strangers. It is often assumed that a sort of easy-going, chatty sales canvass is necessary when selling to farmers. A sales manager who traveled with a sales crew that sold a five-dollar product to farmers found that the salesmen who used the most aggressive and shortest canvass had the biggest sales record. The salesmen who spent not more than ten minutes with any farmer made the greatest number of sales. Action begets action. The most common methods of stimulating prospects to act are:

1. An aggressive, definite sales canvass
2. The use of a minor decision, which makes it easy to buy without a big decision.
3. Getting the prospect into an agreeable and agreeing mood.
4. Showing the prospect that he can purchase with ease right now.
5. Showing him the danger of delay, such as "A coming change in price," "Temporary trial offer," "Only one to a customer," "You are now losing \$50

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per month by not having it," or "The continued inconvenience should be ended now."

Appealing to his emotions. "Prove that you are a man of decision," "Sign now and surprise the children," "This is worthy of a businessman of your prestige"

### **Failure to get the order**

Salesmen are often asked how many calls they are willing to make on a prospect before dropping him. The correct answer may be one or a dozen. Some of the largest accounts that business firms have are the result of ten or more calls. One thousand retailers kept accurate check for six months to learn how many calls salesmen made on them before giving up the job as hopeless. Here is the surprising result of that check-up

48.2 per cent made 1 call and quit.

24.4 per cent made 2 calls and quit

14.7 per cent made 3 calls and quit

12.7 per cent made 4 calls and quit

Yet it was discovered that 60 per cent of their merchandise was bought by these dealers at the fifth call or after.<sup>11</sup>

Only careful research can reveal the extent to which persistence in selling is profitable. Trade-Ways, Inc., has published results of one study on "What Price Persistence?"

Persistence is as essential in selling today as it ever was. But mere persistence may be only boresome to the prospect and fatiguing to the salesman. Persistence means more than footwork. It means headwork as well. Selling hard requires more than merely trying hard to sell. When the salesman finds that he cannot get an order, he should close his sample case without insisting upon an order, but he should prepare the way for his next call by saying "I am sorry that I don't have a sample of our Palate brand of food with me. I shall ask the house to mail you a sample for your wife and when I call again in four weeks, you can tell me how you like it." Before the salesman makes his next call, he should write a friendly letter to the prospect and explain the profit or value of his article.

The salesman should, during the interview, have learned one subject that interests the prospect. He can bring the prospect a newspaper clipping, a photograph, a book, or any other article or idea that will interest him. Each call means that the salesman must present something new and worthy of the prospect's consideration. The turn-down should not actually take place. The good salesman does not allow it. No interview, when it ends, should give the salesman a sense of relief. It should simply pave the way for another interview when new ideas

Persistence is a virtue—but sometimes it's costly in selling. Here are some striking facts from a recent study of the work of a force of industrial salesmen:

	<i>Per Cent of Time</i>	<i>Per Cent of Sales Volume</i>
Calls on active customers	19	80
1st and 2nd calls on <i>new</i> prospects	25	17
Follow-up calls on <i>old</i> prospects	37 } 44%	2 } 3%
Calls on former customers	7 }	1 }

Forty-four per cent of the actual selling time, to get 3% of the business.<sup>12</sup>

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may be presented in a new way with more attractive applications

### ***The basis of success in salesmanship is skill in human relations***

This skill usually originates in early childhood, that fact explains why many sales managers think that good salesmen are born that way. The adjustments which lead to human-relations skills begin so early that observers imagine that the skill is hereditary or some accident of birth.

Potential sales ability on the part of some boys can be observed in many typical American families at, let us say, the evening meal. Father comes home tired and eats in silence. Mother is busy serving the dinner. The children eat in silence or amuse themselves by picking on each other. But sometimes in such a family one boy cheerfully talks about the happenings of the day. He enjoys his sports. He likes to talk about his experiences and his friends. The others listen occasionally. Gradually he acquires skill in making others listen to him and respect his statements. In later adulthood, selling is a natural vocation for him, and his sales manager is likely to speak of him as a "born salesman."

Many college graduates drift into selling, especially those who find that their education has not trained them for any

specific vocation. They drift into selling by force of circumstance rather than from a spontaneous or intelligent choice. Such men are almost certain to fail as salesmen unless they go through the usual psychological steps which enable a person to enjoy selling. These steps are likely to involve one or more of the following:

1. An intellectual conviction that selling is a socially valuable vocation

2. An emotional experience which makes selling an important vocation

3. A series of adjustment habits which lead to satisfaction from dealing with people, as exhibited by the typical extravert.

Thus far, the lessons from the school of experience rather than the laboratory have been used as a guide in learning salesmanship. It is true that some laboratory experiments have been conducted for the development of methods to measure the relative effectiveness of elements composing a sales interview,<sup>18</sup> but very few applications of these methods have been applied to actual sales situations. The experimental laboratory study has the serious disadvantage of artificiality. Even though selling cannot be studied as an exact science it can be learned as a worthy art. Our appreciation of its worth will increase as we recognize its contributions to our social and economic well-being.

### **PROJECTS**

1. Have a friend cooperate with you in practicing dealer sales situations. He is the prospective buyer and you are attempting to sell him certain articles. Have your friend include the following objections as well as others he may think of:

- a. I want the exclusive agency.

- b. I never had a call for it.

- c. I'm all stocked up now. Got too much of your stuff on the shelf.

- d. I'm too busy to talk to you now.

- e. I'm satisfied with the house I buy from now.

- f. You come to see me only when you can't sell Jones, up on the corner.



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After you have met your friend's objections, discuss with him the best methods of answering them.

- 2 List some of the expressions, methods, or mannerisms that irritate you when used by a salesman. Find out from others whether these are personal prejudices of your own or are general. Work out specific corrections for each item you have noted.
- 3 List the kinds of information a salesman should gather concerning a prospect before calling on him. Give possible sources where the information might be obtained.
4. Salesmen frequently carry a sample or some related object to show to the prospect while making the sales talk. Think of interesting and original related objects that might be used in selling the following:
  - a. Lawnmowers
  - b. Office furniture
  - c. Home insulation.
  - d. Fire insurance.
  - e. Coal
  - f. Advertising space in a local paper.
  - g. Safety equipment for a factory.
  - h. Vacation trip by airplane

Tell how and when you would use the related object in your sales talk.

5. Clip several magazine advertisements of articles you believe you could sell quite successfully. Analyze all the reasons for your choice. Do the same for an article you think you could not sell. Analyze your reasons from the standpoint of your own likes and dislikes, your personality, the qualities of the article, the nature of the market, and other possible factors. Which factors seem to be the most important?
- 6 Outline a program whereby a salesman might utilize to the fullest extent the manufacturer's advertising of his product over the radio, in periodicals and newspapers, and on outdoor posters. Illustrate specifically how each of these aids could be tied into the sales talk for a product such as a vacuum sweeper.
7. Read in trade papers about concerns

that have done outstanding work in sales-training schools. Analyze the ideas gathered and present them in a letter of application to one of the companies, explaining to the company addressed why you chose the company as your preferred employer.

8. A woman went into a ready-to-wear store to buy a blouse. The sales girl showed her blouses in three different price ranges and then held up the most expensive one and said, "I'd like to see you buy this one."

Was this a good reason for the prospect to buy? What might the sales clerk say that would be more appropriate?

- 9 The story has been told of the animal painter, De Auber, that, having painted a picture, he rubbed raw meat over the representation of a rabbit in the foreground. His reason was that a Mrs. Blank, a prospect for the purchase of the picture, was coming to see the picture. He assumed that when her pet poodle smelled the rabbit and got excited about it, the woman would buy the picture.

The woman came to see the picture, the poodle smelled of the rabbit and got excited, and the woman bought at the artist's price!

Was this ethical selling on the part of the artist?

- 10 To determine how the public rates selling, the Market Research Company of America was commissioned to make a study. The purpose of the study was to compare the male public's concept of a salesman with their concept of men in other occupations. Proper care was taken to distribute the interviews in a representative manner across the various kinds of occupations and income levels.

Seven occupations were considered: physician, salesman selling to tire dealers, bookkeeper, lawyer, life insurance salesman, worker in automobile factory, department store clerk. After the respondent had been given an opportunity to review these occupations in his mind, the interviewer read in turn each of thirteen questions—the respondent being given

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time to select the "Most" and "Least" answers from the card in his hand.

In answer to the question, "Which of these occupations has the highest standing in the community?" the three selling classifications, namely, "salesman selling to tire dealer," "life insurance salesman" and "department store clerk," got 3 per cent of the votes. The two professions, "physician" and "lawyer," got 94 per cent.

In answer to the question, "Which of these occupations offers the most opportunity for advancement?" the life insurance salesman got 21 per cent of the votes—second only to the lawyer, who got 23 per cent of the votes. The other classes of salesmen didn't rate so well, however.

But when it came to the pay-off question, "Which of these lines of work, assuming you have a son, would you rather have him enter?" a most significant fact was that the professions simply walked away with the contest.

Physicians and lawyers combined got 83 per cent of the votes. The salesman

selling to tire dealers and the life insurance salesman got 8 per cent of the votes—just equal to the combined total of votes cast for the bookkeeper and the worker in an automobile factory.

This same list of questions was asked of approximately five hundred freshmen in Ohio State University College of Commerce. Here, even among men who had chosen to study business, the answer to the pay-off question was about the same.

The answers to the question, "What would you like to have your son do?" gave the three forms of selling only 7 per cent of the votes, the two professions getting 89 per cent of the votes.

A careful study of this well-done research assignment brings one to the overall conclusion that selling as an occupation is still far below the professions in public esteem. It is even regarded by some as unnecessary—and by too many as "just another job."<sup>14</sup>

- a. Discuss the reasons for this situation.
- b. What might be done to improve the public's esteem of selling as a vocation?

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*PART SIX · RESEARCH*



## How to read reports of psychological researches

*Not the truth in anyone's actual or supposed possession, but the sincere effort he has exerted to master the truth, makes the worth of the man. For not through the possession but through the pursuit of truth comes that widening of a man's powers by which alone is achieved his ever-growing perfection. Possession makes one stagnant, lazy, proud. If God held shut in His right hand the whole of truth, and in His left had only ever-active striving after truth with the certainty of ever and always erring, and He said to me, "Choose!" I should humbly reach toward His left hand, saying, "Father, give me this! The pure truth is indeed for Thee alone!"—Lessing, *Eine Duplik*.<sup>1</sup>*

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC research as "lived" by the pure scientist and as viewed by the layman may be illustrated by an incident in the life of the great scientist Faraday. He gave a lecture in the Royal Institution in London before a group of celebrities of the day. He brought a magnet close to a coil of wire. An electric current was produced.

After the demonstration a lady asked him, "Professor Faraday, even if the effect you explained is obtained, what is the use of it?"

Faraday replied, "Madam, will you tell me the use of a newborn child?"

The pure scientist conducts his experiments without regard for their practical

or commercial value. Eventually some of the experiments may have practical value, but the scientist seeks truth mainly. Louis Agassiz, Lord Kelvin, Oersted, and others made their great discoveries without thought of personal gain. Some of their apparently useless discoveries have led to very valuable results for modern civilization.

The value of research in technical matters is now generally accepted, and it is probable that research in the human-relations problems of our economic life will make unusual strides in this and the next generation. As Thomas Edison said, the keynote of the twentieth century will be human engineering. Occasionally, political and international disruptions ap-

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peal to make his prediction incorrect, but such disruptions are only temporary.

The practical man finds himself in many situations where it is difficult for him to utilize scientific research. Lack of time often compels him to make a quick decision. Sometimes business expediency does not permit changes wrought by science. A company may have established a reputation for a certain product or service and it would be difficult to make a change, even though scientific studies indicate that a change to a better product might be made. Moreover, the present "laws" of commerce are not nearly so exact and fixed as the laws of physics and chemistry.

In spite of the many difficulties in the way of predicting and controlling human behavior in business, psychological research has become a recognized phase of modern economic life. The student who becomes a businessman learns that if he wishes to market a new product, he must do more than try it out in his wife's kitchen, ask the opinions of his friends, or consult his salesmen. He finds that his own company's records and past statistics of monthly reports do not enable him to predict the public's reception of a new idea or invention. Snap judgments and empirical rules may lead him astray. But even the best feasible research study is none too reliable.

### ***Professional research organizations***

In one issue of a trade journal, ten professional research organizations were advertised. Some of them have been in existence for years. Others seem to advertise once or twice and then disappear. The ability and reliability of these research organizations must be rated in the

same manner that we rate individuals. A few individuals are competent for a specific task, but there are many who are not. The executive who hires a professional research worker or research organization should be acquainted with research principles if he wishes to secure competent service. Otherwise he may be handed a voluminous report that looks impressive but is filled with fallacious conclusions. Statistics are often helpful, but they are also very dangerous. The reader should at least know the essential terms and methods which are common to research reports in the field of analyzing and controlling human behavior.

### ***Starting important researches***

When an executive or a group of executives decides that a research shall be made of some problem or problems, certain questions should be asked and answered in advance. These are

1. *Just what is the problem?* What is it that is to be learned? How shall the problem be stated, in order that the persons making the research may keep it clearly in mind? Shall the research be limited to a single specific problem or shall the investigation have a broad and generalized scope?

2. *Who shall perform the research?* In many cases the executives decide that some accountant or statistician now in the company can do the work. Such an attempt to save money is conjectural. The findings of a single research may be used to modify a company's production schedule for a year and may involve thousands of dollars. It does not pay to take chances. Only a few large concerns have a staff of researchers who are qualified to conduct a psychological investigation.

The fact that an engineer knows calculus and can plot nice curves does not mean that he is qualified to make a market investigation or standardize psychological tests for employment. Trained and experienced workers are just as important in psychological research as in other branches of industry.

3 *What shall be the method of securing the data?* Shall the company start a research department with laboratories of its own, shall field investigators be used, shall the data be secured by questionnaire, shall a test campaign be conducted, etc? Can the necessary data be secured? Are the facts now available in the company's records? Is it possible to obtain the facts?

4 *Do the executives have a fair attitude toward the research?* Are they seeking to obtain data to prove a present theory, or are facts wanted regardless of their pleasantness or unpleasantness? Are the executives future-minded or past-minded? Is the research for the purpose of finding out "why the horse was stolen" or to prevent the stealing of horses in the future?

5. *How much time shall be allowed for the investigation?* Does the company expect the researchers to achieve functions of the administrative executive, or is the research to present facts for the guidance of the executives? One sales manager hired a research man to make a consumer analysis. He agreed to expect his report at the end of three months. However, at the end of two weeks he began to write letters to the researcher, asking him why the sales had not increased in the territory where the analysis was being made. When a company starts a business research department of

its own, definite results of proved commercial value should not be expected for one or two years. Furthermore, some of the executives of companies having sales researchers are inclined to expect the sales research department to act as a sales promotion department. If research is to fulfill its function of making discoveries of value to the business, it must be allowed sufficient time and remain advisory and independent of immediate problems of showing a profit on the balance sheet.

***Points to look for when analyzing a research report***

When any statistical report is analyzed, it is necessary to look for fallacies regardless of the ability or reputation of the author. Administrators must operate on the plan of delegating functions and responsibilities to others. When an executive selects the most competent researcher he can find and gives him a research problem, he tends to assume that whatever the statistician says must be true. However, the reader of the statistics must be alert to detect and question discrepancies. It is impossible for the executive or the student to know all or most of the errors in statistics or logic that may occur, but some of the more common ones can be pointed out.

1 *Is the unit of measurement sound?* In statistics, the units of measurement are the bricks from which the whole statistical structure is built. The units of measurement may be individuals, foot-pounds, wages, accidents, or business men, but the unit must be sound in its entity. One sales manager asked his salesmen to predict the condition of business for the next month. Each salesman was



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to state whether he expected to have an increase in sales over the preceding month. Approximately 80 per cent of the weekly reports of the sales force were optimistic. They were of the type "Conditions here look very good for next month. I expect to sell more than I did this month." At the end of the month for which the sales had been predicted, less than 10 per cent of the salesmen had had an increase in sales, and the total volume of business for the sales force was 15 per cent below that of the preceding month. The reason for the unreliability of the investigation was that the salesmen knew that the sales manager usually expected optimistic reports and they sent in the expected viewpoint lest they appear to be alibi-artists and expecters of failure. The prediction could not be reliable because the units of measurement, statements by individual salesmen, were unreliable.

2 *Are the data in the report authentic?* Occasionally statistics are quoted by bankers, salesmen, publishers, and others, and it is impossible to find anyone to substantiate the figures. A notable example is the oft-quoted figures regarding the incomes of men who begin their vocational life at the age of 20. At the age of 45, 16 per cent are supposed to be dead, 65 per cent self-supporting, 15 per cent dependent, wholly or in part; and only 4 per cent are supposed to have accumulated anything and kept it. When they are 65 years of age, 85 per cent of the men still living are quoted as dependent on children, relatives, or charity.

An attempt has been made to find the original source of these figures but has met with no success. The life insurance companies that were consulted said that they had seen the figures and their sales-

men had used them, but the originator was not known. So far as they know, no one really knows what the correct figures are.

3. *Are single causes interpreted to give rise to single effects or events?* In human relationships, effects are seldom brought about by single events or causes. The "new American tempo" is not the effect of one cause, such as the development of the physical sciences. Increases in crime cannot be attributed solely to a change in religious devotion or divorce. Labor unrest is not caused alone by universal education. Psychological abnormalities cannot be attributed solely to a thwarting of the sex impulse or to heredity. Increases and decreases in sales cannot be attributed to the lone influence of the new sales manager. Decreased labor turnover cannot be interpreted as wholly the result of a newly organized personnel department or of profit sharing.

The veteran advertising manager of an ice-cream company "showed" how his advertising efforts had increased the per capita consumption of ice cream in his territory. He should also have mentioned as factors of influence improved quality of the product, pure food laws, greater number of retail outlets, lower cost of production, and greater competence of company management.

4. *Are graphic curves of increase and decrease compared with basic curves of increase and decrease?* Frequently they are not. This kind of error is common in reports of individual executives to the management. The sales manager may show that sales have increased 20 per cent each year over the preceding year for the past five years. He should also show how much the industry as a whole has increased during that period. The

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employment manager may show that labor turnover has decreased each year for the past three years. He should also compare his curve of decrease with the employment situation of the community.

5 *Are the graphs in the report properly constructed?* The person who wishes to understand statistical reports needs an understanding of some of the more common principles of graphic charting.

If the statistician wishes to construct

make on his readers. One of the best statistical devices for comparative data is the index number.

Table 87 illustrates three possible sets of index numbers, or series of simple relatives, which might be constructed from the *actual* sales data in the first column.

The method is simply to divide each year's sales by the sales in the base period which one may think best. The base pe-

TABLE 87  
SHOWING ACTUAL SALES BY YEARS AND INDEX NUMBERS THEREOF

Year	Actual Sales (thousands of tons)		Index Numbers					
			On 1933 Base as 100		On 1946 Base as 100		On 1942-1946 Base as 100	
	XYZ CO	ENTIRE INDUSTRY	XYZ CO	ENTIRE INDUSTRY	XYZ CO	ENTIRE INDUSTRY	XYZ CO	ENTIRE INDUSTRY
1933	5.2	31,300	100.0	100.0	36.4	70.8	50.3	73.8
1934	4.0	23,513	76.9	75.1	28.0	53.2	38.7	55.4
1935	6.3	32,151	120.2	102.7	43.7	72.7	44.4	75.8
1936	7.9	42,773	151.9	136.7	55.2	96.8	76.4	100.8
1937	8.5	45,060	163.5	144.0	59.4	101.9	82.2	106.2
1938	8.0	44,462	153.8	142.1	55.9	100.6	77.4	104.8
1939	7.0	34,671	134.6	110.8	49.0	78.4	67.7	81.7
1940	8.4	42,132	161.5	134.6	58.7	95.3	81.2	99.3
1941	3.6	19,783	69.2	63.2	25.2	44.7	34.8	46.6
1942	9.0	44,943	173.1	143.6	62.9	101.7	87.0	105.9
1943	7.3	37,932	140.4	121.2	51.0	85.8	70.6	89.4
1944	11.5	45,394	221.2	145.0	80.4	102.7	111.7	107.0
1945	15.8	48,294	303.8	154.3	110.5	109.2	152.8	113.8
1946	14.3	44,214	275.0	141.3	100.0	100.0	138.3	104.2

a simple line curve to show the amount of building construction in a certain city over a given period of years, it is possible to construct the graph so that a small or a great increase or decrease may appear to have taken place. This may be done regardless of the actual facts in the situation. The curve can be made to appear unstable and to have fluctuated violently, or to have fluctuated little and to have great stability. The construction and type of graph is often determined by the impression that the statistician wishes to

impress here used are (1) the year 1933, (2) the year 1946, and (3) the yearly average for the five years 1942-1946, inclusive.

What practical purpose is accomplished by the use of these index numbers? Examination of the data for the two variables—sales of the company and of the whole industry—is much easier when the data are in the form of index numbers. The two columns headed "Actual Sales" are much harder to compare than the three index-number arrangements for the same data.

## *how to read reports*

When a base period has been chosen suitable to whatever purpose the analyst may have in mind, the curves are readily brought into each other's neighborhood by the index-number method. Then it is easy to answer such questions as How does the long-time growth of our company show up in comparison with our industry as a whole? How much more, or less, did a boom or depression affect us than it did the industry generally? How does our recent position compare with that of the industry?

The index number is not the only method of analysis which can be used on occasions to answer such questions as these, but it is one of the most effective, and, when properly understood and applied, one of the easiest. Some statisticians prefer to use the semi-logarithmic charts.

Graphs are the quickest, clearest, and most condensed method of conveying valuable information to the reader, but he should realize their potency for misinformation as well as for administrative guidance.

6. *Is the number of units studied sufficiently large to represent the group fairly?* It is obvious that if we wish to study any single human trait, such as the general intelligence of salesmen, it is necessary to test the intelligence of a large typical group of salesmen. If we were to draw conclusions from the measurements of only ten salesmen, we should be very liable to fall into error. Psychometrists have developed several formulas which show the required size of the group, or, in some cases, the unreliability of the conclusions drawn from a group of a given size. We shall leave these more complicated formulas to the statisticians, but the layman can approxi-

mate a decision from two simple questions.

Do the measures extend over the entire *range* for the group in question? An example is that of the study of intelligence of college students. If we were to measure the intelligence of only those students who fail in college or those who graduate with honors, we should not be testing a representative sampling of the factor under study. Tests would have to be made of those who fail, those who do passing work, those who do average work, those who are slightly above the average, and those who are the best—all in their proper proportions.

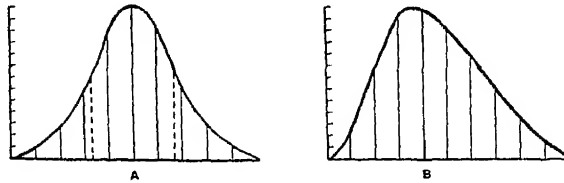
The next question is: How *many* students must we have on each part of the entire scale? We can answer this by noting whether the number of cases measured distribute themselves according to the normal frequency (normal probability) curve. When the base line of the theoretical probability curve has been divided into five equal parts and vertical lines have been erected at the dividing points, five areas result, which include the following percentages, reading from left to right: 3, 22, 50, 22, 3. This bell-shaped curve seems to apply to many living characteristics. It has even been found that when the number of hairs on the left hind legs of a large number of bees are counted, the frequency curve has this bell-shape. Because of this universality of distribution of human traits, many schools and colleges grade their students in conformity with this curve.

When an insufficient number of cases have been studied, the frequency curve may be skewed or multi-modal in form. This discussion applies only to human traits or reactions found in a representa-

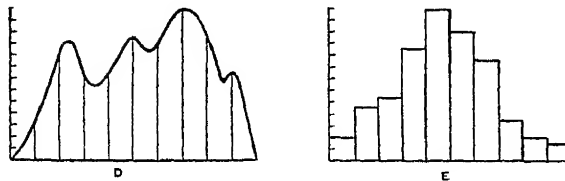
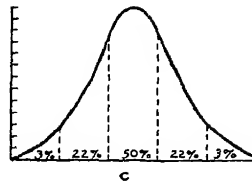
tive number of nonselected persons. That is, if we wish to test the intelligence of only the best 10 per cent of salesmen in one company, the normal frequency curve would not result. But if we were to test the best 10 per cent of all salesmen in a thousand companies, the plotted results would probably follow the normal curve.

7 Have the data for a group been

of men was used because obviously they could not be affected by the same organic condition. It was found that the men had more fluctuations which could be looked upon as cyclical for twenty-eight-day periods than the women! If the control group of men had not been used, it is probable that the data of the women only would have given quite another impression.



(A) Curve of normal frequency, base line divided into three equal parts (B) Skewed curve (C) Base line divided into five equal parts (D) Multimodal curve (E) Rectangles representing groups of grades.



checked by control groups? When a group of persons are experimented upon in the laboratory to determine the effects of smoking, caffeine, scolding, praise, music, lighting, or a system of wage payment, it is also necessary to measure the same or similar reactions of another group of persons who are not affected by the same stimuli. One investigator experimented upon the effects of periodicity of women in the performing of certain mental functions. A control group

Sometimes experimenters try a new method of sales management or lighting or wage payment and find that the production figures go up the next month. These stimuli do cause changes in production, but it is well to check the new plan by allowing certain groups to work under the old system so that the one factor which is blamed or praised for the change may really be known beyond any chance factors that may be bringing about the change. In the experiments on

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the effects of drugs, it is absolutely essential to have control groups because of the effect of suggestion. It is also essential in proving the effects of new methods of motivating or training employees

8. Do the conclusions and suggestions harmonize with general experience and the judgment of persons experienced in the field studied? Because of the opportunities for misinterpretation of statis-

### *A Brief Check List for Evaluating Scientific Articles\**

1. The analysis of the purpose of the article:
  - is the purpose clearly stated?
  - will the purpose be supported or refuted by the kind of data collected?
  - is sufficient account taken of previous studies in this particular field?
2. The analysis of the design of the sampling procedure of the experiment involved
  - is the design of the experiment so formulated that it will give an adequate answer to the purpose of the experiment?
  - how are the subjects selected. from the total population, a restricted population, or other?
  - is the number of subjects adequate to take care of the purpose of the experiment satisfactorily?
  - are there proper and adequate controls (e.g., have controls been properly equated with experimental group)?
3. Analysis of the procedure of the scientific article
  - are the procedures so described that any other experimenter could duplicate the experiment to check the findings?
  - are the data systematically collected and presented?
4. Analysis of the results
  - are results correctly and clearly presented?
  - are the units of measurement sound?
  - are graphs properly drawn?
  - are tables properly constructed?
  - are statistical procedures essentially sound?
  - are the proper tests of significance made, such as critical ratio, *et al*?
  - do the verbal statements agree with the quantitative and tabular data?
5. Analysis of conclusions
  - are the conclusions warranted by the data presented?
  - are significant trends recognized?
  - are the limitations of the experiment recognized?

\* For a more thorough discussion of analyzing scientific articles see John E. Anderson, "Methods of Child Psychology," in Leonard Carmichael, *Manual of Child Psychology*, John Wiley and Sons, New York 1946, pp 1-42, and Dael Wolfe, Rensis Likert, Donald G. Marquis, and Robert R. Sears "Standards for Appraising Psychological Research," *The American Psychologist*, No. 4 (1949), pp 320-328.

tics, it is well to compare the findings with empirical conclusions. The man who has had years of experience in any field is likely to know many facts and principles that cannot be revealed by laboratory experiments.

It should be kept in mind at all times that laboratory experiments in human reactions usually deal with one factor or one set of factors only. An experiment may be sound so far as it goes, but *psychological laboratory conditions seldom approximate actual conditions*. Some important human reactions cannot be subjected to experiment. Several psychologists have attempted to measure the reactions of persons when in love, angry, fearful, or sexually excited; but it has been very difficult to achieve genuine mental states in the laboratory. All psychological laboratory experiments should be looked upon as laboratory experiments which may or may not carry over into actual life and business.

If the investigation does not agree with the past experience of those who are conversant with the empirical facts, then it may be necessary to repeat parts of the research. On the other hand, if the study does indicate that it would be advisable, all things considered, to make certain changes, the research will have been a waste of time and money unless the changes are made.

***The measurement of relationship between two series rather than differences within one series***

Psychologists have conducted thousands of investigations in which they have attempted to find how two or more series of measures correlate. This kind of computation received an impetus

from the attempts to find how tests of general intelligence correlated with other tests or measurements. Problems such as the correlation between grades in high school and grades in college, grades in one subject compared with grades in another, height and its relation to intelligence, the "pulling power" of ads when evaluated in the laboratory and when judged on the basis of the number of inquiries, number of years in school and sales of life insurance are only a few examples of the many attempts to measure relationship between two series. To enable scientists to compare the results of their researches and to increase the accuracy of their own studies, psychologists have resorted to mathematical formulas, such as the Pearson Product-Moment ( $r$ ) formula and the Spearman Rank-Difference ( $\rho$ ) method of computing the coefficient of correlation. The computations of these formulas give to the scientists, in terms of one figure, the relationship between two variables. We shall illustrate the use of the latter formula with an example which shows the method of computation rather than indicate all the facts that would have to be considered when using the formula.

Let us assume that ten students in a class take a mid-semester quiz. Would it be possible to predict the final grades of the students on the basis of what they did in the quiz? Most persons would expect to find some definite relation between quiz grades and final grades. It would vary with certain factors, such as the instructors, the courses, and the teaching methods. Let us assume that the names of the students, their grades in the quiz, and their final grades are as follows:

## how to read reports

<i>Names</i>	<i>Quiz Grade</i>	<i>Final Grade</i>
Brown, John S	71	71
Bundit, William F	91	85
Devern, Samuel P	85	90
Everson, Paul T	88	80
Fullerton, Newton	60	72
Graff, Marion	77	70
Hunter, Lewis	60	50
Jutten, Isaac	75	75
Lewisorn, Beatrice	72	65
Turner, B Houghton	78	80

efficient of correlation.  $D$  stands for the differences in rank of the two series of measurements. The number of items in the series is indicated by  $n$ , which is 10 in this problem  $\Sigma$  (sigma) is the symbol for "sum of"

The correlation for the above two series is found by the method illustrated on this page

<i>Names</i>	<i>Quiz Grade</i>	<i>Final Grade</i>	<i>Rank in Quiz</i>	<i>Rank in Final</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>D<sup>2</sup></i>
Brown, John S	71	71	8	7	1	1
Bundit, William F	91	85	1	2	1	1
Devern, Samuel P	85	90	3	1	2	4
Everson, Paul T	88	80	2	3 5	1 5	2 25
Fullerton, Newton	60*	72	9 5	6	3 5	12 25
Graff, Marion	77	70	5	8	3	9
Hunter, Lewis	60*	50	9 5	10	5	25
Jutten, Isaac	75	75	6	5	1	1
Lewisorn, Beatrice	72	65	7	9	2	4
Turner, B Houghton	78	80	4	3 5	5	25
						35 00

By inspection of the grades of the two examinations, we recognize that the students who did well on the quiz also *tended* to do well on the final examination. There are some differences, as in the case of the two students who made 60 on the quiz. One of them did better and the other did worse on the final examination. It is necessary, therefore, to have a simple device for the expression of the correlation. The Spearman Rank-Difference formula is.

$$\rho = 1 - \frac{6\Sigma D^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

$\rho$  (rho) stands for the degree of correlation, or the measurement of correspondence, and is usually called the co-

efficient of correlation. By use of the formula, we now know that the relationship between quiz grade and final grade in that course was +.79. The relation was positive. That is, those who did well in the quiz tended to do well in the final examination. If the answer had been  $-79$ , then the relation would have been in inverse order, that is, those who did well in the quiz tended to do poorly in the final examination and those who did poorly in the quiz tended to do well in the final examination.

This question naturally arises in the above problem. "Does the coefficient of correlation of +.79 mean that 79 per cent of the students who did well on the quiz also did well on the final examina-

The sum of  $D^2 = 35$

$n = 10$

$n(n^2 - 1) = 990$

$$\text{Hence } 1 - \frac{6 \times 35}{990} = 1 - \frac{210}{990} = 1.00 - .21 = +.79$$

tion?" It does not. The coefficient of correlation, as stated above and as it is usually given in research reports, is not on a percentage basis. To put it on a percentage basis, we must compute its "per cent of better than chance coincidence"

Per cent of better than chance

$$\text{coincidence} = 1 - \sqrt{1 - r^2}$$

By use of this formula we see that the above correlation of +.79 means that there was a per cent of better than chance coincidence in this case of about 0.39. To assist the reader in judging the values of coefficients of correlation, it is well for him to keep in mind the following general and rough evaluations from the predictive standpoint:

Coefficients	Their Predictive Value
0.00 to 0.20	No correlation or chance
0.20 to 0.40	Slight correlation
0.40 to 0.70	Definite correlation, but little predictive value
0.70 to 1.00	Correlation of definite predictive value

To use the coefficient of correlation it is necessary to be a trained statistician, because of the many possibilities for erroneous conclusions. In the above example of ten students, we could not say that the class of next year would do the same and that we could therefore omit the final examination entirely. It might not be safe to omit the final examination the following year even if the coefficient of correlation had been +.95. The number of students studied was small. In such cases the statisticians use the formula for finding the Probable Error (P. E.).<sup>2</sup>

Probable error of the

$$\text{correlation} = 6745 \frac{1 - r^2}{\sqrt{n}}$$

In this example of correlation, where the coefficient of correlation is +.79 and

the number of cases is 10, the P. E. is  $\pm .08$ . When the coefficient of correlation is less than four times its probable error, the coefficient indicates no predictive value, regardless of how near to 1.00 it may be. In this case the coefficient is almost ten times its probable error and we are safe in saying, assuming all other factors to be equivalent, that the coefficient of correlation of .79 indicates a better than chance correspondence. In the long run, its estimates of students' final grades are based upon their quiz

TABLE 88\*

PREDICTIVE VALUES (CHANCES IN 100) FOR CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS (r)

Chances in 100		Chances in 100	
r		r	
00	50	55	58
05	50	60	60
10	50	65	63
15	50	70	66
20	51	75	69
25	51	80	74
30	52	85	80
35	53	866	82
40	54	90	89
45	55	95	97
50	56	1 00	100

\*Douglas Fryer and Lyle H. Lanier, "Prediction in Terms of Chances in 100 from the Correlation Coefficient," *Industrial Psychology*, May 1927, p. 261.

grades, predictions would be right more often than wrong. It would, however, be dangerous to try to predict any single student's grade on the basis of the quiz grade only. The predictions usually apply to groups only.

A high coefficient of correlation really means that, when one variable is given, the other can be predicted within a certain range. The range is determined by the amount of the coefficient of correlation, the probable error, the soundness



## *how to read reports*

of the units of measurement, and other factors which are recognized by psychological researchers. This discussion of a very technical field has been presented not to train the reader in the use of these methods but to indicate how he should interpret statistics quoted by psychologists. It is also hoped that the reader who handles data of this sort will recognize the pitfalls and consult with statisticians of the biometrical fields when he attempts to carry on investigations in relationships between human reactions.

### *Measures of central tendency*

Statisticians use the *mean* and the *median* to note the central tendency of the series of measures. The mean is synonymous with the *arithmetic average*. In a series where the measures are distributed in a perfect normal frequency curve, the mean and the median are the same.

We determine the arithmetic mean or average in the usual manner. Let us compute the average wealth for the following members of a summer camp:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>No. in the Occupation</i>	<i>Wealth of Each Man</i>	<i>Total for the Occupation</i>
Lawyer	1	\$ 10,000	\$ 10,000
Teacher	2	{ 4,000 5,000 }	9,000
Bank clerk	3	2,000	6,000
Salesman	2	15,000	30,000
Undertaker	1	20,000	20,000
Financier	1	1,000,000	1,000,000
<hr/>			
Total number of people	10		
Total wealth for the camp	.		\$1,075,000
Average wealth.		.	107,500

In this case, the members of the summer camp can truthfully say that the average wealth for each member of their little community is over \$100,000. How-

ever, only one member of the community can afford the standard of living which \$100,000 would permit. Per capita figures frequently give a wrong impression, because the average always takes into consideration all the measures of the series. To overcome the effect of extremes in the series, the median is used.

The *median* is that measure of a series, arranged in order of magnitude, above which and below which one-half of the measures fall. Sometimes it is the middlemost measure.

When the members of the above summer camp are arranged in order of wealth, the series is:

Bank clerk	\$ 2,000
Bank clerk	2,000
Bank clerk	2,000
Teacher	4,000
Teacher	5,000
Lawyer	10,000
Salesman	15,000
Salesman	15,000
Undertaker	20,000
Financier	1,000,000

In this example, what is the median wealth? We cannot take the middlemost measure, because we have an even num-

ber of cases. If we had eleven members of the camp, we could take the wealth of the sixth member of the series as the median wealth of the community. In the

present case of ten members we can find the median wealth of the community by calculating the arithmetic average of the two middle members of the series. The median wealth in this camp is \$7,500. This more truly represents the per capita wealth of the community than the average wealth. At any rate, a salesman would be more justified in approaching the members of the community with a product that could be afforded only by people whose incomes are \$7,500 than would the salesman whose product could be afforded only by persons whose incomes are over \$100,000.

In this example, the mean and the median are not the same in value, because the curve of distribution is skewed toward one end of the scale. In general, when a series of measures is truly representative of human nature, the mean and the median are approximately the same.

In some situations neither the mean nor the median is of value as a measure of central tendency. The *mode* may have to be used. The *mode* is the measure that occurs most frequently. Let us assume that the general manager of a concern manufacturing window shades sends an investigator out to measure the sizes of the windows in a community. The investigator returns with the data and then computes the mean and the median sizes of windows. These sizes would have no value for determining the sizes of shades to be manufactured. Theoretically, not one window might fit the mean size and perhaps one might fit the median size. The modal size would be better, as the mode is that measure which occurs most frequently in the series. In the case of the members of the summer camp, the modal wealth of the community is

\$2,000, because that is the amount of income which occurs most often.

### Correcting for guessing

Teachers of psychology and other subjects have been giving objective questions of the true-false type for a number of years. Students are often given true-false statements and told to put a circle around T if the statement is true and around F if it is false. If the answer is not known, the student may omit the question. Statistically, a student might not study the assigned material at all and yet be able to have the answers correct for one-half the questions. To overcome the factor of chance, the answers are usually scored so that the student is doubly penalized for each question incorrectly answered. This is done on the theory that he will guess right about as often as he guesses wrong. The score for an examination of this type is:

$$\text{Score} = \text{Total number of questions} - [\text{No} \\ \text{unanswered} + (2 \times \text{No wrong})]$$

In the case of 20 questions a student who has not read the material might answer 16 and have 4 blanks as doubtful and unanswered by him. By chance, 8 should be right, and 8 wrong. His score for the questions would then be

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Score} &= 20 - [4 + (2 \times 8)] \\ &= 0 \end{aligned}$$

By experiment, we find that some students can answer some true-false questions even though they have not studied the lesson for which they are quizzed. From contacts with other subjects or materials related to the course, their guesses will be more often right than wrong. Hence the correct method of scoring for these questions would be:

## how to read reports

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Total number of questions}}{\text{No unanswered} + (2 \times \text{No wrong})} - \frac{\text{Average No known from other sources}}{1}$$

If a correction is made for overlapping information acquired from sources other than the course itself, it is necessary to standardize the questions on a group having intelligence and experience similar to that of the students who are supposed to have studied the material before taking the examination

### Conclusion

The research "tools" presented in this chapter are not comprehensive, but the discussion is an attempt to stimulate certain types of students to go on and acquire further skills in measuring human reactions

### PROJECTS

- 1 Suggest titles and headings for advertising a booklet on child training which is to be sent to young mothers. Assume that the headings are to set forth the main appeal in a direct-mail booklet. As a suggestion, consider the results of a questionnaire answered by mothers who gave their votes for first choice of these six terms as follows

	<i>Votes</i>
Scientific child training	3
Psychological study of the child	3
Happy childhood	39
Better parenthood	17
Character education	30
Preparing the child for life	40

- 2 A doctor made the following statement: "I had all the nicotine removed from a cigarette, making a solution out of it. I injected half the quantity into a frog with the effect that the frog died almost instantly. The rest was administered to another frog with like effect. Both frogs were grown and of average size. The conclusion is evident that a single cigarette contains enough poison to kill two frogs."

Is this a valid argument to prove the harmfulness of cigarette smoking? What would be the effect of taking the white of an egg and injecting a part of it into the human bloodstream? (For guidance in obtaining the answer, look up the chemical nature of rattlesnake venom.)

- 3 In reading a research report how can one detect whether the writer tried to prove a

point or merely to present the facts that he happened to find? What are the distinguishing characteristics of reports that *defend a position* compared with those that *try to promote an idea*?

- 4 In a discussion group of thirty industrial executives, the leader of the group was opposed to a bonus for the foreman of a gang of seven workers. Three of the members of the group had had experience with bonuses for the foreman of small units of production. These three men were heartily in favor of a bonus for the foreman as well as the workers. The leader of the discussion group then asked the members of the group to vote for or against a foreman's bonus. The three who had had experience with such a situation voted in favor of the bonus; the remaining members of the group who had had no such experience opposed it.

How can the voting of these executives be explained?

- 5 Statistically, is the difference between two and three the same as the difference between ten and eleven? If 10 men can build a house in 100 days, can 1,000 men build the house in one day?
- 6 Discuss statistical data of business which are often compared but which really are not comparable, such as bond prices during the Civil War and World War II or wages in London and in Chicago. Is homogeneity in comparisons of psychological data possible?

## *how to read reports*

- 7 Distinguish between immediate or superficial causes and remote or fundamental causes. How does this apply to retail costs? To unemployment? To sales records?
- 8 Examine a standard book on the construction and interpretation of graphs and

charts and list some of the common errors and fallacies in this field. Find a graph or chart that misrepresents the data on which it is based and reconstruct it so that it presents a true picture.

### COLLATERAL READINGS

- |   |  |
|---|--|
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## ***APPENDIX***



# SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE TEST\*

## I. Knowledge of the Lower Social Strata

Each question has several possible answers Underline the one answer that is correct or the most nearly correct, and put its number in the parentheses at the end of the dotted line Do not omit any question, even if you must guess

- 1 "Come off the oil" means  
(a) that your wallet is empty (b) to stop bragging (c) you look like a gigolo (d) you've got dandruff ( )
- 2 "Skid Row" refers to  
(a) a London street (b) a term used in ice-hockey (c) the lowest level of the underworld (d) a snowy road . . . . . ( )
- 3 The term "to fade" is used in  
(a) dice (b) golf (c) dress designing (d) billiards . . . ( )
- 4 "Snafu" is  
(a) a Hollywood actor (b) a term meaning scram (c) a term meaning easy going (d) a term meaning difficulties in progress . . . . ( )
- 5 A "queer" is.  
(a) a stool pigeon (b) a storybook fairy (c) an insane person (d) a homosexual . . . . . ( )
- 6 A "pug" is  
(a) a bulldog (b) an English tavern (c) a strong cigar (d) a prize fighter ( )
- 7 A "frog" is  
(a) a railroad worker (b) a prostitute (c) a thief (d) a Frenchman ( )
- 8 "To give the bird" is to  
(a) heckle (b) give a dinner party (c) double-cross (d) pay tuition ( )
9. "Scuttlebutt" refers to  
(a) rumors (b) bet (c) used cigarette (d) a whistle . . . . . ( )
- 10 "Two-fingers" refers to:  
(a) a brand of candy bar (b) a sign to obtain someone's attention (c) a symbol of secrecy (d) a measure used by bartenders . . . . ( )
- 11 The term "soup" is slang for  
(a) nitroglycerine (b) jail (c) freighter (d) poison . . . ( )
- 12 An "uncle" is  
(a) a jockey (b) a hockey goalie (c) a gambler (d) a pawnbroker ( )
- 13 A "hot rod" is  
(a) a hot spoon (b) a fat fisherman (c) a fast auto (d) a lucky gambler ( )
- 14 "Red-eye" is a term for  
(a) strong arms (b) bookies (c) pink lady beverage (d) cheap whiskey ( )
- 15 A "necktie party" is  
(a) for girls only (b) for men only (c) a hanging (d) a high school dance . . . . . ( )
- 16 The figures on the opposite sides of a die of dice always add up to  
(a) 4 (b) 6 (c) 7 (d) 11 . . . ( )
- 17 A "cat" is  
(a) a game of casino (b) a poker hand (c) a dead beat (d) a sharp character . . . . . ( )
- 18 "Heaven-beck" refers to  
(a) a bird of paradise (b) an angel (c) a minister (d) a chicken coop ( )
- 19 "Little joe" is a term used in  
(a) golf (b) cards (c) dice (d) horse racing . . . . . ( )
- 20 "Foo-foo" is  
(a) perfume (b) ketchup (c) a dog-biscuit (d) a rattle . . . . . ( )
- 21 A "beezer" refers to  
(a) a dagger (b) a stiff test (c) nose (d) magazine . . . . . ( )
22. A "foul ball" is  
(a) a vexatious person (b) an army officer (c) a rum drink (d) a cop ( )
23. A "skin slammer" refers to:  
(a) a doctor (b) adhesive tape (c) a drummer (d) a politician ( )
- 24 A "cokey" is  
(a) a horse (b) a bad mistake (c) a drug addict (d) an imbecile ( )

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## appendix

- 25 A "deep-sea chef" is  
(a) a fisherman (b) a lover of sea-food (c) a dishwasher (d) a man who prepares tabasco sauce ... ( )
26. A "quail" is  
(a) a dog (b) a truant boy (c) a woman (d) a foreigner ... ( )
- 27 A "snow bird" is.  
(a) a dope addict (b) a nude painting (c) a race horse (d) a night club ... ( )
- 28 The term "shiv" refers to:  
(a) a bad cold (b) a delirium (c) a chaplain (d) a knife ... ( )
- 29 A "chucker" is a name for:  
(a) chuck wood (b) a baseball pitcher (c) a braggart (d) an extravagant person ... ( )
- 30 A "daisy cutter" is  
(a) a farm implement (b) a milliner (c) a low ball (d) a rustic ... ( )
- 31 "Boondocks" refers to:  
(a) a country shack (b) a backwoods location (c) a small canoe (d) a hound ... ( )
- 32 To "highball" is to:  
(a) stagger (b) tip-toe (c) dance (d) go at top speed ... ( )
- 33 "Little Phoebe" is:  
(a) a stolen purse (b) a dice term (c) a deputy sheriff (d) a baby's doll ... ( )
- 34 An "eightball" is:  
(a) a poor loser (b) an incompetent person (c) a team mascot (d) a good sport ... ( )
35. A "sun-pecked jay" is  
(a) a bird (b) a rustic, city person (c) an informer (d) a bird food ... ( )
36. In the language of sports, a "screw-  
armer" is  
(a) a southpaw (b) a right-hander (c) a man who fixes roller skates (d) a water boy ... ( )
37. "Dominie" is a term referred to  
when speaking of.  
(a) a game (b) a priest (c) sugar (d) profanity ... ( )
38. "Annie Oakley" refers to:  
(a) a free pass (b) an English actress (c) Tom Oakley's wife (d) a machine gun ... ( )
39. The "black gang" refers to:  
(a) slaves (b) spiritualists (c) a secret society (d) machinists in the Navy ... ( )
- 40 A "job robber" is.  
(a) a foreman (b) a bookie (c) an overzealous piece worker (d) a stool pigeon ... ( )
41. To "lower the boom" means  
(a) to hit somebody (b) to anchor (c) to be inebriated (d) to bluff ... ( )
- 42 "Joe" refers to  
(a) a man (b) the mouth (c) dope (d) a cup of coffee ... ( )
- 43 "Yack" means  
(a) to talk seldom (b) a stupid person (c) a criminal (d) a billy-goat ... ( )
- 44 A "bim" is:  
(a) a jitterbug (b) a plastic record (c) a convict (d) a tough girl ... ( )
- 45 A "chippy" is:  
(a) a billiard ball (b) a girl (c) a small ship (d) a score of three in dice ... ( )
46. A "gibroni" is:  
(a) a crying doll (b) a jerk (c) a pilot (d) a chef ... ( )
- 47 To "lose one's marbles" means to  
(a) lose money (b) be a simpleton (c) be drunk (d) lose a job ... ( )
48. A "bundle stuff" is.  
(a) a flower (b) a college professor (c) a tramp (d) a dead crook ... ( )
49. A "thornback" is:  
(a) a rose bush (b) a spinster (c) a bank-teller's window (d) a fish ... ( )
50. A "gapper" is  
(a) an addict in need of dope (b) a ditch digger (c) a consumptive (d) a fishing rod ... ( )
- 51 In a game of dice the "odds" are  
the same for making the number  
four as for making the number  
(a) 8 (b) 6 (c) 10 (d) 7 ... ( )
52. "Land grabbers" are:  
(a) chains (b) shoes (c) animals (d) farmers ... ( )
- 53 A "whey belly" is:  
(a) a fat man (b) a bald man (c) a starved cat (d) a poor horse ... ( )
54. A "geek" is  
(a) a clown (b) the wildman in the

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- circus sideshow (c) a bookie (d) a ham .. ( )
- 55 A "pad" is:  
(a) a tiger (b) a one-room apartment (c) a bald man (d) a stone ( )
- 56 The expression "croaker" refers to  
(a) morticians (b) bootleggers (c) doctors (d) preachers .. ( )
- 57 A "flunkie" is:  
(a) a dope addict (b) a goal in ice hockey (c) a brain who wears glasses (d) a cringing person ( )
- 58 A "ridgerunner" is  
(a) a southern hillbilly (b) a mountain climber (c) a ski instructor (d) a forester ( )
- 59 "Run-em" is a term used in  
(a) horseracing (b) casino (c) poker (d) bridge .. ( )
- 60 A "round heel" is  
(a) a politician (b) a poor prize fighter (c) an alcoholic (d) a salesman .. ( )
- 61 A "vegetable" is  
(a) a fruit (b) a helpless patient (c) a worm (d) a stag party ( )
- 62 "Slum" has reference to  
(a) a boarding house (b) meat stew (c) prison clothes (d) beer ( )
- 63 The term "down and go" is used in  
(a) Air Force (b) racing (c) football (d) cards .. ( )
- 64 "Flat ball" refers to:  
(a) baseball (b) bowling (c) football (d) golf .. ( )
65. A "tout" is a person who:  
(a) never bets (b) is a tightwad (c) is often seen at the race tracks (d) wears zoot suits ( )
- 66 "Travelers" are  
(a) nervous twitches (b) head lice (c) crutches (d) tears in stockings ( )
- 67 A "hood" is  
(a) a woman's head gear (b) a criminal (c) a fence (d) a pot ( )
- 68 A "chit" is  
(a) a young girl (b) a receipt (c) a bill (d) a small black bird .. ( )
- 69 "Red lead" refers to  
(a) hot steel (b) whiskey (c) a bullet (d) ketchup ( )
- 70 When one is a "shiny-back" it means that he belongs to  
(a) a football team (b) an orchestra (c) a baseball team (d) a bald men's club .. ( )
- 71 A "twist" is  
(a) a woman (b) a tennis racket (c) a prison trusty (d) a formal dance .. ( )
- 72 A "hussle" is.  
(a) a fishing rod (b) an attorney (c) a bothersome situation (d) a beer party .. ( )
- 73 A "binte" is  
(a) an isolated cottage (b) an overcoat (c) a humorous book (d) an unwieldy crow-bar ( )
- 74 A "dizzy stick" is  
(a) a pogostick (b) a clarinet (c) a drummer (d) a cigarette ( )
- 75 A "night line" is  
(a) a policeman's beat (b) a sheik's conversation (c) a fishing device (d) a rendezvous .. ( )

### II Knowledge of the Upper Social Strata

*Encircle "T" if the statement is true; "F" if it is false.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Table service is usually placed with the oyster fork at the outer edge, so that one uses the silver from the outside toward the plate T F</p> <p>2. Replies to all invitations may be typewritten or engraved ..... T F</p> <p>3. Children should remain seated when being introduced .. T F</p> <p>4. When shopping, it is not good etiquette to thank the salesman T F</p> <p>5. Informal invitations should be</p> | <p>written by the lady herself in the first person .... T F</p> <p>6 The person who calls on the telephone should be the one who terminates the conversation .... T F</p> <p>7 On the whole, for engaged couples it is in good taste to show signs of affection in public .... T F</p> <p>8. Manners do not change much fundamentally, only in outward manifestations ..... T F</p> |
|--|---|

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- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>9 After one has finished eating, the fork should be laid on the plate with the tines upward . . . . .</p> <p>10 Letters of condolence should be sent on black-edged paper . . . . .</p> <p>11 At a concert it is customary to applaud the performance between the various movements of a symphony . . . . .</p> <p>12 A man should not ask a young lady for a date in the presence of others . . . . .</p> <p>13 If an inexperienced servant blunders, you should pretend, if you can, not to know it . . . . .</p> <p>14 "Double-redouble" is descriptive of a phrase of contract bridge . . . . .</p> <p>15 A woman should not permit a new chance acquaintance to pay for her meals in the train . . . . .</p> <p>16 When a newcomer is introduced to the members of a group, his name must be repeated to each member of the group . . . . .</p> <p>17 When serving a meal, all drinks should be served on the right . . . . .</p> <p>18 When a servant at a door says "Not at home," this phrase means that the lady of the house is not at home to visitors, it is a more polite expression than "Not receiving" because it leaves the pleasant uncertainty that it is quite possible she really is out . . . . .</p> <p>19 A "bread and butter" letter is written to your hostess thanking her for a pleasant weekend . . . . .</p> <p>20 If a clergyman is present at a dinner party, in a home, he should be asked to say grace . . . . .</p> <p>21 At informal dinners, people do not usually go in to dinner arm in arm . . . . .</p> <p>22 A navy blue or black suit will not do in place of a cutaway at a very small or country wedding . . . . .</p> <p>23 The time limit for occupancy of a hotel room is usually between three and six P.M. of the following day . . . . .</p> <p>24 The expression "Meet so-and-so" is permitted in society . . . . .</p> | <p>25 Pink and blue stationery are in especially good taste . . . . .</p> <p>26 Etiquette concerning the armed services makes it necessary to introduce a rear admiral, for example, as admiral . . . . .</p> <p>27 It is never proper for a man to look over a restaurant bill before paying it when he has people dining with him . . . . .</p> <p>28 Formal invitations are written in the third person . . . . .</p> <p>29 When one is introducing a friend to another friend, the younger person is presented to the older person . . . . .</p> <p>30 A person is stymied in golf when he cannot putt directly because of interference from another ball . . . . .</p> <p>31 A full dress suit does not require a shirt with a stiff front . . . . .</p> <p>32 A man sitting next to a strange woman in a theater should assist her when she wishes to take off her coat . . . . .</p> <p>33 When registering at a hotel, it is proper to sign, "Mr John Doe and Wife" . . . . .</p> <p>34 In a restaurant, a woman waits until she is seated before removing her coat . . . . .</p> <p>35 It is not necessary to answer informal invitations . . . . .</p> <p>36 Any guest who is older than the guest of honor may leave before he, or she, does . . . . .</p> <p>37 It is correct for an unmarried woman to ask the gentleman she knows best to act as host when giving a dinner . . . . .</p> <p>38 In good society ladies do not kiss each other when they meet either at parties or in public . . . . .</p> <p>39 The proper way for a bachelor to entertain a debutante is to ask her to tea or to the theater . . . . .</p> <p>40 The butler is the most important servant in every big establishment . . . . .</p> <p>41 A very smart invitation to a wedding ceremony is one that has a raised margin formed by a plate mark . . . . .</p> |
|--|---|

appendix

- |    |  |   |   |    |   |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|----|---|---|---|
| 42 | In a Pullman car, a woman may dress in her own berth or in the dressing room   | T | F | 60 | One should congratulate a woman on her engagement   | T | F |
| 43 | Appropriate dressing plus good taste is all that is necessary for good attire  | T | F | 61 | A man raises his hat when giving directions to a strange woman on the street  | T | F |
| 44 | Chukker is a period of play in a polo game   | T | F | 62 | A woman never rises to an introduction  | T | F |
| 45 | The phrase table d'hôte on a menu means a fixed price for a meal, regardless of how much or how little of it one orders                      | T | F | 63 | When an engagement is broken, gifts, letters, etc., are returned  | T | F |
| 46 | One should wipe one's mouth before drinking any water  | T | F | 64 | When paying your respects to the bride and groom, it is proper to offer them both congratulations   | T | F |
| 47 | Wedding announcements are invitations to attend the ceremony   | T | F | 65 | The invitation to the church ceremony always requests the honor and never the honour of your presence   | T | F |
| 48 | An unmarried woman signs her name "Alice Burt" rather than "Miss Alice Burt"   | T | F | 66 | The fundamental difference between a ball and a dance is that people of all ages are asked to a ball, while only those of approximately the same age are asked to a dance | T | F |
| 49 | It is snobbish not to adopt the customs of the community of which one has become a member  | T | F | 67 | The word "ball" is never used except in an invitation to an affair that is public   | T | F |
| 50 | When casual acquaintances meet, the man should be the first to speak to the woman  | T | F | 68 | In hotels, "European Plan" means that meals are included in the rate charge   | T | F |
| 51 | It is not wise to tip the head waiter even if special attention is desired, as it is the head waiter's duty to give special attentions       | T | F | 69 | When entering a room with a guest the hostess goes first only when the guest is a stranger in the house   | T | F |
| 52 | Ladies always wear gloves to formal dinners and take them off at the table, putting them in their laps                                       | T | F | 70 | When a man is walking with two women on the street, he should walk between them   | T | F |
| 53 | It is correct for a man to shake hands with his gloves on if they cannot be removed quickly  | T | F | 71 | When first names are to be written on a card, the husband's name is written first   | T | F |
| 54 | It is permissible to drink bouillon by lifting the cup, as one would drink tea   | T | F | 72 | If the maid offers to do some extra work while you are a guest at the home in which she is employed, it is not necessary that you up her                                  | T | F |
| 55 | The engagement ring may be worn in public before the betrothal is announced  | T | F | 73 | Antibes is a summer resort on the French Riviera  | T | F |
| 56 | Red wine is preferable to white wine with fish courses   | T | F | 74 | As long as the audience enjoys it, a person who talks well should be encouraged to monopolize the conversation  | T | F |
| 57 | It is not correct for the hostess to be served first   | T | F | 75 | The bride should always carry flowers at a formal wedding   | T | F |
| 58 | The term "My dear" in correspondence is more formal than "Dear"  | T | F |    |   |   |   |
| 59 | A young man may continually go to see a young girl even if she shows him scant attention or even if she indicates that she is not interested |   |   |    |   |   |   |

## appendix

### KEY TO SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE TEST

#### I Knowledge of the Lower Social Strata

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. (b) to stop bragging                      | 39 (d) machinists in the Navy             |
| 2. (c) the lowest level of the underworld    | 40 (c) an overzealous piece worker        |
| 3. (a) dice                                  | 41 (a) to hit somebody                    |
| 4. (d) term meaning difficulties in progress | 42 (d) a cup of coffee                    |
| 5. (d) homosexual                            | 43 (b) a stupid person                    |
| 6. (d) prize fighter                         | 44 (d) tough girl                         |
| 7. (d) Frenchman                             | 45 (b) girl                               |
| 8. (a) heckle                                | 46 (b) a jerk                             |
| 9. (a) rumors                                | 47 (b) be a simpleton                     |
| 10. (d) a measure used by bartenders         | 48 (c) tramp                              |
| 11. (a) nitroglycerine                       | 49. (b) spinster                          |
| 12. (d) pawnbroker                           | 50 (a) an addict in need of dope          |
| 13. (c) a fast auto                          | 51 (c) 10                                 |
| 14. (d) cheap whiskey                        | 52 (b) shoes                              |
| 15. (c) a hanging                            | 53 (d) a poor horse                       |
| 16. (c) 7                                    | 54 (b) the wildman in the circus sideshow |
| 17. (d) sharp character                      | 55 (b) one-room apartment                 |
| 18. (c) a minister                           | 56 (c) doctors                            |
| 19. (c) dice                                 | 57. (d) cringing person                   |
| 20. (a) perfume                              | 58 (a) southern hillbilly                 |
| 21. (c) nose                                 | 59 (c) poker                              |
| 22. (a) a vexatious person                   | 60 (b) poor prize fighter                 |
| 23. (c) a drummer                            | 61 (b) helpless patient                   |
| 24. (c) drug addict                          | 62 (b) meat stew                          |
| 25. (c) a dishwasher                         | 63 (d) cards                              |
| 26. (c) woman                                | 64 (b) bowling                            |
| 27. (a) dope addict                          | 65 (c) is often seen at the race tracks   |
| 28. (d) knife                                | 66 (b) head lice                          |
| 29. (b) a baseball pitcher                   | 67 (b) a criminal                         |
| 30. (c) low ball                             | 68 (b) receipt                            |
| 31. (b) a backwoods location                 | 69 (d) ketchup                            |
| 32. (d) go at top speed                      | 70 (b) an orchestra                       |
| 33. (b) dice term                            | 71 (a) woman                              |
| 34. (b) an incompetent person                | 72 (c) a bothersome situation             |
| 35. (b) a rustic, city person                | 73. (b) overcoat                          |
| 36. (a) southpaw                             | 74 (d) cigarette                          |
| 37. (b) priest                               | 75. (c) fishing device                    |
| 38. (a) a free pass                          |   |

#### II Knowledge of the Upper Social Strata

- |          |          |           |           |
|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. True  | 10 False | 19 True   | 28. True  |
| 2. False | 11 False | 20 True   | 29. True  |
| 3. False | 12 True  | 21 True   | 30. True  |
| 4. False | 13 True  | 22 False  | 31. False |
| 5. True  | 14 True  | 23 True   | 32 False  |
| 6. True  | 15 True  | 24. False | 33. False |
| 7 False  | 16 False | 25 False  | 34. True  |
| 8. True  | 17 True  | 26 True   | 35. False |
| 9. True  | 18 True  | 27. False | 36. False |

37 True	47 False
38 True	48 True
39 True	49 True
40 True	50 False
41 True	51 False
42 True	52 True
43 True	53 True
44 True	54 True
45 True	55 False
46 True	56 False

57 True	67 True
58 True	68 False
59 False	69 True
60 False	70 False
61 True	71 False
62 False	72 False
63 True	73 True
64 False	74 True
65 False	75 False
66 True	

#### NORMS

Rank for College Students	For Lower Social Strata		For Upper Social Strata	
	RAW SCORE OR NUMBER RIGHT	RAW SCORE OR NUMBER RIGHT	RAW SCORE OR NUMBER RIGHT	RAW SCORE OR NUMBER RIGHT
Highest fifth	58-75	45-75	56-75	60-75
Second fifth	53-57	38-44	51-55	55-59
Middle fifth	49-52	31-37	48-50	52-54
Fourth fifth	42-48	23-30	45-47	47-51
Lowest fifth	0-41	0-22	0-44	0-46

The most helpful interpretation of the scores on the "Social Knowledge Tests" is to score both the Lower and Upper Social Strata sections and note the difference or similarity between the two

rankings, connecting them by a line, as in these four examples

Quintile on Lower	Quintile on Upper	Quintile on Lower	Quintile on Upper
5	5	5	5
4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3
2	2	2	2
1	1	1	1

Quintile on Lower	Quintile on Upper	Quintile on Lower	Quintile on Upper
5	5	5	5
4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3
2	2	2	2
1	1	1	1

#### A TEST OF PERSONALITY MATURITY

A person may have high abstract intelligence and still lack personality maturity. He may be bright in the study of certain books, but he may never have studied the kinds of books or had the experiences that are necessary to make him a well-adjusted, mature adult.

Maturity is, after all, not a matter of age. Some young people are relatively mature, and some old people are still children in their points of view and attitudes toward important aspects of life. In Chapter 9 we described the way in which the following personality-maturity test was developed. Apply the questions to yourself and refer to the key on pages 682 and 683 for the proper scoring. Then consult the table at the end of the key, entitled "What Your Score Means."

#### PERSONALITY-MATURITY TEST\*

Check one and only one of the possible answers to each question

\* From *Finding Yourself in Your Work* by Harry Walker Hepner. Copyright, 1937, by D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. Copyright, 1931, 1932, by The Psychological Corporation.

- The manner in which my employers or teachers have treated me is that they
  - ☐ a. always tried to make my life miserable by constant nagging
  - ☐ b. had a tendency to criticize me whenever they could.
  - ☐ c. were indifferent to me so long as I conformed with their regulations or performed work satisfactorily
  - ☐ d. helped me in my work a great deal
  - ☐ e. helped me and praised me for my conscientiousness
  - ☐ f. condemned me when at fault and praised me when I deserved it
- When taking part in card games or athletic contests where my side or I fail to win, I usually react to the defeat
  - ☐ a. by studying possible reasons for the defeat in order to improve my skill.
  - ☐ b. by admiration of the perfection of the other person's skill.
  - ☐ c. by feeling inferior to the other person
  - ☐ d. by feeling that, at any rate, I'm superior in other things.

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- ☐ *e* by realizing the relative unimportance of defeat or victory in such games and promptly forgetting the defeat
- ☐ *f* by thinking the other fellow got the breaks that time, maybe I will next time
- 3 When forced to give up a plan or ambition such as to go to college, to make a fortune, to marry a certain person, etc., I find that I
- ☐ *a* am sure that I shall be unhappy for the rest of my life
- ☐ *b* have so many interests that I soon have something to take its place.
- ☐ *c* am determined to get it at any cost if it takes the rest of my life
- ☐ *d* am sure that God's will is for the best
- ☐ *e* try to reconcile myself to the loss and make the best of it.
- ☐ *f* figure that's my luck and I shouldn't have hoped for anything in the first place
- ☐ *g* never had a plan or ambition of vital importance that I had to give up
- ☐ *h* am unhappy for some time but get over it
- 4 The extent to which people seem to like me is
- ☐ *a* either very much or not at all
- ☐ *b* people like me a little but not enough to have me for their best friend
- ☐ *c* everyone seems to like me at first meeting.
- ☐ *d* people like me only if they know me very well
- ☐ *e* no one likes me
- ☐ *f* many people like me to some extent
- ☐ *g* I cannot tell
- ☐ *h* people like me if I can do them a favor
- ☐ *i* people like me at first but later they change their opinion
- 5 My tendency to call the attention of others to my failures, defeats, or inabilities is
- ☐ *a* I always tell people about them whenever they seem interested
- ☐ *b* I tell people about my failures only when it's incidental to the conversation
- ☐ *c* I very seldom mention my defeats to anyone to avoid seeking sympathy
- ☐ *d* I never mention my defeats; people think I'm either looking for sympathy or admitting my inferiority.
- 6 People whose opinions differ from mine
- ☐ *a* are unsocial and peculiar
- ☐ *b* are egotistical
- ☐ *c* are in need of more training.
- ☐ *d* are justified in having their own opinions
- ☐ *e* simply differ from me in background.
- ☐ *f* are in need of more years of experience
- ☐ *g* are usually superior to me in intelligence
- ☐ *h* are more informed on the particular subject
- 7 The kind of opponent I prefer in a game or contest is one who is
- ☐ *a* a master and my superior, because I have a greater chance of improving my skill
- ☐ *b* somewhat superior, because it makes the contest more stimulating to me
- ☐ *c* an equal, since we both do our best and have an equal chance to win
- ☐ *d* an inferior whom I know I can beat (Then I feel I'm superior in one thing at least)
- ☐ *e* a good sport, regardless of his skill
- 8 Life, for me, is worth-while in the extent to which I have the privilege of living in a political, social, and economic world that
- ☐ *a* is on a simpler scale than this present organized society
- ☐ *b* would remain as it is now
- ☐ *c* is orderly and seemingly logical in its changes for the better
- ☐ *d* is in a state of change where I can utilize its changing requirements for my own development and the satisfactions of others
- ☐ *e* is constantly changing
- ☐ *f* is considerably improved over this world
- 9 My tendency to argue with my associates is
- ☐ *a* I'm always ready for a good, hot argument
- ☐ *b* I usually argue if I'm at all interested
- ☐ *c* I seldom argue with anyone; I prefer an intellectual argument with myself
- ☐ *d* I dislike to get into arguments and avoid them as much as possible.
- ☐ *e* I hate arguments
- ☐ *f* I argue only in a free-for-all discussion
- ☐ *g* I like to test the other person's knowledge

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10. When a person not in my family criticizes me, my usual reaction is to
- ☐ *a* analyze the critic as to why he criticized me
  - ☐ *b* ask him for the reason of the criticism
  - ☐ *c* say nothing and forget about it
  - ☐ *d* criticize him when I get the chance
  - ☐ *e* defend myself verbally if I think I am right
  - ☐ *f* say nothing but hold a grudge against him
11. In order to succeed in a vocation, family influence, "pull," or "drag" is
- ☐ *a* always harmful. Eventually it will be difficult for the benefited person to face future problems without his usual "drag."
  - ☐ *b* usually harmful rather than helpful
  - ☐ *c* helpful only in getting started in one's vocation
  - ☐ *d* helpful at times but not necessary
  - ☐ *e* always helpful but not necessary
  - ☐ *f* necessary in order to achieve prominence
  - ☐ *g* always helpful and always necessary
12. I believe that the extent to which an individual can learn to enjoy life nobly depends upon
- ☐ *a* the way in which he responds to his environment (assuming that the environment is reasonably good) and uses it to develop his natural abilities
  - ☐ *b* the way in which he responds to an environment that has many facilities for his development
  - ☐ *c* the way in which he utilizes his environment, even though the facilities of that environment are poor
13. My reaction to the thought of my own death is to
- ☐ *a* greatly abhor the thought
  - ☐ *b* dislike the thought but do not express my feeling
  - ☐ *c* take it for granted as an eventual inevitability and not think about it often
  - ☐ *d* frequently speculate about it, wishing that I had the nerve to become experimental.
  - ☐ *e* secretly wish that I were dead but not often say it to others
  - ☐ *f* openly wish that I were dead
  - ☐ *g* never give it a thought.
14. The extent to which I try to make a favorable impression on other people is to
- ☐ *a* make definite plans and devote much time to it
  - ☐ *b* seldom plan to do so in advance but if the opportunity arises try to make a good impression
  - ☐ *c* devote a slight amount of time to it
  - ☐ *d* dislike the practice in others and never do it myself.
15. When confronted by an unusual problem in work or study
- ☐ *a* I never hesitate to seek help from someone who knows more about it
  - ☐ *b* I usually ask some close friend to help me
  - ☐ *c* I very seldom bother anyone enough to ask him to help me
  - ☐ *d* I usually ask a friend if I am sure he knows more about it.
  - ☐ *e* I make every effort to solve it before asking anyone for help
16. Life, for me, is worth-while to the extent to which I have the privilege of living among friends and relatives who are
- ☐ *a* more congenial than the present ones
  - ☐ *b* stimulating intellectually.
  - ☐ *c* I need more friends and relatives than I now have in order to be happy
  - ☐ *d* the ones I now have are sufficient to stimulate me satisfyingly
  - ☐ *e* they are unnecessary for my happiness
  - ☐ *f* interested in the things that interest me, common interests
17. When a member of my family criticizes me severely or nags me, my usual reaction is to
- ☐ *a* resent it but say nothing
  - ☐ *b* keep peace in the family by agreeing with the other person and flattering him.
  - ☐ *c* say nothing but try to get even later
  - ☐ *d* maintain my self-respect by arguing back
  - ☐ *e* try to understand the reason why the other person is criticizing or nagging me
  - ☐ *f* get angry and argue
18. My feeling about calling the attention of others to my activities, abilities, or achievements is
- ☐ *a* I seek the attention of others and do it deliberately



## *appendix*

- ☐ *b.* I seek the attention of others but do not do it obviously.
- ☐ *c* I like the attention of others but do not solicit it
- ☐ *d* I hate to call attention to myself in any way and always avoid speaking about myself
19. The importance of my personal appearance to me is
- ☐ *a* very great, I spend much time in studying and improving it
- ☐ *b* moderate, and I devote only a small amount of time to it
- ☐ *c* so slight that I spend only enough time at it to keep from looking conspicuous
- ☐ *d* of little or no interest to me
- ☐ *e* very important to me, but I spend only a moderate amount of time on it
- 20 I find enjoyment in the companionship and friendship of
- ☐ *a* members of the opposite sex, they understand me better
- ☐ *b* people who are congenial to me regardless of their sex
- ☐ *c* members of my own sex because I get along with them better
- ☐ *d* I do not feel the need of companionship or friendship with anyone of either sex
- 21 The way in which I react to religion is
- ☐ *a* that I do not personally need any religion but think that it is necessary for most people.
- ☐ *b* I read about and observe various religions and eventually may decide upon one for myself
- ☐ *c* I am inventing a religion of my own which I hope will some day be satisfactory for me.
- ☐ *d* I now have a religion which satisfies me
- ☐ *e* the religion of my parents is most satisfactory to me
- ☐ *f* the religion of my parents is not satisfactory but I accept it.
- ☐ *g* that religion is very burdensome to me but necessary.
- 22 The extent to which I study and read about social or economic changes in other countries of the world is
- ☐ *a.* I am not interested in conditions in other parts of the world
- ☐ *b.* I am too busy solving my own problems to think about those in other parts of the world
- ☐ *c* I am trying to locate accurate information about conditions there
- ☐ *d* I am more interested in conditions in other parts of the world than in those here
- ☐ *e* I should like nothing better than to study and read about conditions in other parts of the world
- ☐ *f* I am interested in studying conditions in other parts of the world in order to make comparisons with my own part of the world
- 23 When forced to speak in public, I find that
- ☐ *a* it is extremely difficult and causes me embarrassment or stuttering
- ☐ *b* it is difficult, but I can manage it without much evidence of embarrassment
- ☐ *c* it is a challenge to my self-respect so that I do it without flinching
- ☐ *d* I can usually speak without much effort
- ☐ *e* I always enjoy speaking to an audience
- ☐ *f.* it is very difficult unless I am sure of the friendliness of the audience
- 24 The extent to which I study or read about social, political, or economic changes in my own country is
- ☐ *a* I read much relative to them
- ☐ *b* I read only those things I'm especially interested in
- ☐ *c* I read them only when there's nothing else to read or when I have to
- ☐ *d* I read them incidentally as I read the newspapers and periodicals
- ☐ *e* I read them only enough to be able to discuss them intelligently
- 25 My reaction to seeing news items published about myself is
- ☐ *a* I enjoy seeing them and often show them to my friends
- ☐ *b.* I rather like to see my name in print, but it's not very important to me
- ☐ *c* seeing my name in print is of no interest to me at all.
- ☐ *d* seeing my name in print amuses or disgusts me
- ☐ *e* I am proud to show people my name in print if the item isn't derogatory
- ☐ *f.* I intensely dislike to see my name in print.

- 26 My attitude toward omens, premonitions, etc., is that
- ☐ *a* in my life I have known them to indicate almost without exception success or failure of some activity
  - ☐ *b* they usually predict the success or failure of some activity
  - ☐ *c* I can't decide whether it is chance or whether they actually do predict
  - ☐ *d* I don't believe they ever predict anything for anyone
  - ☐ *e* I realize they are false but find myself heeding them
- 27 The extent of my activity in group or social meetings is
- ☐ *a* I always try to lead in the discussions
  - ☐ *b* I take part in the discussions only if I know something about the subject
  - ☐ *c* I do not take part in the discussions unless I am positive of the worth and truth of what I am saying
  - ☐ *d* I never take part in the discussion because I very much dislike talking in a group
  - ☐ *e* I take part to keep things moving but not to lead
- 28 The extent to which I visit fortune-tellers is
- ☐ *a* I consult them only when confronted with a serious dilemma and can't decide what to do
  - ☐ *b* I visit them sometimes when friends I know are going to do so
  - ☐ *c* I only consult them when I wish to see if I can discover the techniques used
  - ☐ *d* I never go to a fortune-teller, I think they're fakes
  - ☐ *e* I go there for entertainment.
- 29 The extent to which I take financial risks is
- ☐ *a* I take many serious risks because if I win I win a great deal.
  - ☐ *b* I take serious risks only when the balance is in my favor.
  - ☐ *c* I take no serious risks, the losses would overwhelm me if I didn't win
  - ☐ *d* I take a few minor chances since I wouldn't be greatly injured should I lose
  - ☐ *e* I take no chances of any kind, I prefer to be safe where I am now
- 30 When emotional problems or difficulties confront me
- ☐ *a* I enjoy them because I love to overcome them; they stimulate me.
  - ☐ *b* they don't interest me particularly, I'm used to them.
  - ☐ *c* they are just another obstacle in my path which temporarily impedes me.
  - ☐ *d* I have no emotional problems or difficulties
  - ☐ *e* I stick them out although they wear me down
- 31 In regard to nature I believe that
- ☐ *a*. nature is intrinsically good, if I could be in complete harmony with nature I could avoid all evil
  - ☐ *b*. nature is essentially good, but it must be subject to control by man.
  - ☐ *c* nature is evil, if it could be completely subjugated we could eliminate all vice
  - ☐ *d* only a few things in nature are innately bad, but they do not cause us great worry now that science has shown us that even innate mechanisms can be used advantageously
  - ☐ *e*. nature is neither good nor bad, it simply offers material with possibilities and limitations for the individual's development
- 32 My attitude toward the world in general is that
- ☐ *a*. it is filled with evil, the faster I can escape it the better off I shall be.
  - ☐ *b* it has a great many temptations so that it is difficult for anyone to remain good
  - ☐ *c* the world is an interesting panorama, I am interested in utilizing my time in investigating it.
  - ☐ *d* the world is good if people would live lives of worth and true goodness.
  - ☐ *e*. I live only once, so I intend to enjoy it instead of trying to explain it.
  - ☐ *f* I am a part of the world, whether good or evil, so I intend to live to the fullest extent of my capabilities
- 33 Assuming that everyone wants enough money to satisfy his needs for food, clothing, and shelter, I also want more money
- ☐ *a*. so that I can have a better house, larger car, more beautiful clothes, etc
  - ☐ *b*. to carry out plans that I would like to put into effect, such as improving my business or professional ability
  - ☐ *c* I don't want any more money.
  - ☐ *d*. to be able to share it with others.
  - ☐ *e*. I don't want any more money because

## *appendix*

- I think it destroys more happiness than it creates
- ☐ *f* I want enough money so that I can do as I please
- 34 When I read the daily papers, my attitude toward items relating to my vocation (managing a home is considered a vocation) is
- ☐ *a* I always read items relating to my vocation
- ☐ *b* I read only those items that especially interest me
- ☐ *c* I very seldom read anything about my vocation, I have enough of that all day long
- ☐ *d* I never read anything about it I hate it

### KEY TO PERSONALITY-MATURITY TEST

Subtract total minus score from total plus score

- |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 (a) -3<br>(b) -2<br>(c) +4<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -1<br>(f) +6               | 2 (a) +4<br>(b) 0<br>(c) -3<br>(d) -3<br>(e) +8<br>(f) -4                     | 3 (a) -3<br>(b) +10<br>(c) 0<br>(d) -5<br>(e) +2<br>(f) -3<br>(g) +6<br>(h) 0 | 4 (a) 0<br>(b) -3<br>(c) 0<br>(d) 0<br>(e) 0<br>(f) +8<br>(g) -2<br>(h) -2<br>(i) 0 |
| 5. (a) -3<br>(b) +8<br>(c) +2<br>(d) -1                                 | 6 (a) -2<br>(b) 0<br>(c) -3<br>(d) +8<br>(e) +4<br>(f) -2<br>(g) -1<br>(h) -1 | 7 (a) -2<br>(b) +6<br>(c) 0<br>(d) -5<br>(e) +8                               | 8 (a) 0<br>(b) -5<br>(c) +6<br>(d) +6<br>(e) +2<br>(f) -3                           |
| 9. (a) -2<br>(b) +8<br>(c) 0<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -4<br>(f) 0<br>(g) 0       | 10. (a) +8<br>(b) +6<br>(c) -3<br>(d) -2<br>(e) +4<br>(f) -4                  | 11 (a) -2<br>(b) 0<br>(c) +8<br>(d) +8<br>(e) 0<br>(f) -4<br>(g) -4           | 12 (a) -1<br>(b) -2<br>(c) +8   |
| 13. (a) -2<br>(b) -3<br>(c) +10<br>(d) -1<br>(e) -2<br>(f) -3<br>(g) -1 | 14 (a) -1<br>(b) +8<br>(c) -2<br>(d) -2                                       | 15 (a) +6<br>(b) -3<br>(c) 0<br>(d) 0<br>(e) +2                               | 16 (a) -4<br>(b) +8<br>(c) -2<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -4<br>(f) +4                          |
| 17 (a) 0<br>(b) -3<br>(c) -3<br>(d) +2<br>(e) +8<br>(f) -2              | 18. (a) -1<br>(b) -4<br>(c) +8<br>(d) 0                                       | 19 (a) -2<br>(b) +4<br>(c) 0<br>(d) -3<br>(e) +4                              | 20 (a) -3<br>(b) +8<br>(c) -3<br>(d) -3   |
| 21 (a) -2<br>(b) +6<br>(c) +4<br>(d) +8<br>(e) -2<br>(f) -3<br>(g) -3   | 22. (a) -5<br>(b) 0<br>(c) +6<br>(d) -2<br>(e) 0<br>(f) +8                    | 23 (a) -4<br>(b) +6<br>(c) 0<br>(d) +4<br>(e) +2<br>(f) 0                     | 24 (a) +6<br>(b) 0<br>(c) -4<br>(d) 0<br>(e) +4                                     |

## appendix

- |   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
| 25 (a) -3<br>(b) +8<br>(c) 0<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -2<br>(f) -3 | 26 (a) -5<br>(b) -4<br>(c) -3<br>(d) +10<br>(e) -4 | 27 (a) +4<br>(b) +6<br>(c) 0<br>(d) -4<br>(e) 0   | 28 (a) -4<br>(b) -3<br>(c) -3<br>(d) +10<br>(e) 0           |
| 29 (a) 0<br>(b) +6<br>(c) 0<br>(d) +8<br>(e) -4           | 30 (a) 0<br>(b) +4<br>(c) +6<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -1    | 31 (a) -4<br>(b) -4<br>(c) -3<br>(d) 0<br>(e) +10 | 32 (a) -3<br>(b) -3<br>(c) +6<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -2<br>(f) +10 |
| 33 (a) -2<br>(b) +8<br>(c) -2<br>(d) 0<br>(e) -2<br>(f) 0 | 34 (a) +4<br>(b) +4<br>(c) -3<br>(d) -4            |   |   |

### WHAT YOUR SCORE MEANS

<i>Score</i>	
0-99	Below average for people of the general population
100	Average for people of the general population
101-248	Above average for people of the general population
162	Average for college students

### EXECUTIVE REACTION PATTERN TEST

*Underline the term or degree which most adequately describes your likes, beliefs, record, etc. Do not try to think of what you would or should do, but answer according to what you have done*

- 1 Number of meetings of a technical nature or of trade associations attended—local organizations as well as national or state
  - ☐ a Ten or more per year
  - ☐ b From 5 to 10
  - ☐ c From 1 to 5
  - ☐ d Few or none
  - ☐ e None
- 2 Activity in trade or technical association meetings
  - ☐ a Took very active part as a leader
  - ☐ b Frequently took part in discussions
  - ☐ c Occasionally asked questions
  - ☐ d Rarely took part
  - ☐ e Never took part
- 3 Time devoted to personal appearance
  - ☐ a Large amount
  - ☐ b Considerable amount.
  - ☐ c Moderate amount
  - ☐ d Few minutes a day.
  - ☐ e Neglect it.
- 4 Amount of study given to subjects related to my business since leaving school.
  - ☐ a Spent all available time on such subjects
  - ☐ b Studied business subjects frequently
  - ☐ c Occasionally spent time in study of my business
  - ☐ d Seldom gave any
  - ☐ e Never gave any
- 5 When I have read the daily papers, I have read items relating to business
  - ☐ a Almost exclusively
  - ☐ b Much of the time
  - ☐ c Frequently
  - ☐ d Occasionally
  - ☐ e Never, except by accident
- 6 My record of leadership in my youth
  - ☐ a Frequently organized games, teams, or clubs
  - ☐ b A leader in activities
  - ☐ c Little marked leadership
  - ☐ d Willing to follow other leaders
  - ☐ e Disregarded playmates.
7. I actually associated with men whose ability was:
  - ☐ a. Much greater than mine.
  - ☐ b Somewhat greater.
  - ☐ c About the same.

## appendix

- ☐ *d*. Slightly less than my own.  
☐ *e*. Considerably less
- 8 When I was not busy taking recreation or taking care of routine matters and had some time for thinking along any line, I devised new methods, plans, or systems. The percentage of such available time devoted to improvements was from
- ☐ *a* 75-100 per cent  
☐ *b* 50-75 " "  
☐ *c* 25-50 " "  
☐ *d*. 5-25 " "  
☐ *e* 2-5 " "  
☐ *f* 0-2 " "
9. My thinking of improvements dealt with problems relating to (underline as many as apply)
- ☐ *a* Organization of company as a whole  
☐ *b* Organization of work within one department.  
☐ *c* Organization of work between departments  
☐ *d* Stimulating employees.  
☐ *e* Cutting costs  
☐ *f*. Increasing sales  
☐ *g* Better service to customers  
☐ *h* New mechanical inventions  
☐ *i* Better financing  
☐ *j* Helping society in general
- 10 My family influence has
- ☐ *a* Greatly stimulated me to do my best  
☐ *b* Stimulated me slightly  
☐ *c* Had no effect—good or bad  
☐ *d* Had slightly negative effect  
☐ *e* Had pronouncedly negative effect
- 11 A rival or rivals:
- ☐ *a* Stimulated me strongly and I tried to beat them  
☐ *b* Stimulated me slightly  
☐ *c* Did not affect me at all  
☐ *d* Discouraged me slightly  
☐ *e* Discouraged me greatly
12. I met my financial obligations
- ☐ *a*. Always promptly  
☐ *b* Fairly promptly.  
☐ *c*. As best I could  
☐ *d* Sometimes with failure  
☐ *e*. Sometimes with neglect.
- 13 In times of failure or discouragement:
- ☐ *a* I persisted  
☐ *b*. I persisted to a limited extent
- ☐ *c* I thought of ways out of the difficulties and applied them to the problems  
☐ *d* I thought of remedies but did not apply them  
☐ *e* I just quit and regretted that I was not trained to solve them
- 14 My energy supply
- ☐ *a* Compels me to keep busy at all times  
☐ *b* Is plentiful  
☐ *c* Is enough to meet my needs  
☐ *d* Is small and I force myself to keep going  
☐ *e*. Prevents my attaining many possibilities
- 15 My attitude toward risks
- ☐ *a* I took many serious business risks  
☐ *b* I took a few serious business risks.  
☐ *c* I took no serious risks  
☐ *d* I took a few minor chances  
☐ *e* I took no serious or minor chances
- 16 The extent to which I tried to make a favorable impression on important persons
- ☐ *a*. I made definite plans and devoted much time to impressing the right persons  
☐ *b* I devoted a slight amount of time to making a good impression  
☐ *c*. I seldom planned to do so in advance, but, if opportunity arose, I tried to make a good impression.  
☐ *d* I never noticed such opportunities  
☐ *e* I disliked the practice in others and never indulged myself
- 17 Problems or difficulties around me
- ☐ *a*. Stimulated me greatly  
☐ *b*. Stimulated me mildly  
☐ *c* Had no effect  
☐ *d*. Caused slight discouragement.  
☐ *e*. Caused pronounced discouragement.
18. Criticisms from others regarding my work have
- ☐ *a* Greatly stimulated me to do better.  
☐ *b* Slightly stimulated me to do better  
☐ *c* Had no effect  
☐ *d*. Worried me.  
☐ *e* Caused resentment.
- 19 Anticipating problems before they arose.
- ☐ *a*. Gave them much thought.  
☐ *b*. Gave them some thought.  
☐ *c* Planned to meet present problems only  
☐ *d* Let all problems take care of themselves.  
☐ *e*. Passed them on to experts.

## appendix

- 20 When conversing with superiors  
☐ *a* I felt at ease and talked freely  
☐ *b* I talked freely, but was not at perfect ease  
☐ *c* I talked fairly freely, but was ill at ease  
☐ *d* I talked little, because I was ill at ease  
☐ *e* I felt inferior and said nothing
- 21 When conversing with inferiors  
☐ *a* I tried to make them feel at ease  
☐ *b* I let them talk  
☐ *c* I talked more than they  
☐ *d* I monopolized the conversation  
☐ *e* I tried to make them feel inferior  
☐ *f* I did not think of any differences between us
- 22 In group discussions  
☐ *a* I said nothing  
☐ *b* I spoke occasionally  
☐ *c* I spoke when I had something worth saying  
☐ *d* I dominated the conversation
- 23 The amount of time I devoted to work has been  
☐ *a* Far too much to enjoy life fully  
☐ *b* About the right amount  
☐ *c* Too much  
☐ *d* Too little.  
☐ *e* Decidedly too little
- 24 Ability to influence others.  
☐ *a* I could influence large numbers of persons.  
☐ *b* I could influence small numbers of persons
- ☐ *c* I could influence some individuals.  
☐ *d* I could influence those who were under obligations to me  
☐ *e* Had difficulty in influencing anyone  
☐ *f* Don't know—I never tried
- 25 The number of technical or trade journals I read fairly regularly  
☐ *a* 5 or more  
☐ *b* 3 to 5  
☐ *c* 2 or 3  
☐ *d* 1 or 2  
☐ *e* None
- 26 My interest in my past work has been  
☐ *a* Very great and enjoyable  
☐ *b* Usually enjoyable  
☐ *c* Slightly enjoyable  
☐ *d* Little or none  
☐ *e* Mostly negative
- 27 The number of my friends who would help me in putting across a really good idea  
☐ *a* A great many—50 or more  
☐ *b* Many—10 to 50  
☐ *c* Few—5 to 10  
☐ *d* Very few—1 to 5  
☐ *e* None
28. The extent to which I have gone out of my way to help others  
☐ *a* Often inconvenienced myself  
☐ *b* Occasionally inconvenienced myself  
☐ *c* Seldom inconvenienced myself  
☐ *d* Never inconvenienced myself  
☐ *e* Believed in taking care of myself and in letting others do the same

### KEY TO THE EXECUTIVE REACTION PATTERN TEST

1 (a) +10 (b) + 2 (c) - 3 (d) - 5 (e) - 5	2 (a) +6 (b) +4 (c) -6 (d) -2 (e) -6	3 (a) 0 (b) +2 (c) -5 (d) -2 (e) -3	4 (a) +3 (b) 0 (c) -1 (d) -8 (e) -8	5 (a) +6 (b) +2 (c) 0 (d) -6 (e) -8	6 (a) 0 (b) +3 (c) 0 (d) -5 (e) 0
7. (a) +1 (b) +3 (c) -5 (d) 0 (e) 0	8. (a) +6 (b) +5 (c) 0 (d) -1 (e) -5 (f) -5	*9 (a) +2 (b) 0 (c) +2 (d) +2 (e) 0 (f) 0 (g) 0 (h) +2 (i) +2 (j) +2	10 (a) +2 (b) -5 (c) -3 (d) +3 (e) -3	11 (a) +3 (b) -1 (c) -2 (d) 0 (e) -5	12 (a) +4 (b) -4 (c) -5 (d) -5 (e) -5

## appendix

13 (a) +4 (b) -3 (c) -3 (d) 0 (e) 0	14 (a) +5 (b) +2 (c) -2 (d) 0 (e) 0	15 (a) +5 (b) 0 (c) -2 (d) -3 (e) -5	16 (a) -6 (b) +2 (c) +1 (d) 0 (e) 0	17 (a) +4 (b) -2 (c) -5 (d) -5 (e) -5	18 (a) +2 (b) -2 (c) 0 (d) -4 (e) +4
19 (a) +4 (b) 0 (c) -3 (d) -4 (e) +5	20 (a) +4 (b) -2 (c) -4 (d) -4 (e) -4	21 (a) +3 (b) +6 (c) -3 (d) -3 (e) -3 (f) -3	22 (a) -5 (b) -5 (c) +5 (d) +5	23 (a) -2 (b) +6 (c) 0 (d) -2 (e) -2	24 (a) +4 (b) +2 (c) -1 (d) -4 (e) -4 (f) -4
25 (a) +10 (b) +5 (c) 0 (d) -4 (e) +2	26 (a) +5 (b) -3 (c) 0 (d) -6 (e) -6	27 (a) +10 (b) 0 (c) -4 (d) 0 (e) 0	28 (a) +4 (b) -4 (c) -4 (d) -4 (e) -4		

\* Number 9 should also be scored on the total number of items underlined. If only one or two items are underlined, give no extra credit. If three or more items are underlined, give a plus score equal to the total number of items underlined. Example: if the five items *c, d, h, i, j* are underlined, each item having a +2 score, the total score for question No. 9 would be 10 + 5, or 15.

Assign plus and minus values to your own answers according to the above key. Add all the values having a plus sign. Add all those having a minus sign. Then add the two sums algebraically. Find the position of your final score in one of the six grades in the extreme left-hand column of the probability table. Read to the right and the per cent figures will indicate, statistically, the percentage of businessmen who made the same score in the test.

*Example:* of the businessmen who made a score of minus 40 to minus 120, 100 per cent made less than \$2,500 per year, of those who made a score of plus 81 and above, 14 per cent made a salary of from \$5,000 to \$10,000 per year, 29 per cent, from \$10,000 to \$20,000 per year, and 57 per cent, \$20,000 or more per year.

PROBABILITY TABLE SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN SCORES IN  
EXECUTIVE REACTION PATTERN TEST AND SALARIES

Score in Test	0 to \$2,500 per yr	\$2,500 to \$5,000 per yr	\$5,000 to \$10,000 per yr	\$10,000 to \$20,000 per yr	\$20,000 per yr and up
+81 and up			14%	29%	57%
+51 to +80		13%	22%	22%	43%
+21 to +50	7%	30%	33%	21%	9%
-9 to +20	15%	39%	34%	9%	3%
-10 to -39	59%	18%	18%	5%	
-40 to -121	100%				
Mean	-23.1	+14.8	+23.0	+40.5	+62.9
Median	-25.0	+13.5	+26.0	+41.0	+66.0

## ANSWERS TO TESTS IN TEXT

### INTERPRETATION OF ANSWERS TO PRE-MARITAL TEST—"Am I Well-Bal- anced?" (Page 275)

The first 10 questions should be answered *yes*, the last 10, *no*. If you answered 15 or more correctly, you would appear emotionally well-balanced and in that respect likely

to be happy in marriage. A score of 10 or less suggests that you may not yet be ready to assume the responsibilities of marriage.

On the basis of rating scales, using extremes (quintiles), the validity of this test is about 40. Copyright of test and scoring by Clifford R. Adams, Associate Professor of Psychology, Pennsylvania State College.

# WHICH ONE WOULD YOU HIRE?

Answers to Quiz on Pages 302, 303

Here is the actual sales ranking of the salesmen whose records are given. How right were you?

- 1st Former doctor
- 2nd Rose from ranks
- 3rd Old-timer
- 4th Smooth operator
- 5th Veteran
- 6th Former failure
- 7th Had own business
- 8th Social register

The results of a study of the reliability of judgments of intelligence from photographs are reported in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, July 1939. Care was taken in this experiment to use a large number of photographs and a group of "judges" accustomed to size up people on relatively short notice.

Photographs of the "passport" type were taken of 150 first-year male college students, all of whom were taken in the same position, at the same distance from the camera and facing it squarely. The intelligence of the subjects was estimated by the Thurstone Intelligence Test IV given by a person experienced in testing. The raw scores were found to range from 35 to 150.

Subsequently the photographs, numbered for identification purposes, were given to a group of ten experienced personnel managers and social workers with careful instructions to classify them, according to the subject's intelligence, into eight groups, ranging from *lowest* to *highest*.

It was found that all the judges estimated intelligence with an approximately equal degree of inaccuracy, the pooled estimates of the judges had an equally low correlation with intelligence ( $0.7 \pm .055$ ), and the judges were no more ac-

curate in estimating extremes of intelligence than they were in estimating average or near-average levels.

## ANSWER TO FIVE-CIRCLE CHARACTER TEST

(Page 347)

If you have a plus score on any one trial, the probabilities are very great that you "peeped."

## ANSWERS FOR TRUE STORY "HOME PROBLEMS FORUM"

(Chapter 25, page 605)

Group I	Group II
A—3	A—5
B—2	B—6
C—1	C—2
D—4	D—1
E—5	E—4
F—6	F—3

PAGE 628

Answer to Project 1 is *d*

## ANSWERS TO SAFETY VIOLATIONS PICTURE PUZZLE (Page 427)

In the drawing which depicts a scene in a bottling house operation, there are shown thirty-four distinct unsafe practices or conditions, as follows:

1. Man in foreground is removing foreign body from another's eye with dirty handkerchief instead of using proper first-aid facilities.
2. Man is smoking in room where alcoholic beverages are being bottled and near can of gasoline.
3. Welder does not have electric arc covered and is welding near can of gasoline.
4. Welder has sharp protruding tools in his pocket.
5. Welder has sleeves rolled up while welding.
6. Welder's pliers, chisel, etc., are lying in aisleway.
7. Cable from welding machine is stretched across aisle.
8. Girl on bottling line has long flowing hair, uncovered. It may get caught in the moving machinery.
9. Same girl is wearing loose bracelets on arm.



## appendix

- 10 She is also wearing shoes with high heels.
- 11 Stool on which she is sitting has broken back-rest and braces
- 12 Man at capper has grip around bottle and might be cut if the bottle broke.
- 13 There is no guard on capper, and operator is not wearing goggles.
- 14 There is no guard on filler pump belt
- 15 Man is oiling moving machinery.
- 16 Same man has waste rag hanging from pocket, where it may get caught in moving machinery.
- 17 Same man has loose sleeves that may get caught in moving machinery
- 18 Man carrying cartons has them stacked so high he can not see in front of him
- 19 Same man has hole in sole of shoe
- 20 Man in right background is climbing over power conveyor.
- 21 Girl at left is running
- 22 Man is carrying ladder in a hazardous manner and not looking where he is going
- 23 Fire extinguisher is blocked by cases
- 24 Hand truck is in middle of floor
- 25 Ladder on which man is working is set up incorrectly
- 26 There is broken glass in back door
- 27 Cartons are thrown across aisle.
- 28 Bucket is set in aisle
- 29 Section of pipe is lying in aisleway
- 30 Labels are scattered on floor
- 31 Broken bottles are on floor.

- 32 Lid is off sewer along bottling line.
- 33 Bottle caps are scattered on floor
- 34 There are no sprinklers in building

### WHICH AD PULLED THE BETTER?

Answer to Test on Page 618

The advertisement using the photograph and caption technique (Great New Insurance Plan Pays Hospital Surgical Expenses) pulled twice as many inquiries as the ad in which checks were reproduced (Now—Great New Insurance Plan Offers You Protection) Robert T Herz, advertising manager of Bankers Life and Casualty, used a similar split-run in the *Rocky Mountain News* on January 10, 1949 In this case the picture-and-caption technique outpulled the illustrated checks by 5 to 4, confirming the previous result The detailed break-down of possible benefits was an effective theme in both ads, but the photographs presented the need for protection more dramatically and with greater conviction

Answer to Test on Page 619

Copy A, "Today Not Tomorrow," outpulled Copy B, "It's Fun \_\_\_\_\_," by 19 7 per cent

Answer to Project Question 1, Page 628

Heading d, "Men Who Know It All Are Not Invited to Read This Page"

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND REFERENCES

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